



Washington Examiner

**Biden's Moment
of Truth**

JOSEPH SIMONSON — P.15

**Dem Race Card
Doesn't Work**

ZAID JILANI — P.29

**Mourning
Alex Trebek**

PETER TONGUETTE — P.63

**Queen's Gambit
Is Brilliant**

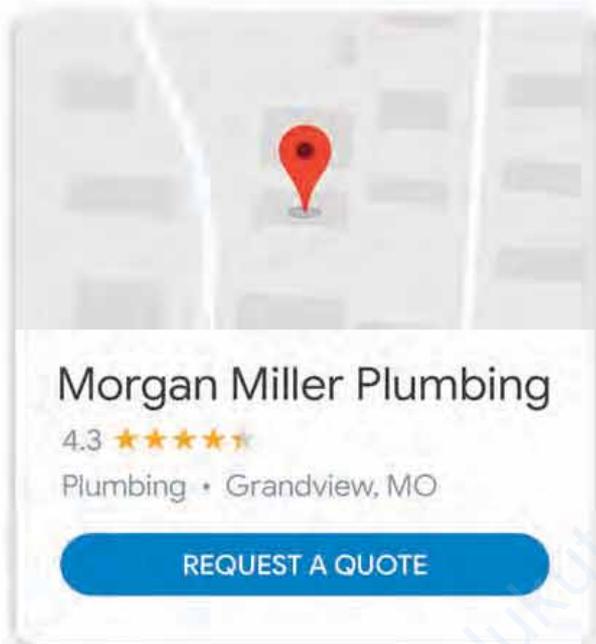
GRAHAM HILLARD — P.54

Biden Takes Charge

**GOP Senate and
weak House support
will limit his scope
for action**



Helping local businesses adapt to a new way of working



Click on Subject Name and "Download Recommended Books"

COMPULSORY BOOKS

- ✓ *English Précis & Composition*
- ✓ *CSS Essay*

OPTIONAL GROUP I

- ✓ *Accountancy & Auditing*
- ✓ *Economics*

www.urdukutabkhanapk.blogspot.com



The employees of Morgan Miller Plumbing pride themselves on being a small, tight-knit family, and they treat their customers the same way.

With a free Business Profile on Google, Morgan Miller Plumbing has been able to reach more customers. And while COVID-19 has presented new challenges, they've been able to adapt. More people are contacting them every week, and they're actively looking to hire additional technicians to help meet demand.

Find free resources for your small business at [google.com/grow](https://www.google.com/grow)

Democratic blacklists and other odious hypocrisies

In 2019, Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez complained that she and leftist allies were being placed on a blacklist by Democratic Party regulars. It turns out that this was not a principled objection, for now, she wants to be the one making the list.

Disturbingly, this seems also to be the view of a wide range of Democrats, which is ironic because four years ago, they were accusing President Trump, baselessly, of course, of trying to take office and then arrest his political opponents.

Now, Democrats and Republican grifters allied to them in the poseur “resistance” are calling for the personal and professional destruction of everyone who has stood by or “enabled” Trump, including even the attorneys now assisting him in various state legal battles.

Their vindictive attitude is absurd and disgraceful on so many levels that it is hard to know where to begin.

First, Trump isn’t Adolf Hitler or Benito Mussolini. He is a president who, far from destroying federal institutions, has been held in check by them. His administration was not an apartheid regime requiring a “Truth and Reconciliation Commission” as a prerequisite for national healing and recovery. He was not a dictator who changed the Senate’s rules and packed the Supreme Court, as Democrats aspire to do. He even advanced the cause of civil rights, for all the spurious cries of “racism” that critics have frothed about in their frivolous wokeness. In the face of elite white liberal opinion, actual nonwhite voters just gave Trump a higher share of their vote than they have given any Republican since 1960.

Anyone who thinks democracy will be restored after a four-year absence on Jan. 20 is afflicted with such partisanship as to have lost historical perspective.

In fact, if not for Trump’s uncouth, bombastic, and ultimately repellent personal manner, people would probably discuss his presidency as an obvious success. They would remember him for making the biggest stride toward Middle East peace in at least 40 years. They would remember him as the first president since Jimmy Carter who didn’t invade another country, who brokered a fairer criminal justice system, who presided over the strongest economy since at least the Eisenhower era, and for a major tax reform that benefited lower-income working people the most.

It should also be evident by now that voters, even as they decided not to reelect Trump, did so by a narrow margin. They were neither as upset nor as angry and alienated as the elite expected or as the elite was itself. The results show no support for the vindictive revenge that self-important resisters are calling

for because they also reelected most Trump-supporting politicians.

It was already evident last week that Democrats’ expected gains had failed to materialize in the Senate. But, stunningly, not a single Republican House incumbent who voted against Trump’s impeachment was defeated in the election. Democrats appear on pace to lose a dozen House seats on net, with their only three pickups coming due to court-ordered redistricting in North Carolina and a retirement in Georgia. Republicans also gained ground in state legislatures. If voters were angry with or tired of Trump, they found a way to express it while rewarding Republicans.

It turns out that voters, including some large number of anti-Trump voters, are practical about the party system. In the absence of actual crimes or corruption (and voters reasonably noticed that these did not feature in Trump’s presidency), they understand that Republicans will stand by a Republican president.

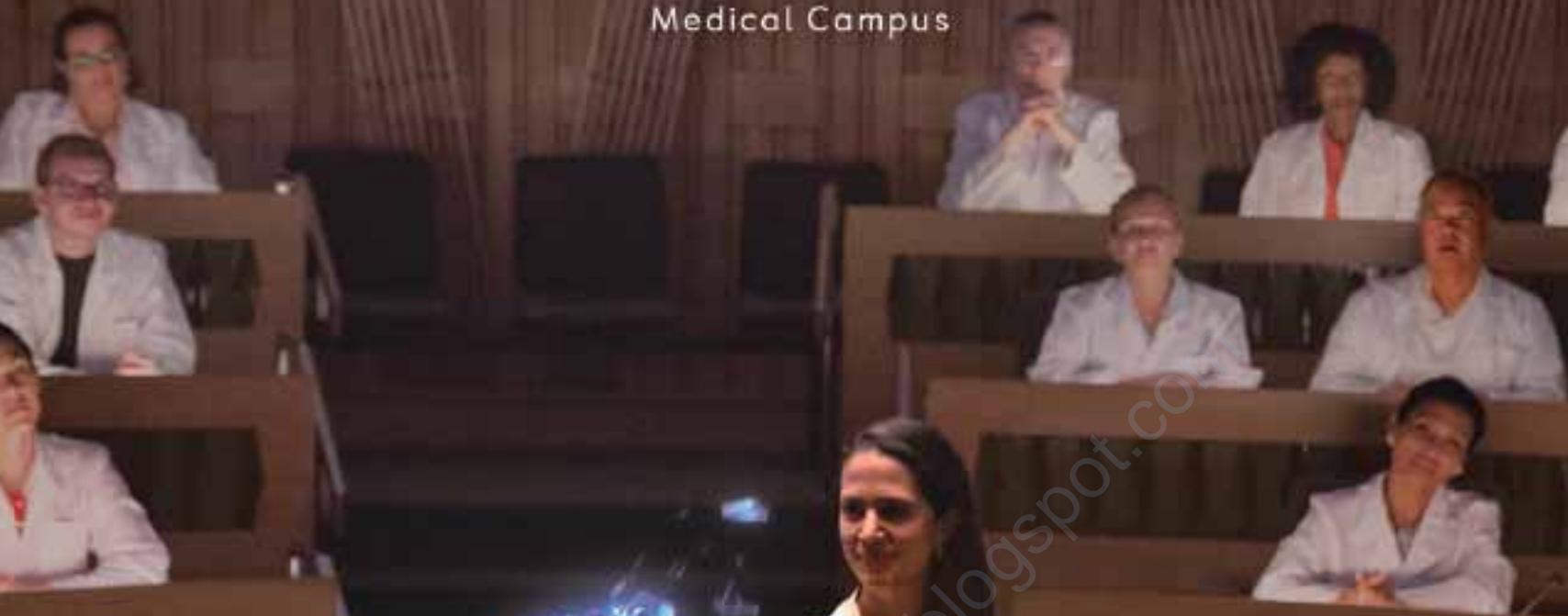
After the 2020 election, Democrats lack even a mandate for radical change or for vigilante retaliation. They need to calm down and take themselves less seriously. That’s what voters did this past week — stayed calm and didn’t take the Left seriously. ★



University of Colorado

ANSCHUTZ

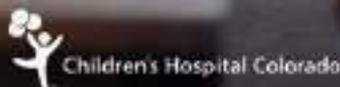
Medical Campus



THIS IS
BREAKTHROUGH™

HEART DISEASE RUN CANCER HIDE ALZHEIMER'S TAKE COVER WE'RE COMING AFTER YOU

Discover the stories at
thisisbreakthrough.com
Jenny E. Zablah, MD



University of Colorado

uchealth

Biden's historic chance to unite the country

Joe Biden is almost certain to be sworn into office in January as the nation's 46th president. He has built vote leads in battleground states, and these appear to be insuperable despite President Trump's declared intention to mount legal challenges to them.

Opposed teams of attorneys will therefore fight in court, but this should not distract the apparent winner from focusing on the immense challenge of fulfilling his campaign promise to unite the country. It is a vital task that Biden should make his highest priority if he wishes history to recognize him favorably. He seems to know this, over the weekend saying, "With the campaign over, it's time to ... come together as a nation," a theme he emphasized again in his well-turned victory speech in Delaware on Saturday night.

It is incontrovertible that Trump was divisive. It is not difficult to acknowledge this despite the fact that the *Washington Examiner*, along with more than 70 million voters, thought on balance that he should be reelected to a second term.

We did so, as we suspect most did, because we approved of his policies, for example, on taxes, deregulation, energy, and the Middle East — certainly not for his demeanor and intemperate rhetoric.

But division, by definition, takes two sides, and Trump's four years in office were characterized by grotesque and deliberate divisiveness from the Left, including but not limited to a concocted allegation by his political enemies that he colluded with Russia to steal the 2016 election and continued to be a stooge of Moscow thereafter. This and many other calumnies show that the need for tolerance and

restored unity is at least as much on the Left as on the Right.

Biden needs to understand that, but for Trump's unpresidential demeanor and his handling of the coronavirus, the incumbent might now be celebrating victory as a reward for his economic policies in particular, with real job creation and record low unemployment. It was, in other words, not Trump's policies, but Trump himself, who was repudiated.

Voters dispensed with him but increased Republican numbers in the House of Representatives, put the GOP within one Georgia runoff of maintaining control of the Senate, and added to conservative control of state legislatures in advance of the census and redistricting. There was no blue wave. Biden had no coattails in victory, whereas Trump had coattails even in defeat.

To unite the country, Biden needs to build his administration as a reflection of the vote, which is to say as a dignified and centrist government. He will fail if he brings members of the hard Left, such as Vermont Sen. Bernie Sanders and his acolytes, into the Cabinet.

Biden has a historic opportunity to heal the country's wounds, and if he wants an admired legacy, he will start now to fulfill the promise of his Delaware speech and bring uniters, not dividers, into his administration.

If, as expected, Republicans continue to control the Senate, the Democrats' constitutional vandalism will be off the table; there will be no packing of the Supreme Court or Senate, and the Electoral College will not be demolished. But these saving constitutional graces must be matched in policy. Voters said that they don't want left-wing extremes, and the new president must

act on that democratic instruction.

Personnel is policy. Therefore, the composition of Biden's Cabinet will be crucial and a clear signal of whether the 46th president means what he says or is a hypocrite parroting bromides. He has only one shot at doing this, for he must be regarded as a one-term president; is it plausible that the country would elect a chief executive to start a second term at the age of 82?

So, it is already crunch time for Biden. He can do what he has said, which is also what voters have asked him to do, or he can capitulate to the Left by installing proto-socialists, breaking his faith with the public, and dooming his presidency to failure.

He should now put country over party, unity over ideology, and govern from the middle, which is where most Americans live.

This is a moral obligation, which the next president promised as the "word of a Biden," the homespun aegis of his most somber undertakings. When one runs for president as a Biden, every promise is the word of a Biden. He has promised healing and unity. Now it is time to deliver.

The Biden the public should be able to expect as president is the one who negotiated the constructive deal with congressional Republicans to extend a list of expiring tax cuts in 2010. He's the one who was on the verge of finishing a deficit-reduction deal with Republican House Majority Leader Eric Cantor until President Barack Obama and Speaker John Boehner pulled the plug due to a separate impasse of their own.

It is that Joe Biden, the one who claimed to stand for "regular order" and mutual respect, who sold himself to the public. Even that Joe Biden always was clearly a left-liberal, but he made a commitment to be a traditional leader within the American tradition, not a radical determined to revolutionize American life. Unless Biden is a weak-willed placeholder for the Sanders wing of the Democratic Party, he will stand against that wing when it pushes him to radicalize his presidency. ★

Who spent \$36 million on rubber snakes and spiders? You did!

Experimenters at the National Institutes of Health deliberately inflict permanent brain damage on monkeys and terrify them with fake spiders and snakes. More than 30 years of this cruelty has failed to produce a single treatment or cure for humans. Help us stop it: PETA.org/Taxes.



“My review of [these] experiments indicates that even after three decades they have yet to result in any significant clinical applications. It is concerning that given the limited benefits of the data obtained from these studies relative to the considerable harms we know are being inflicted on the research subjects, these experiments continue at the nation’s most prestigious research facility.”

—John Gluck, Ph.D., former primate experimenter
Professor emeritus, University of New Mexico
Faculty affiliate, Kennedy Institute of Ethics,
Georgetown University

END THE MONKEY FRIGHT EXPERIMENTS.

PETA

NOVEMBER 17, 2020

Contents

Volume 26, Number 40

Editorial

- 2 Democratic blacklists and other odious hypocrisies
- 4 Biden's historic chance to unite the country

Letter From the Editor

- 8 Democrats without answers want to control the questions

Your Land

- 9 Politics as a Spectator Sport ★ Veterans Day 2020: Honoring Our Heroes From Afar ★ Goodnight, Boomer ★ The Early Bird Hour is the New Rush Hour ★ America is Tied in Knots About Tying the Knot ★ The Election Week Winner: Alcohol ★ WOTW: 'Schizophrenic'

Then & Now

- 25 Presidential vices

Features

- 15 **Biden's Moment of Truth**
He ran to win. Now what?
By Joseph Simonson
- 18 **Survey Says ... Fix Polling**
The industry must adapt or die, and the road back starts with remembering its purpose
By Kristen Soltis Anderson
- 22 **The Real Majority at 50**
Relevant lessons on keeping political radicals at bay
By Kyle Sammin
- 26 **Before and After**
Incautious celebration in the time of coronavirus
By J. Grant Addison
Photos by Graeme Jennings

- 28 **Doubling Down On Defeat**
Democrats are struggling with the politics of a multiracial America
By Zaid Jilani

Washington Briefing



- 31 **Two runoff races in one state will determine U.S. Senate control**
- 34 **Senator-elect Roger Marshall hopes to work with Democrats on an infrastructure package**
- 36 **Trump's legal long shot extends 2020 presidential bid**
- 37 **'The message wasn't right.' Election losses leave stunned Democrats rethinking path forward**
- 38 **The Biden doctrine: 'Goodbye, America First. Hello, multilateralism'**
- 40 **Liberal climate activists challenge Biden to keep promises on personnel**
- 42 **Emails alleging election interference spread malware**
- 43 **Transportation ballot initiatives did well on election day, but not in Portland**
- 44 **Washington Secrets**

COMING NEXT WEEK

- ★ Telling the story of Garrison Keillor
- ★ Kevin McCarthy's House
- ★ Year of the Republican women

Business

- 46 Commercial real estate in tailspin from pandemic
- 48 **Stephen Moore** Why the media trashes Trump's superrecovery

Life & Arts

- 50 **Books** The Black-Pilled Laureate of Modern Britain
- 51 **Books** Madcap Mexicans and Doomed NEETs
- 52 **Books** Who Was Stanley Kubrick?
- 53 **Film** Martin Ubermensch
- 54 **TV** *The Queen's Gambit* is Brilliant
- 55 **On Culture** France's War on American Theory
- 57 **Downtime** Hip Pocket
- 57 **Long Life** Springing for Cancer
- 58 **Life In Uniform** The Buzzard King

The Columnists

- 59 **Hugo Gurdon** Chuck Schumer says bye-bye to Americaaaa!
- 60 **Salena Zito** When the NFL plays politics, small business owners get tackled too
- 61 **Fred Barnes** Dire predictions about the Republican Party were wrong, again
- 62 **Daniel J. Hannan** Republicans, please stop making it all about Trump

Obituary

- 63 **Alex Trebek**, 1940-2020

Crossword

64

COVER: Illustration by Jason Seiler

www.urdukutabkhanapk.blogspot.com
2020 PRESIDENT TRUMP

Christmas Ornament

Only \$14.99*! *Quantities are limited, so order today!*

HAPPY
Holidays

FROM THE
WASHINGTON EXAMINER
TEAM



* Plus \$4.99 shipping & handling per ornament

Order NOW to receive an exclusive 2020 ornament in time for the holiday season. Decorate your tree with this limited edition 2020 President Trump Christmas Ornament. This is a special offer from the Washington Examiner, and is the only place where you can find this one-of-a-kind gift.

There are only a limited number of these beautiful ornaments available for purchase, so you **MUST** act **TODAY** to get yours!

Visit WashingtonExaminer.com/ornament to get yours today.

HUGO GURDON: LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

Democrats without answers want to control the questions



A cockeyed complaint arrived recently at the *Washington Examiner* from a fellow who pompously asserted, “You had no right to publish information quoting my name, etc. I never signed a waiver or consented to your publication.” Where are these putative waivers to be obtained? Perhaps we’ll ask President Trump, who presumably signed one to let news organizations cover him so extensively these past five years.

It’s not just nonentities who don’t understand how news works. House Speaker Nancy Pelosi and Senate Minority Leader Chuck Schumer seem not to either. They gave their first post-election press conference the other day to claim that Joe Biden’s win in the presidential election was a mandate for them to pass left-wing legislation on Capitol Hill. Pelosi told reporters to ask only about the coronavirus and Trump’s election lawsuits, not to venture into questioning about why congressional Democrats lost the election.

Sorry, Nancy, that’s not how news works. Polls — remember when they were helpful? — forecast that a blue wave would deliver more seats to her and a majority to Schumer. Instead, Republicans gained House seats and have probably also retained their grip on the upper chamber. So there are lots of questions — that is, pleasingly, there are serious doubts — about how much Democrats can achieve of their wrecking program.

In light of top Democrats’ refusal to deal with the true message of the election — voter refusal to sanction left-wing extremes — it was deliciously ironic to hear Schumer tell Republicans to take off their blindfolds and accept that Biden won. “The Republican refusal to deal with reality is hurting our country in many ways,” he said. Democrats’ refusal to face reality is, obviously, completely different.

So Biden arrives in office with weak backing in Congress and facing Mitch “The Knife” McConnell. This is going to make it very difficult for him to push a radical agenda. That’s why the president-elect is bound hand and foot in our cover illustration this week under the ironic headline “Biden Takes Charge.” Joseph Simonson unpacks (P.15) Biden’s career, which has echoes of Randolph Churchill’s summary of Disraeli’s career as “failure, failure, failure, partial success, renewed failure, ultimate and complete triumph.” Biden has been in Washington 47 years, and he is finally president. We will see whether he can keep his promise to unite the country. Given today’s divisions, that really would be an ultimate and complete triumph.

Zaid Jilani reveals (P.22) how the Democrats are struggling with the politics of a multiracial America.

In a wonderfully rich Life & Arts section this week, Aris Roussinos reviews (P.50) *Alexandria*, the third and final novel in Paul Kingsnorth’s *Buckmaster Trilogy*; Daniel Ross Goodman asks (P.52) and answers, “Who Was Stanley Kubrick?”; Graham Hillard reports (P.54) that *The Queen’s Gambit* is brilliant; and Eric Felten and Rob Long meditate (P.57) on upmarket watches and upmarket cancer. ★

Washington Examiner

Editors

Editor-In-Chief **Hugo Gurdon**
 Managing Editor **Greg Wilson**
 Executive Editor / Commentary Editor **Philip Klein**
 News Editor **Chris Irvine**
 Executive Editor (Magazine) **Seth Mandel**
 Managing Editor (Magazine) **Jay Caruso**
 Policy Editor **Joseph Lawler**
 Senior Editors **Keith Koffler, David Mark**
 Breaking News Editor **Daniel Chaitin**
 Business Editor **Jay Heflin**
 Life & Arts Editor (Magazine) **Park MacDougald**
 Associate Breaking News Editors **Callie Patteson, Sydney Shea**
 Production Editor **Joana Suleiman**
 Chief Web Producer **David Sivak**
 Online Opinion Editor **David Freddoso**
 Contributors Editor **Jason Russell**
 Design Director **Philip Chalk**
 Deputy Editor (Magazine) **J. Grant Addison**

Columnists & Writers

Senior Columnists: **Michael Barone, Fred Barnes, Paul Bedard, Timothy P. Carney, Byron York**
 Senior Writers: **Barnini Chakravorty, David M. Drucker, Susan Ferrechio, Jamie McIntyre, Kerry Picket, Salena Zito**
 Staff Reporters: **W. James Antle III, Mike Brest, Rob Crilly, Katherine Doyle, Jerry Dunleavy, Joel Gehrke, Anna Giaritelli, Zachary Halaschak, David Hogberg, Nihal Krishan, Emily Larsen, Anthony Leonardi, Naomi Lim, Abraham Mahshie, Cassidy Morrison, Spencer Neale, Nic Rowan, Kerry Picket, Josh Siegel, Joseph Simonson, Abby Smith, Haley Smith, Mica Sollner**

Commentary Writers: T Becket Adams, Quin Hillyer, Tom Rogan,

Tiana Lowe, Kaylee McGhee White, Eddie Scarry
 Contributors: **Noemie Emery, Eric Felten, Grant Gross, Dan Hannan, Rob Long, Stephen Moore, John O’Sullivan, Philip Terzian, Kristen Soltis Anderson, Robert Woodson**

Design, Video & Web

Designers: **Amanda Trypanis, Barbara Kytte, Sarah Marizan**
 Web Producers: **Andy Belt, Tim Collins, Tatiana Lozano, Victor Nava, Jenna Romaine, Tyler Van Dyke**
 Digital Engagement Editor **Will Ricciardella**
 Social Media Manager **Emma Colton**
 Social Media Producers: **Allison Maass, Andrew Mark Miller, Michael Lee, Carly Ortiz-Lytle, Claude Thompson**
 Digital Editor **Sydney Fazio**
 Digital Engagement Assistant **Stacey Dec**
 Videographers: **Arik Dashevsky, Siraj Hashmi, Chris Lohr, Timothy Wolff**
 Photographer **Graeme Jennings**

MediaDC

Chairman **Ryan McKibben**
 President & Chief Operating Officer **Stephen R. Sparks**
 Chief Financial Officer **Jeffrey Mento**
 Chief Revenue Officer **Mark Walters**
 Audience Development Officer **Jennifer Yingling**
 Chief Digital Officer **David Lindsey**
 IT Director **Mark Rendle**
 Creative Director **Linda Hernandez**
 Senior Director of Strategic Communications and Publicity **Alex Rosenwald**
 Public Relations Manager **Carly Hagan**

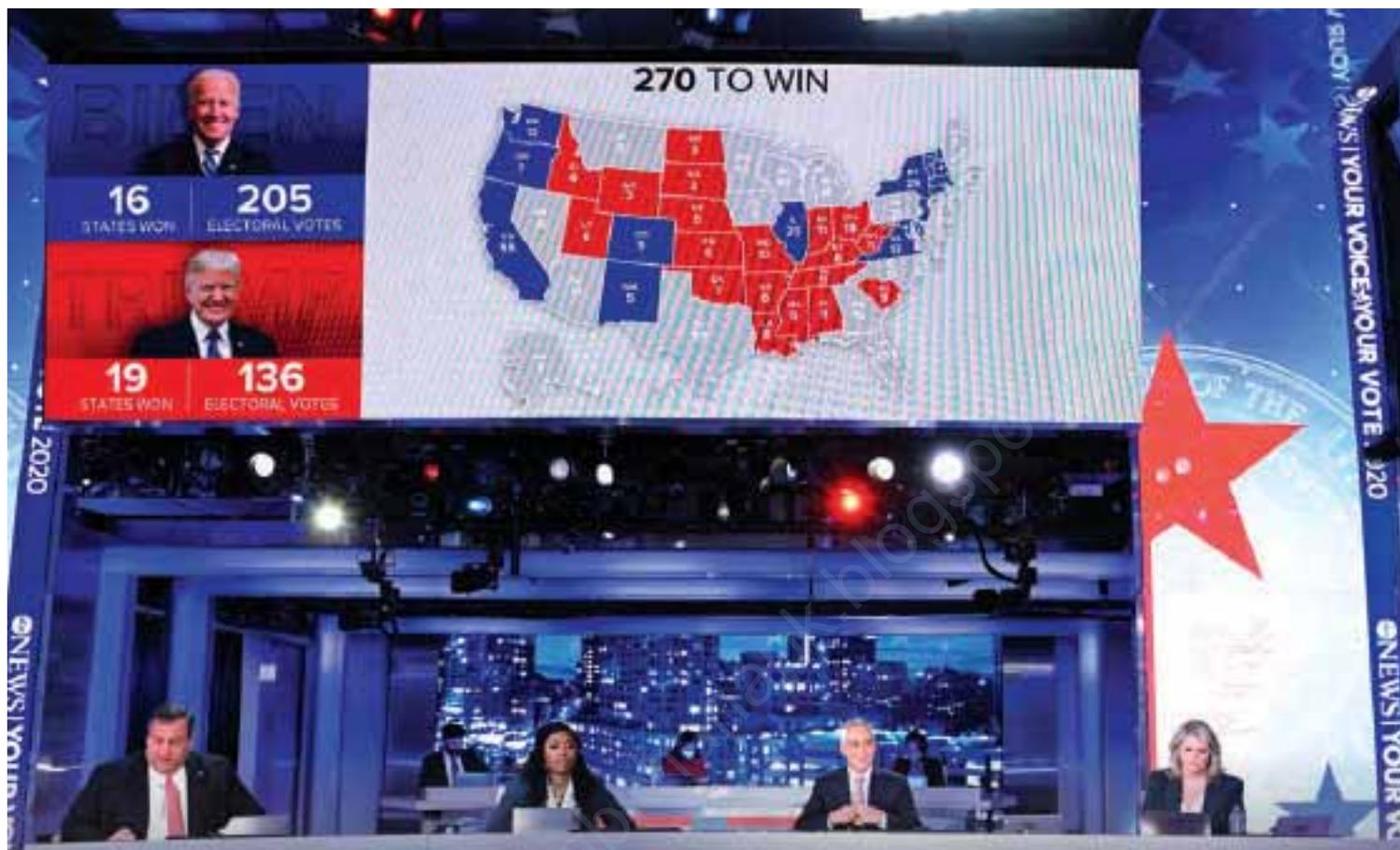
Advertising

Vice President, Advertising **Nick Swezey**
 Digital Director **Jason Roberts**
 National Account Director **Jake Berube**
 Advertising Operations Manager **Andrew Kaumeier**
Advertising Sales Inquiries: 202-293-4900
Customer Service: 202-903-2000



Veterans Day 2020: Honoring Our Heroes From Afar P. 10 ★ Goodnight, Boomer P. 10 ★ The Early Bird Hour is the New Rush Hour P. 11 ★ America is Tied in Knots About Tying the Knot P. 12 ★ The Election Week Winner: Alcohol P. 12 ★ WOTW: 'Schizophrenic' P. 14

Your Land



Politics as a Spectator Sport

The ratings are in, even if some election returns are still outstanding. Those seemingly omniscient folks at Nielsen have informed us that some 56.9 million people tuned in to prime-time TV coverage on Election Day, a 20% decrease from 2016. Viewership was down in every age group.

It's beginning to look a lot like a trend. The Pew Research Center published survey data after the 2016 election detailing how more and more people, especially young ones,

rely on digital sources as they follow election returns. "The share of voters who followed returns online increased by 14 percentage points since 2012 (from 34% to 48%)," Pew wrote after the 2016 election.

The research firm has not published a similar comparison for 2020 as of this writing, though there are reasons to assume the share has grown. About 1 in 5 adults say they get their political news chiefly through social media, according to a recent Pew survey. The decrease in TV-watchers on

Election Day 2020 doesn't necessarily mean that people are less interested in what happened. Perhaps they just followed it elsewhere.

Search engines have just made it so easy. Tuning out means avoiding all the TV punditry. Plus: No need for commercials, no need for the civics lessons, no need to wait for the network to cycle through alphabetical lists of candidates. Simply plug in a few key words and in 5 seconds have all the races and vote counts before your eyes.

YOUR LAND

As an alternative, the social media platforms offer the opportunity to get into the fray, which everyone can appreciate to some degree. You can scroll and learn about Senate races, see how the candidates are doing, even engage in a few back-and-forths, all while still watching Netflix.

—By Jeremy Beaman

Veterans Day 2020: Honoring Our Heroes From Afar

Veterans Day was different this year.

Many communities use this day to celebrate and honor their veterans by putting on local parades and hosting neighborhood-wide potlucks. But this year, many towns chose to cancel their planned events out of concern for the public health. In Manchester, New Hampshire, for example, local leaders canceled the town’s annual Veterans Day parade and moved its ceremony honoring those who served online, with residents able to watch the event via livestream, according to the *New Hampshire Union Leader*.

In California, several towns near San Diego chose to honor their veterans in person. But, the *Paso Robles Daily News* reported, at least one local cemetery asked loved ones to avoid gathering near the gravesites and honor the fallen instead by staying in their vehicles and driving through the cemetery.

Towns near Wilmington, North Carolina, chose to keep their Veterans Day



ceremonies on the books, too. Large-scale events were canceled or scaled back, but Mike Allen, the mayor of Belville and an Army veteran, said it was important that the men and women who served get a chance to be seen and heard. Belville’s events were “much lower key,” he told WECT 6, but they still served to remind the public of “the freedom and the labor that we’ve gotten from our veterans.”

Perhaps Belville had the right idea. Veterans Day doesn’t require large parades or festive barbecues, though those are certainly warranted. The purpose of this holiday is to remember those who have served and what they lost, to take pride in their heroism and show gratitude for their sacrifice. And if we can do that in smaller, more meaningful ways, then maybe we’ll realize that honoring our heroes is possible not just on Veterans Day but every day.

—By Kaylee McGhee White

Goodnight, Boomer

While Joe Biden is getting ready for his new job, his old buddies are hanging it up as the baby boom retirement wave is beginning to hit the United States in full force.

A record 3.2 million baby boomers retired in 2020, according to Pew Research, more than twice as many as retired in 2019. Even if that is a brief uptick caused by the coronavirus (boomers might hate Zoom meetings more than the rest of us), it still looks like a signal of the tsunami coming soon.

The median boomer, born in 1955, is turning 65 this year and will be eligible for Social Security two months after his or her birthday. The peak of the baby boom, with 4.3 million births, was 1957, and those folks will be eligible for full So-



“It’s the closest you’ll get to Manhattan in your price range.”

ANTHONY BEHAR/SIPA VIA AP IMAGES



Paris, told the *Wall Street Journal*, “5 p.m. is the new 9 p.m.”

This change is evident, strangely enough, in the hours that people are choosing to eat out. Before the pandemic, most couples booking reservations would choose later times, such as 7:30 or 8 p.m. But they are now opting for the “early bird” hours, around 4 or 5 p.m. Some people would have been eating that early anyway, and now that they’re not going into the office, why not? If you’ve been working from home all day (all week, all month, almost all year), you might be a bit more eager to get out of the house.

“It’s a cocktail meets dinner meets aperitif,” said Alex Raij, the chef and co-owner of La Vara, a Spanish restaurant in New York City. She said the majority of early diners at her restaurant are groups of parents “who have been cooped up all day and need to see a friend at 5 p.m.”

Necessity is also a factor here. Many restaurants have only been offering outdoor dining due to coronavirus restrictions, and it’s much easier to score a reservation the earlier you go. Moreover, it’s much more enjoyable to sit outside and enjoy dinner when the sun is out, especially as temperatures begin to drop. “When you’re sitting still, it gets awfully cold,” said Anna Wiencrot, a Chicago survey researcher, who noted that

cial Security before July 2023.

The next few years will see the largest voluntary exodus from the labor force in U.S. history, and the repercussions will be large and unpredictable. Economists and policymakers are worried about the health of Social Security and Medicare, of course, as the ratio of workers to retirees drops. But our culture will be changed, too.

You can expect a run on retirement communities and early bird dinners. All sorts of businesses will reorient around the largest generation in history now being free even from 9 to 5. Maybe golf, on the wane in the U.S., will see a resurgence.

Church life will change, too. Maybe daily Mass will be a bit more crowded, and Bible studies a bit better attended — after all, nearly three-quarters of boomers already say they attend church at least monthly, with most of those at-

tending at least weekly. Church leaders don’t know what it will mean to have a large new crop of church ladies who used to be flower children.

Heck, maybe we’ll start seeing Grateful Dead stickers on mobile homes touring the country.

—By Timothy P. Carney

The Early Bird Hour is the New Rush Hour

Time hasn’t been normal since March, which seems approximately 14 years ago. Every day is Saturday or Monday or hump day. You forget whether fall follows summer or precedes it. Sleeping through the night has become a thing of the past for many. As Christian Moerk, a Danish novelist who recently moved from New York to

MADE BY JIMBOB



YOUR LAND

she always brings a coat or blanket when choosing to eat outside.

Like so much of our coronavirus lifestyle, this new habit could go by the wayside once life begins to feel a bit more normal. Or maybe not. “We’re home again by 7,” said Elaine del Cerro Yau, who owns a bakery in Maryland with her husband. “You have a whole evening ahead of you. You got the eating out of the way, and you can binge-watch an entire series on Netflix.”

Sounds like a perfect evening to me.

—By Kaylee McGhee White

America is Tied in Knots About Tying the Knot

Trends on marriage in America appear to have become one of those (Champagne) glass-half-full propositions.

The empty part of the glass is a continued decline in the rate of people marrying in the first place. The full part of the glass is that once people marry, they are less likely to divorce than at any time in half a century.

Such are the statistics reported in new numbers from the Census Bureau. As summed up by the Institute for Family Studies, the divorce rate is just 14.9 out of every 1,000 marriages, below the prior half-century low of 15 in 1970 and



well down from its peak of 22.6 in 1980. The median duration of marriages has grown since 2010 from 19 years to 19.8 years. And some 58% of married people say that the current pandemic has made them appreciate their spouses even more than before.

That’s all good news. The bad news is that the *marriage* rate also hit an all-time low. For every 1,000 unmarried adults in 2019, just 33 got married, compared to 85.9 in 1970. That’s a far larger drop in marriage rates than the decline in divorce.

In sum, more and more people are reluctant to marry, or unable to find a willing partner, but once they do so, the marriages are more stable than 50 years ago.

Even for those of us usually of an optimistic bent, the combination of these trends makes the glass somewhat more than half-empty. If the marriage rate is dropping faster than the divorce rate, the end result is fewer marriages — period. This is worrisome. Countless studies through the years have shown a clear and direct correlation between marriage

and economic stability and a much greater degree of measurable social ills among those who are unmarried.

A prototypical vicious cycle ensues. As the authors at IFS report, “Poor and working-class Americans increasingly [are] disconnected from the institution of marriage,” and the lower rate of marriage exacerbates lifestyle instabilities that keep them enmeshed in low-income status.

Of course, it’s wise not to make commitments one can’t keep. The lesson here, though, is that the discipline and self-sharing capacity of making a major, mutual commitment and keeping it is a virtue from which both the individuals and the greater society will reap rewards. The good news is that the falling divorce rate is evidence that the rewards, emotional and otherwise, can be very real.

—By Quin Hilyer

The Election Week Winner: Alcohol

When several media outlets declared Democratic presidential candidate Joe Biden the winner of the 2020 election last Saturday, Manoj Uppal didn’t think anything of it. But shortly thereafter, dozens of customers began flooding into his liquor store, Barrett Liquors in Louisville, Kentucky, all with the same idea: They were going to celebrate.

Uppal’s store, like thousands of other liquor stores across the country, had a hard time keeping Champagne on the shelves that night, according to multiple reports. “The best way to put it is it was like New Year’s Eve,” John Johnson, the sommelier and owner of the Wine Rack in Crescent Hill, Kentucky, told the *Courier Journal*. “It was a really fun day to be working and watch that.”

\Alcohol sales spiked well before



“Astonish me.”

Simplicity. Savings. Stauer®SMART Best value for a Smartwatch...only \$99!

Smarten up

Some smartwatches out there require a PhD to operate. Why complicate things? Do you really need your watch to pay for your coffee? We say keep your money in your pocket, not on your wrist. **Stauer®SMART** gives you everything you need and cuts out the stuff you don't, including a zero in the price.

Keep an eye on your health with heart rate, blood pressure** and sleep monitoring capabilities. Track your steps and calories burned. Set reminders for medicine and appointments. **StauerSMART** uses Bluetooth® technology to connect to your phone. When a notification or alert arrives, a gentle buzz lets you know right away.

When it comes to battery life, **StauerSMART** has one of the most efficient batteries available--giving you up to 72 hours of power. Most Smartwatches need to be charged every 24 hours. **StauerSMART** can get you through a three-day weekend without needing a charge.

This is the smarter Smartwatch. And, at **only \$99**, the price is pretty smart too.

Satisfaction guaranteed or your money back. Try **StauerSMART** risk-free for 30 days. If you aren't perfectly happy, send it back for a full refund of the item price.

3Xs the Battery Life of the top-selling Smartwatch



Stauer®SMART

- Track steps and calorie burn
- Monitor heart rate, blood pressure & sleep
- Set reminders for medicine & appointments
- Get notified of emails & text messages
- Personalize the dial with your favorite pic
- Up to 72 hours of battery life per charge
- Supports Android 4.4+, iOS8.2 & Bluetooth 4.0+

Stauer®SMART gives you everything you want for **only \$99...** and nothing you don't.

Stauer® SMART ~~\$299~~†

Offer Code Price **\$99** + S&P **Save \$200**

You must use the offer code to get our special price.

1-800-333-2045

Your Offer Code: **STW236-01**

Please use this code when you order to receive your discount.



Rating of A+



Message (0)

Emails and texts alerts



Find

Find my phone

• Supports Android 4.4+, iOS8.2 & Bluetooth 4.0+ • Silicone strap • Touchscreen with digital timekeeping • Stopwatch timer • Heart rate, blood pressure & sleep monitor • Fitness tracker • Notifications: text, email, social media, & calendar alerts • Alarm clock • Water resistant to 3 ATM • USB charger included

Stauer® 14101 Southcross Drive W., Ste 155, Dept. STW236-01, Burnsville, Minnesota 55337 www.stauer.com

* Please consult your doctor before starting a new sport activity. A Smartwatch can monitor real-time dynamic heart rates, but it can't be used for any medical purpose.

† Special price only for customers using the offer code versus the price on Stauer.com without your offer code.



Monitor heart rate



Track steps and calories

Stauer... Afford the Extraordinary.®

WORD OF THE WEEK**'Schizophrenic'**

You want to hear something really whacked? Take a look at what the AP Stylebook has now ruled unacceptable for use by journalists and writers who use language correctly:

“Do not use derogatory terms, such as insane, crazy/crazed, nuts or deranged, unless they are part of a quotation that is essential to the story. Avoid using mental health terms to describe unrelated issues. Don't say that an awards show, for example, was schizophrenic.”

I have covered the overreaches of the AP style people before, such as when they dictated against calling the illicit regular female sex partner of a married man his “mistress.” It's not just that they keep overstepping their mandate, which is to rule on copy, in order to rule on morality that bugs me. It's that they seem to be repeatedly ignorant about what they are exercising their authority over. And they do have quite a lot of authority. Familiarity with preferred AP style is a basic job requirement for journalists. Grammarly.com's blog calls it simply “the style guide that newspaper reporters adhere to.”

This made it bad enough when they were using their outsize influence to rule against the Oxford comma. But now to be telling journalists they cannot say things are deranged, bonkers, crazy, nuts, cuckoo, insane, or mad? These people must be out of their

minds.

What's so frustrating is that they surely think they are being deferential to the needs of the experts on and sufferers of psychiatric illnesses. But they have that all wrong. Just look at their given example of a now-verbotten usage, the metaphorical use of “schizophrenic.” Eugen Beuler, the



Swiss psychologist and contemporary of Freud, coined the term. Why did he choose those letters? For “schiz,” think schism. For “phrenia,” think of the pseudoscience of “phrenology,” for having to do with the brain or mind. It means, from the Latin, split mind.

Today, people who admirably work to “destigmatize mental health” have forgotten their own history. Schizophrenic Disorder has changed in its clinical psychiatric diagnostic criteria a

great deal since it was first named. It is *not* Multiple Personality Disorder and instead refers primarily to delusions, disorganized speech, and a cluster of other distinct symptoms. And so the word police, thinking they are being precise, are being imprecise when they assert the primacy of the clinical psychiatric meaning over the more correct colloquial one.

When a critic refers to an awards show that takes multiple tones or has uneven writing as “schizophrenic,” it is not undermining the words, nor is it harming sufferers from a disorder. Neither does saying “that was crazy” or “he is nuts” or “what a wild ride that was” harm public understanding of mental health issues. This taboo serves no function other than to exist and see who observes it, which tells us something about what is going on over at the AP.

I am sure it can be frustrating for psychiatric professionals that people use OCD and ADD and such specific words for disorders based on colloquial usage. This is still no reason to erect bans on using perfectly innocuous metaphors in writing. And, it's worth noting, “mental health” itself is a misuse of language here by the AP Stylebook. To quote the official journal of the World Psychiatric Association, “more than a scientific discipline, mental health is a political and ideological movement.” What the word police over at the AP were trying to say was mental *illness*. If only they thought about words and concepts before they tried to limit mine.

—By Nicholas Clairmont

Biden was declared the projected winner, though. Heading into Election Day, searches for “liquor stores near me” reached record highs, according to Vox. Drizly, an alcohol delivery company, said it saw a 75.23% increase in sales on election night in the blue states and cities that it services. In Washington, D.C., for example, Drizly said sales rose 133%; in New York City, 110%; and in Los Angeles, 35%. In the red-leaning states, sales were only 33% higher. And in the swing states, sales went up by 54.84%.

Marijuana was also in high demand.

Eaze, a marijuana delivery service, said it saw a 17% increase in California deliveries on Election Day. Pre-rolled joints and vaporizers were the most frequently ordered products that day, the company said. Spokeswoman Elizabeth Ashford explained this likely meant “that consumers were looking for products that would provide faster onset effects.”

All of this suggests that people went into Election Day feeling anxious for one reason or another. And they looked to alcohol, marijuana, and comfort food for relief. When the networks called the

election for Biden, the preferred candidate of young people with disposable income, that caused the second wave of alcohol purchases.

“The overall mood was very good — a lot of relief, a lot of happy people, and a lot of joy,” Johnson said of the customers who visited his store to purchase celebratory Champagne. “A lot of customers would say they just felt lighter than they had felt in years. The whole weight of everything with the election was visible on people for weeks going in.”

—By Kaylee McGhee White

Biden's Moment of Truth

He ran to win. Now what?

By Joseph Simonson



Before his doomed 2008 presidential run, then-Sen. Joe Biden, following the unofficial candidate tradition, released a precampaign memoir, *Promises to Keep: On Life and Politics*.

The book recounts his childhood and his staggering 39 years in politics up to that point (by the end of his vice presidency, it was 47). In it, he explains away the plagiarism scandal that effectively ended his 1988 presidential run by saying his words *felt* “absolutely authentic.” At the very least, he learned a lesson: “You should not run for president because tactically you can win,” Biden writes. “The questions you have to ask are why you’re running for president and what will you do when you are presi-

dent. You shouldn’t run until you know the answers to those questions.”

Biden has run again for president, proving that a third time’s the charm, seemingly without really answering those questions. Democratic primary voters nominated him not because of any policy agenda or vision for the country, but because polling consistently showed he had the best shot at defeating President Trump.

Biden’s own campaign hammered this point almost daily for months, while rivals such as Sen. Bernie Sanders highlighted their healthcare reforms and tax plans. Tactics, to paraphrase his book, were central to Biden’s entire rationale for running.

To his campaign’s credit, Biden’s confidence in this strategy kept him coolly on-message. When the press were writing him off after his humiliating place-

ment in the Iowa caucuses, Biden’s wife turned to voters and laid out what this election was really about: beating Trump.

“I know that not all of you are committed to my husband, and I respect that, but I want you to think about your candidate, his or her electability, and who’s going to win this race,” she said in New Hampshire, just days before the state’s primary.

Voters found that message unconvincing at the time. Neither did it resonate in Nevada, where Biden hardly campaigned at all and earned just over 20% of the vote, compared to Sanders’s 46.8%. But Biden stayed on-message, knowing for all that Democratic voters spoke about racial justice, income inequality, and healthcare access, the most important thing was humiliating the president.

And as the race turned to his favor following the South Carolina primary, it

was not because of any eureka moment by voters who finally understood what Biden's America would look like. It was because he had proven his ability to win over black voters — a crucial constituency that is responsible for having put every Democrat in the White House for the last 20 years. Once that became clear, the rest of the Democratic Party's voters fell in line; Biden had passed the implicit test. Other candidates, namely Sanders, naively believed ideas would ultimately win out in the end over Democrats' simple desire to remove Trump from office.

Following that primary, former President Barack Obama swiftly sought to end any remaining debate about the future of the Democratic Party. He jumped on the phone with candidates such as Pete Buttigieg and Amy Klobuchar and explained why their path to the nomination was now closed. They'd have more leverage to get Cabinet positions if they dropped out now and endorsed Biden before the pivotal Super Tuesday primaries. And that's what they did.

With the nomination wrapped up, Biden's toughest days were presumably ahead. Not only were journalists who literally cheered for Sen. Elizabeth Warren during one Democratic debate from the press room now theoretically forced to turn their attention to an elderly man they believed to have insufficiently woke

racial sensibilities and no plan to eliminate all their college debt, he would be forced to create a meaningful contrast with a president who oversaw record-breaking unemployment numbers, rising wages, and no new wars.

But right around the time Biden's nomination seemed wrapped up, the medical and political communities finally began to accept the seriousness of the looming COVID-19 pandemic. That handed Biden a new argument as soon as the old one expired: He could now say he was running for president to rescue the country from a plague exacerbated by Trump's incompetence.

The pandemic had the added effect of giving Biden reason to run the campaign from his basement, meaning the average reporter covering his campaign could enjoy the libations at various three-star hotels in Wilmington, Delaware, with any semblance of a substantive policy debate vanishing.

Instead, Biden would be asked by the press what, in the face of thousands of people dying, he thinks the government's response says about Trump's soul or whether Biden was sufficiently angry at the president's supposed years-old remarks about deceased soldiers just remembered by anonymous sources. The traditional merging of the press and the Democratic nominee's campaign, this

time, meant a referendum not on policy but on "empathy."

Voters awarded Biden a comfortable popular victory on top of a substantial one in the Electoral College. To the extent one can trust exit polls, Biden's victory had little to do with just about anything he said or did on the campaign trail. Of the 71% of voters who said their vote constituted support for a specific candidate, just 46% said so for Biden, compared to 53% for Trump. Only 49% said they held a favorable opinion of Biden, with 43% saying the same for the president.

This dynamic was reflected in Biden's complete lack of coattails in down-ballot races, where voters dropped the "empathy question" and made sure to repudiate the policies pushed by the rest of Biden's party. At the Senate, House, and local levels, voters overwhelmingly rejected Democratic candidates, many of them incumbents, suggesting that the party paradoxically faces a more serious branding crisis than the GOP. Despite predictions from polling shamans, the Democratic margin in the House will shrink to its lowest level since the Obama administration. In private phone calls with Democratic leadership, lawmakers complained about the damage the defund-the-police movement has done to the party. Majority-minority California voted almost as a center-right state and struck down ballot initiatives to revitalize affirmative action and expand the franchise partially to 17-year-olds.

Despite the best efforts by Democrats to tie Trump to the Republican Party, voters appeared to know better. The GOP did not lose control of a single state legislature after Election Day and made gains in swing states such as Pennsylvania, Iowa, North Carolina, and New Hampshire. After hundreds of millions of dollars, often in dark money, flooded these local races from Democratic groups, the stain left by a summer of race riots did nothing to reassure voters that giving the Left local control of government was a good idea.

That brings us back to Biden's initial question of what exactly a candidate will do when he's elected president. To win a race, it seems the answer can be as easy as "the opposite of the other guy." And in a time of a deadly pandemic, that can sound pretty convincing. The problem for Biden is that voters seemed to send the message that they like a lot of what the GOP does as well.

When he enters office in January,



Biden supporters gather in front of the White House to celebrate several networks calling the race for him, Nov. 7, 2020.



Vice President-elect Kamala Harris joins Biden before the press in Delaware, Nov. 10, 2020

Biden seems unlikely to be able to deliver “the most progressive administration since FDR,” as he often promised weary Sanders supporters; neither, should Mitch McConnell have his way, will he be able to deliver one as liberal as Obama’s or even Bill Clinton’s, both of whom enjoyed unified government after winning their elections. Odds of statehood for Washington, D.C., and Puerto Rico have dropped precipitously, and Democrats could struggle to get a single appeals judge confirmed, forget stacking the Supreme Court, if the GOP retains control of the Senate.

“**Any fig leaf to the party’s most radical wing, such as making Bernie Sanders secretary of labor, is likely to remain a dream, even though Biden was warming to the idea as the election drew closer.**”

Any fig leaf to the party’s most radical wing, such as making Sanders secretary of labor, is likely to remain a dream, even though Biden was warming to the idea as the election drew closer. Despite his former boss’s ban on the practice, a preliminary list of Biden’s staff appointments includes at least 40 lobbyists. His future chief of staff, Ronald Klain, has enjoyed a rich career of bouncing back and forth between various Democratic administrations and campaigns, lobbying, and stints in finance.

One advantage of running a campaign based entirely on its utility in the general election is that it keeps expectations low. Deep down, progressives know they can’t truly feel betrayed when they see former Goldman Sachs partner and for-profit-college board member Gary Gensler as a leading candidate for running the Securities and Exchange Commission. Neither can run-of-the-mill liberals feel frustrated about gridlock in Congress after they insisted that only Biden the Pragmatic Centrist could win. In fact, they were more right than they knew: Nominating Biden not only didn’t spur a blue wave; it might have prevented a red wave.

The Biden campaign’s strategy of hiding running mate Kamala Harris appeared to have backfired when it came

to igniting enthusiasm for the ticket, instead doubling down on utility. On the one hand, Biden wanted to send the message that he was willing to elevate the progressive future of the Democratic Party, but he also made it clear in the face of mockery from Trump and other Republicans that he would be the one in charge. The California senator has held press conferences infrequently since her nomination. The only real way to get access to the future second-most powerful person in the world was to cough up thousands of dollars at a fundraiser. There remains little evidence that Harris was an electoral asset in any sense to Biden’s ticket, but her deep ties to the California Democratic millionaire class helped usher in the money to create the most expensive presidential campaign in history.

The public remains skeptical of the choice. Her favorability ratings on Election Day remained underwater, and Biden hardly let her speak that night or in the subsequent days when it became increasingly obvious they had won. Harris’s use, particularly as Biden will likely find himself at the mercy of Senate Republicans, has all but been spent.

There will be much to scrutinize Biden over in the years to come. Scandals related to his son, Hunter Biden, will likely find new life should the GOP keep the Senate. His plan to tackle the coronavirus pandemic no way substantively differs from Trump’s. The economy remains the most damaged since the Great Depression, and the Democratic Party sees either a cure in Obama-era technocratic liberalism or a cynical opportunity to usher in a new era of a massively expanding welfare state to compensate those who may never see their previous jobs come back. A bipartisan consensus has emerged against China, creating one of the most serious foreign policy challenges since the Cold War.

But now that House Democrats are weakened and Senate centrists empowered in a close-to-even upper chamber, Biden will have more decision-making power relative to his left flank than previously thought. So what will he do? He got away with leaving that question unanswered so far. Come January, that ceases to be an option. Joe Biden has been in public life for a half-century, and we’re about to find out why. ★

Joseph Simonson is a Washington Examiner political reporter.

Survey Says... Fix Polling

The industry must adapt or die, and the road back starts with remembering its purpose

By Kristen Soltis Anderson

The original sin of American polling came in 1936, when *Literary Digest* surveyed its readership and declared that Alf Landon would likely be the next president. Landon lost, and a year later, the magazine was no more. George Gallup, whose organization got that contest right, pioneered the world of random sampling in polls. But barely a decade later, his firm was also on the wrong side of the “Dewey Defeats Truman” upset, giving him the most famous black eye in all of polling history.

Polling has rarely been perfect, and in recent years, response rates have fallen to around 6%. Phone polling has become incredibly expensive, and while new methods such as online polling con-

tinue to evolve and improve, there is no single “gold standard” polling method these days.

President Trump’s victory over Hillary Clinton in 2016 put the polling industry in the hot seat. Four years later, we knew the polls had missed several targets by 9 p.m. on election night, when Florida scrambled the conventional expectations of the race. Frank Luntz, perhaps polling’s most famous face, declared that 2020’s even bigger polling flops mean the industry is “dead.”

But some of us, particularly many private pollsters, weren’t really surprised by the result of this election and don’t see it as a reason to give up.

For one, predicting the outcome of an election is less important than understanding what voters are thinking and feeling *in between* elections. Most can’t afford to hire a lobbyist and are too busy

raising a family and making ends meet to engage in political advocacy and activism. For these members of the public, polls are a way to make their voices heard by those who represent them in office. They’re a vital line of communication.

Which is precisely why I think fundamental change is both possible and necessary.

This year, the pandemic and the enormous rise in expected turnout added even more uncertainty, and smart observers had opened their minds to a wide range of possible outcomes, public polls notwithstanding. But simply saying, “Don’t trust the polls too much,” isn’t a satisfying answer to the very valid question of “What went wrong?”

The challenges facing polling are significant and, unlike in past years, aren’t explainable by any neat and tidy theory. For instance, in 2012, the polls missed

because pollsters failed to call enough cellphones. The solution? Add more cellphone respondents. In 2016, the polls were off due to missing voters without college degrees. The solution? Get your education mix right.

But this time, things aren't nearly so clear-cut.

Most efforts to create a unified theory of polling error in 2020 center on one phrase: "shy Trump voters." No one spoke more of this theory than pollster Robert Cahaly of the Trafalgar Group, who claimed he was getting to understand better those voters who weren't showing up in polls but showed up on Election Day. And he did come far closer to the mark than major media and university pollsters in key states such as Florida and Wisconsin did, and for that, he deserves credit.

But the quest to hunt for "shy Trump voters" also led Trafalgar's numbers astray in states such as Minnesota, where Trafalgar was further from the mark than most others, or Arizona and Pennsylvania, where its polling had the state breaking for Trump by a few points when the final results will likely yield no such thing.

The point is not to go after any individual pollster. This work is hard, and I have great respect for pollsters who are

“

Antipathy toward the polling industry has risen since 2016, particularly on the right, and so it is not unreasonable to think Trump voters would ignore pollsters.

brave enough to put their data out where it will be judged. And no public pollster this year gets to claim a perfect record (save the incomparable Ann Selzer, who projected a big Trump victory in Iowa and got a lot of grief in the process for going against the grain).

There is no simple, singular answer to what went wrong.

For starters, the idea that this is a Trump issue, that the president is a uniquely polarizing figure who scrambles pollsters' ability to do their jobs, doesn't explain why polls in Maine and

South Carolina were close to the mark on the presidential race but missed badly on Senate contests in those states, leading hopeful Democratic donors to pour millions of dollars into those races fruitlessly. Figuring out "shy Trump voters" is one thing, but figuring out "shy Susan Collins voters" may be a very different task.

Polling problems also aren't confined to one type of poll. If the online polls had succeeded and the cellphone polls had failed, perhaps we'd have an answer. But instead, a prominent online pollster such as Morning Consult predicted Joe Biden would win Florida by 6; prominent phone pollster Quinnipiac said Biden would win Florida by 5. Both expected Texas to be tied. Neither were even close.

And those failures aren't easily explainable by the problems we know both phone and online polls face as a result of their methodology — for example, the unrepresentative answers from those who are paid to take online surveys, and the phone polls that rely too much on respondents with landlines, who tend to be older.

The problems aren't confined to a single region, either. Deducing what went wrong in 2016 was easier because the polling



error was heavily concentrated in some demographically similar states of the upper Midwest. These states had higher proportions of white voters without college degrees whose economic fates were tied to issues such as manufacturing and outsourcing. This time, while public polling averages were pretty close in Georgia and Minnesota, they were catastrophically wrong in Florida and Wisconsin. This doesn't rule out the idea that there is a particular demographic group being systematically undercounted, but it does complicate the theory.

All of which brings us back to the concept of “shy Trump voters” as a catch-all explanation for what went awry. The challenge is that “shy Trump voter” can mean different things, each of which suggests a different prescription for pollsters who want to get it right.

The first iteration of the “shy Trump voter” theory is what we in the field call “nonresponse bias.” The idea is that there are people who are systematically sitting out polls, and that someone who is more inclined to vote for Trump may be less likely to take polls. While there was little evidence of this in 2016, I can say from personal experience that antipathy toward the polling industry has risen since then, particularly on the Right, and so it is not unreasonable to think Trump voters who are distrustful of the media and the “establishment” would ignore pollsters.

The inverse of this “nonresponse bias” issue could also be *too much* response from Democratic voters. Democratic analyst David Shor has proposed that the incandescent fury of liberal voters, combined with their phone availability thanks to the lockdowns, made

“**How would pollsters fix the non-response problem? First they would aim to boost response rates overall. How exactly to do that is the billion-dollar question that pollsters have been asking since long before the 2020 election.**”



But just how ‘shy’ were they?

them all too eager to respond to any poll that came their way. This would be less “shy Trump voters” and more “eager Biden voters.”

How would pollsters fix the nonresponse problem? First, they would aim to boost response rates overall. How exactly to do that is the billion-dollar question that pollsters have been asking since long before the 2020 election but takes on even greater urgency now that it is clear the 6% of people who take polls are no longer representative of the 94% who do not.

This may require conducting surveys that leverage multiple methods of reaching voters, to make it as easy and noninvasive as possible for a voter to participate in a poll. But it might also require pollsters to rely more on modeling so that voters who do not identify themselves as conservative or Republican but who are likely to be right-of-center aren't being systematically left out of polls. This will require abandoning certain sampling methods, such as the random dialing of phone numbers, and greater reliance on contacting voters off of high-quality voter lists so that pollsters can have a good idea of who is answering their survey — and who is *not*.

But if a “shy Trump voter” is instead someone who *takes* polls but is reluctant to confess conservative preferences, that raises a different problem. Rather than nonresponse bias or a response-rate problem or something that can be solved through weighting or smart analytics, this challenge requires a bit more art than science to solve. How can you ask questions that better suss out someone's underlying political leanings without

asking them the direct questions they might be trying to avoid answering?

There are some interesting data points that support this as at least a partial explanation of what happened to the polls in 2020. And the good news for pollsters is that with a little creativity, this issue might be solvable. In conversations with Republican pollsters the day before the election, I was struck by how many told me that voters who approve of Trump on the economy but are reluctant to support him on the ballot might give Trump a boost on Election Day — a prediction that seems to have been borne out by events and would suggest that the media should focus less on covering “the horse race” and do more to dig into the underlying views of the voters.

But there is also an element of this “shy Trump voter” problem that might be uniquely driven by the pandemic. Charles Franklin, the head of the Marquette University Law School Poll in Wisconsin, noted an interesting phenomenon in his polls this year, which was that voters who had not yet cast a ballot were largely willing to express who they intended to vote for, but that voters who had *already* cast a ballot were more likely to refuse to answer. Our norms around having a sacred secret ballot in America may mean people are much less comfortable sharing their vote once that vote has been cast. If early voting sticks around, pollsters will have to navigate better how to tease out voter preferences in an environment in which they may be less likely to reveal their own actions.

There are many things that could have gone wrong with the polls this year. Was the pandemic a factor? Our polarizing times? Increased mail-in and early voters? Some variation on “shy Trump voters” after all? The answer to “what went wrong” in polling may not be a single answer. It may be, to borrow a common poll response, “all of the above.”

But despite these challenges, polling is not dead. As our industry has done over the decades, we will take a hard look at the challenges and adapt. As long as we make sure we're guided by the fundamental goal of elevating voters' opinions into the public square, we'll find our way.★

Kristen Soltis Anderson is a political columnist for the Washington Examiner. She is the co-founder of Echelon Insights and regularly brings her pollster expertise to Fox News. She is the author of The Selfie Vote.

LAST YEAR OF THE ORIGINAL DESIGN!



Actual size is 40.6 mm

The End of an Era

**This U.S. Silver Dollar is the last of its kind...
and the U.S. Mint has stopped taking orders.
Collectors are going wild—don't miss this historic release!**

In 1986, President Ronald Reagan and the U.S. Mint introduced the American Eagle Silver Dollar Proof—pure, legal-tender U.S. Silver Dollars struck with incredibly crisp, frosty details and a blazing, mirror-like luster. These coins are now among the most widely-collected silver Proof coins on the planet.

In 2021, the “Silver Eagle Proof” will change forever. And it's caused an explosion in the collector market.

It Ends Where It Began

Ask any collector which U.S. Mint branch strikes the finest coins, and they'll say “the San Francisco Mint.” The “S-Mint” has a legacy of quality that reaches back to its origins during the California Gold Rush—a legacy that includes the very first Silver Eagle Proofs, struck in 1986. Though production has shifted to other branch mints over the years, this collector-favorite Proof coin has returned home for this historic “final” mintage.

History In the Making

Since 1986, this one-ounce, 99.9% fine U.S. Silver Dollar has featured Adolph Weinman's iconic Walking Liberty

obverse paired with a heraldic eagle reverse crafted by John Mercanti, 12th Chief Engraver of the U.S. Mint. In 2021, for the coin's 35th anniversary, the U.S. Mint has decided to introduce an all-new reverse, making this 2020 release the last-year-of-issue for the original design.

“Firsts” and “Lasts” are always a big deal in the collecting world, and that rule also applies to designs. So when the chance came to secure what is likely the final production run of individual Silver Eagle Proofs to feature the original design, struck at the very same mint that started the series, collector's didn't wait. They SWARMED!

200,000 In Just 3 Days!

Though a mintage of Silver Eagle Proofs was released earlier this year by the West Point Mint, *this* is the release collectors were waiting for: the final release of the original design, struck right where the series began in 1986. Demand was so intense for the final release of individual 2020 Silver Eagle Proofs that this one (and likely only) production run of 200,000 coins sold out on the mint's website in just three days!

This May Be Your ONLY Chance—Order Yours Now!

We've secured a limited number of 2020-S Silver Eagle Proofs for my customers. Each one of these stunning coins has been certified by Numismatic Guaranty Corporation (NGC), one of the world's leading third-party grading services, as near-flawless Proof-69 Ultra Cameo (PF69 UC) condition.

With this kind of demand, our limited inventory is going to sell out fast. Don't risk missing out—secure your 2020 near-flawless Silver Eagle Proofs now!

2020 One-Ounce Silver Eagle Proof
NGC PF69 UC - \$99 each + s/h

FREE SHIPPING on 2 or More!

Limited time only. Product total over \$149 before taxes (if any). Standard domestic shipping only. Not valid on previous purchases.

Call today toll-free for fastest service

1-888-201-7146

Offer Code LEP301-01
Please mention this code when you call.



GOVMINT.COM
THE BEST SOURCE FOR COINS WORLDWIDE

GovMint.com • 14101 Southcross Dr. W., Suite 175, Dept. LEP301-01 • Burnsville, MN 55337

GovMint.com® is a retail distributor of coin and currency issues and is not affiliated with the U.S. government. The collectible coin market is unregulated, highly speculative and involves risk. GovMint.com reserves the right to decline to consummate any sale, within its discretion, including due to pricing errors. Prices, facts, figures and populations deemed accurate as of the date of publication but may change significantly over time. All purchases are expressly conditioned upon your acceptance of GovMint.com's Terms and Conditions (www.govmint.com/terms-conditions or call 1-800-721-0320); to decline, return your purchase pursuant to GovMint.com's Return Policy. © 2020 GovMint.com. All rights reserved.

The Real Majority At 50

Relevant lessons on keeping political radicals at bay

By Kyle Sammin

Political tension is high. The major parties face a realignment, while the nation struggles with protests, riots, and rising crime. Democrats are divided over whether to embrace the new radical demands of an energized far-left faction or to keep to the traditional values of the coalition built by Franklin D. Roosevelt, which has sustained them for decades.

That was the American political scene in 1970, when Richard Scammon and Ben Wattenberg wrote *The Real Majority: An Extraordinary Examination of the American Electorate*. It is also the scene today, 50 years later. Scammon and Wattenberg's book was a bestseller and the best examination of the rising Silent Ma-

majority. Many in that majority were former Democrats, repelled by their ancestral party's growing radical fringe, who found a home in what would become Richard Nixon's vast supermajority in 1972.

As we assess the results of the 2020 elections, we find ourselves in a similar place. The Democrats face a repetition of their polarizing choices. *The Real Majority* is relevant again and has lessons for both parties, if they are willing to listen. Foremost among these: The radicals appear to have the energy and momentum, but elections are won and policy is made at the center.

Scammon and Wattenberg were both Democrats in 1970 and wrote the book as advice to their own party, but it proved more useful to the other side. Nixon had already begun to emphasize the Silent



“

***The Real Majority* is relevant again and has lessons for both parties — foremost among these: The radicals appear to have the energy and momentum, but elections are won and policy is made at the center.**



Above, police with clubs clear Chicago's Grant Park of leftists and anti-war demonstrators on Aug. 28, 1968, as the city hosted the Democratic National Convention; opposite, a button indicating support for Richard Nixon.

Majority theme by then, and *The Real Majority* fleshed out the idea with psephological rigor. The authors contended that the New Deal coalition was splintering, threatening the decadeslong dominance of the Democratic Party.

That resonated with Nixon. He was among the “me-too” Republicans of the 1950s who had made peace with FDR’s expansion of government rather than continue the increasingly futile effort to roll it back. Nixon, like Dwight Eisenhower before him, knew that votes and policy were made in the center, not at the hardcore edges of either ideology.

The New Deal, in the authors’ telling, was an economic shift but not a social one. Voters typically were more interested in economic issues then, and both parties organized their platforms accordingly. The culture was what it was, and if there were changes in it, they were largely out of the control of the politicians.

By the 1960s, that had begun to change. Some of the cultural shift had been brewing for a while. We think of the 1960s as the time when everything became different, but that probably reflects the contemporary bias of those who lived through that decade; many historians point to the

1910s and 1920s as the first Sexual Revolution, when Victorian-era customs about interaction between the sexes began to break down. Likewise, the hippies of the ‘60s were preceded by the beatniks of the ‘40s. In those days, though, the countercultural currents remained subcurrents of the American mainstream. In the second Sexual Revolution, they broke through to the surface.

Or, at least, they appeared to do so. Early counterculture centered on the rich and upper-middle class, but if the later version started there, it did not remain. Mass media, written and published by members of those same classes, projected the ideas they observed among their own as though they were becoming standard, the forefront of the new American culture. Many people did not recognize the country they saw on the evening news.

Vast cultural changes like this contributed to what Scammon and Wattenberg called “the Social Issue” that began to displace “the Economic Issue” in determining voters’ choices. Factors contributing to the prominence of the Social Issue included rising crime, increasing violence in protests, campus unrest and the counterculture there, a

reaction against more permissive social values, and concern about the course of the Vietnam War. None of these was in itself a massive change, but taken together, they added up to a disorienting shift in the average American’s world.

In the lifetimes of the authors and readers of *The Real Majority*, elections had not been fought on these lines. Taxes, tariffs, the gold standard, and other economic arguments had dominated the political landscape for decades. Perhaps this was because in a country (and a world) where most people were poor, jobs and money are paramount considerations. By 1970, many Americans had joined the middle class and were comfortable enough to consider less immediate worries. That trend continues today, when social issues often rise to the top of voters’ concerns. For people outside the college campuses and urban media bubble, though, economic issues still matter.

Race was no small factor in the rise of the Social Issue, but as Scammon and Wattenberg note, the major changes to the once-prevailing system of segregation in the South had already been made. “The racial question has always been with America,” they write, “but in the last decade there has been a sharp, yet apparently paradoxical change in the perceptions that white Americans have of black Americans.”

What that change boiled down to was that there was widespread acceptance, for the first time, of the civil rights acts that demanded people of all races be treated equally under the law. The sit-ins and school desegregation of the 1950s were winding down, and for many, that was good — and enough. The riots that came later, in Watts, Detroit, and elsewhere, provoked a more apprehensive response. The authors believed that “at the same time that white fear and resentment were growing, white attitudes toward civil rights for blacks were probably *liberalizing*.”

Now, as then, the loudest opinions are spinning out toward the extremes and are taken as representative of the whole country. We are constantly presented with an image of a world spinning out like William Butler Yeats’s widening gyre, where things fall apart and the center cannot hold. It looks like the second coming of the ‘60s, but observers today are missing the same thing they missed in Scammon and Wattenberg’s time: Even if anarchy is in the headlines, elections will be fought in the center, which is holding together just fine.

Consider the situation today, in which many marched in support for police reform after the death of George Floyd in Minneapolis in May of this year but opposed the riots and violence that followed the once-peaceful protests. Extremists on the Left call them racist for not embracing every new permutation of the so-called “anti-racist” agenda, while hardliners on the Right castigate them for giving in to *any* progressive demand. But this is the opinion of the vast center. David Shor, a liberal data scientist, tried to make this same point to his fellow lefties this year and was fired for it. But in 1970 or in 2020, that is the opinion of the center, and the center is where elections are decided.

To the extent there was backlash against the civil rights movement in 1968, it was concentrated in the independent candidacy of Alabama Gov. George Wallace. This is, perhaps, the biggest difference between then and now, but for all the time the authors spend on the question of Wallace, his threat to the two-party system faded soon after their book was published. Instead of forming a third party, voters used Wallace as a half-way point. For conservative Democrats, especially in the South, voting for Wallace was their entry into the post-Civil War order that the rest of the country had long endorsed. Their votes became ideological, and their ideology no longer had a home in the Democratic Party.

The far-left faction of the Democrats chalked up Wallace bolters’ motivation to racism and nothing more. And to be sure, many of them were motivated by precisely that. But Scammon and Wattenberg believed that there were other motivations as well. Asked whether they favored a return to “strict segregation,” 38% of Wallace voters said “yes.” These voters’ motivations have to be considered racist by any definition, as do the 11% of Nixon voters and 9% of Humphrey voters who answered the question affirmatively.

But on other questions, these voters were scattered along the left-right axis, as it is generally perceived. The authors note that Wallace voters were “to the *right* of Republicans on race, law and order, and big government — the Social Issues. But they [were] to the *left* of Republicans on the bread-and-butter Economic Issues.”

It is easy to see the parallels to today. Some of the Wallace voters had backward racial ideas, which caused members of their erstwhile party to paint them as all racist, to the exclusion of other motivations. But there is a through line of



An aerial view of burning stores along H Street in northeast Washington, D.C., on April 5, 1968, after looting following the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr.

socially conservative, economically liberal voters from Wallace to today’s working-class Democrats. The 2020 version of this voter must increasingly feel at home with the Republican Party of Donald Trump and Josh Hawley and repelled by a Democratic Party that turns on the Wall Street-Silicon Valley axis.

Scammon and Wattenberg described the question in terms that 2020 readers would understand immediately: “Under the banner of New Politics there is talk of forming a new coalition of the left, composed of the young, the black, the poor, the well educated, the socially alienated, minority groups, and intellectuals — while relegating Middle America and especially white union labor to the ranks of ‘racists.’” The authors believed this stratagem to be worse than electoral fool’s gold. “The march of the left-leaning Democrats must certainly yield up a prize of some new, even baser political non-metal; perhaps we might call it jack-ass pyrite,” they wrote.

But if there is any cry that is universal in politics, it is that “this time is different.” Those on the Left who believe it often cite some version of the “demographics is destiny” argument, saying that changes in the population mean that this time, at last, the radical coalition can win. But Scammon and Wattenberg anticipate this argument; indeed, they are the ones

who coined the phrase in the first place.

Modern Democrats have picked up on the triumphalist argument. In 2013, Ronald Brownstein renamed those under the banner of New Politics the “coalition of the ascendent.” But then, as now, the demography in question shows a vast center of the country that does not fall into one of these groups. Barack Obama was not elected as the vanguard of the new radicalism but rather because he was seen as a centrist, a conciliator, and distinctly not a representative of the radical Left. Despite a few gaffes of the “bitter clinger” nature, he worked hard to maintain that image.

Democrats who want to recreate the Obama coalition (itself formed from the remnants of the FDR coalition) would do well to remember that it included a great many people from the political center. Joe Biden appears to know this, which is why he consistently downplays radical ideas, such as the Green New Deal, and dissembles regarding others, such as court-packing. For every screaming socialist on Twitter, there are dozens of center-left, center-right, and center-center voters who are not crazy about Trump but will also not join in the full dismantling of the American system that radicals desire. But, as in 1970, the real beneficiary of the authors’ advice would seem to be their opponents.

How we select candidates has changed since 1968 and is now almost entirely a product of primary elections. Will the Democrats, whose base is increasingly enamored of socialism, continue to choose candidates who can compete for the center? In 2020, they have done so, largely through the votes of black Southerners whose opinions on social issues are closer to the center than the woke would-be ascendants. If they continue down this path, they will do what the 1972 party of George McGovern could not, but it will require snubbing the loudest, most active cohort in their electorate.

Republicans are also controlled by the primary voters, but in endorsing Trump, the new Republican base set the party on a nonideological course. Trump is not a centrist in the sense of one who unites the parties. In a polarized time, few are. His politics, on the other hand, do align with the socially conservative, fiscally liberal views held by independents for decades. His version of centrism is not nonideological but a reshuffled ideology, a combination of views that did not fit

entirely on the Right or Left in the old system. That is a centrism of a sort, and welcoming to a voting bloc that has been ignored by both parties for decades.

It was not enough, in 2020, to pull him over the finish line for a second time, though it came close. Along with the Economic Issue and the Social Issue, a new Temperament Issue motivates a great many voters, especially when one candidate's unusual temperament is so fully on display through social media. But ideologically, Trump may have laid a path that puts his party, if not himself, on the path toward dominating the center.

Whether either party can learn from *The Real Majority* depends on whether a party can even be said to learn at all, anymore. Because of how we select nominees, parties can only "listen" to advice if their voters listen to it. Temperamentally, if not politically, Biden is of the center, and Delaware was a swing state when he was first elected to public office. He may have even read *The Real Majority*, which was released that same year. Working with a Republican Senate may return him to his centrist roots.

But as the post-election recriminations bear out, some congressional Democrats in 2020 are blind to the problem, or else completely at the mercy of primary voters who show no interest in accommodating centrist voters. After losing seats in the House, House Majority Whip Jim Clyburn cautioned his caucus against radicalism, warning that if "we are going to run on Medicare for All, defund the police, socialized medicine, we're not going to win." Far-left members rejected the advice as loudly as ever.

Richard Scammon died in 2001, and Ben Wattenberg followed him in 2015. We cannot know their views on the 2020 election or its candidates. But both parties should consider the advice with which they closed their book: "We recommend to would-be leaders of the people that they trust the people and listen to the people before they lead the people. Listen to the center before leading the center."★

Kyle Sammin is a lawyer and writer from Pennsylvania and the co-host of the Conservative Minds podcast. Follow him on Twitter at @KyleSammin.

THEN AND NOW

Presidential Vices

Last week saw the first glimpses of Barack Obama's forthcoming memoir, titled *A Promised Land*, due out next month. Most passages trickling out are the self-congratulatory navel-gazing and partisan finger-pointing you'd imagine from the former president (who is now on his third memoir). Yet one I found very interesting: According to the CNN preview, Obama "writes, somewhat lightheartedly, about how the stress of the White House led to his bad tendencies, like smoking, noting that he would sometimes smoke eight or nine or ten cigarettes a day and look for a 'discreet location to grab an evening smoke.'" He says he later quit smoking after his daughter Malia disapproved.

While eight to 10 cigarettes per day is excessive, put me down as finding Obama slightly more likable for this. Whatever you think of it, such a habit certainly comes with the territory. Presidential vices are nearly as

emblematic of the office as the seal.

George Washington reportedly drank four glasses of fortified Madeira wine every afternoon, and John Adams had fermented hard cider with breakfast every morning. No. 7, Andrew Jackson, basically subsisted on gin exclusively for the last decades of his life, while No. 14, Franklin Pierce, earned himself the title "the hero of many a well-fought bottle." As author Brian Abrams documents in his book *Party Like a President: True Tales of Intoxication, Lechery, and Mischief From the Oval Office*, it's quite possible, if not likely, Andrew Johnson was three sheets to the wind after a few shots of whiskey when he gave his slurring inaugural speech for vice president in 1865.

Presidents have had other vices, of course. Taft was so rotund that he had a bigger bathtub installed in the White House. John Kennedy loved cheating on his wife even more than LBJ loved profanity and almost as much as Woodrow Wilson loved racism. Donald Trump, though a teetotaler, has a near-daily penchant for McDonald's,

a habit once shared by Bill Clinton.

Yet alcohol is the most common. Martin Van Buren drank so much that his friends dubbed him the "Blue Whiskey Van." He reportedly could go on a bender and still maintain a simulacrum of sobriety. Nevertheless, William Henry Harrison's successful 1840 presidential campaign had no trouble painting him as an alcoholic.

Harry Truman, like Adams, preferred a strong morning drink. Instead of hard cider, the Missourian started his day with an ounce of 100-proof Old Grand-Dad whiskey "to get the engine running." While by no means the heaviest drinking president, Truman famously loved bourbon. On April 12, 1945, Truman was sitting down to a glass of it with his good friend and drinking buddy, House Speaker Sam Rayburn, in the speaker's secret Capitol hideaway, when he got the call that FDR had died. The official story is he never got to take a sip before the phone rang. He put the phone down and exclaimed, "Jesus Christ and General Jackson!"

—By J. Grant Addison





Before and After

Incautious celebration in the time of coronavirus

By J. Grant Addison — Photos by Graeme Jennings

Most businesses and storefronts in our nation's capital were boarded up on Election Night for fear of riots and protests. Downtown D.C. has already been ravaged by eight months of coronavirus shutdowns and sporadic looting. Shutdown DC and other left-wing groups made clear that there would be more mayhem and violence if Trump was re-elected, which is hardly a surprise as many on the Left still don't accept his victory in 2016. But with a narrow Biden win, the city was spared. Instead of looting and

arson, elated liberals took to the streets to celebrate, forgoing social distancing and mask wearing and passing around champagne bottles for people to share. So it comes as little surprise that the celebrations closely correlated with a sharp uptick in coronavirus cases some days after Election Day. District officials, who have been warning against large gatherings and still have not opted to reopen schools, were largely silent on the potential "superspreader" event downtown. Mayor Muriel Bowser was nowhere to be seen, and she chose to exempt herself from her own travel restriction to Delaware to attend Biden's Wilmington celebration.



Doubling Down On Defeat

Democrats are struggling with the politics of a multiracial America

By Zaid Jilani

With President Trump all but certainly defeated in the presidential election, the mood is surprisingly somber among the nation's Democrats.

Retaking the White House was always only the first step in the ambitious Democratic battle plan to transform the political establishment, but it appears the party of the Left expected to be welcomed as liberators — receiving an enthusiastic embrace from the public, rather than divided government and a fuzzy mandate.

During the primaries, candidates spoke of enacting some form of true universal healthcare, establishing a \$15 minimum wage, embarking on a green jobs program, severely curtailing the use of fracking, eliminating student debt, es-



Spanberger: 'Don't say socialism ever!'

establishing tuition-free college, and much more. But it turned out that public support for the Republican Party was much stronger than the polling suggested. As of this writing, the GOP picked up seats in the House, wiping out a slate of Democratic centrists in swing districts, and is

in a strong position to keep the Senate. The party also expanded its reach in state legislatures ahead of crucial redistricting.

Democratic Virginia Rep. Abigail Spanberger, speaking to the House Democratic caucus, told her colleagues that Democratic calls to defund the police almost cost her the election in her Central Virginia district. She also implored her colleagues: "Don't say socialism ever again," likely an allusion to the GOP's strategy of tying everyone in the Democratic Party to Sen. Bernie Sanders and Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez.

Former Democratic presidential candidate Andrew Yang sounded similar warnings when he told a CNN panel that in the minds of many working-class voters, the "Democratic Party, unfortunately, has taken on this role of the coastal urban elites, who are more concerned about policing various cultural issues than improving their way of life that has been declining for years." Political sci-



Trump supporters shout as Vice President Mike Pence arrives at the vice-presidential debate in Salt Lake City, Oct. 7, 2020.

entist Michael Lind noted that exit polls showed that crime and public safety were top concerns for many voters who supported the Republicans.

Ocasio-Cortez was not sympathetic to critiques that Democrats went too far left on social and cultural issues. When former Missouri Democratic Sen. Claire McCaskill warned that these issues distracted from the party's economic message, Ocasio-Cortez took her to task.

“
2020 exit polls presented liberal elites with a truth they'd rather not hear: Black and Latino voters are not all the identitarian, far-Left caricatures they are often portrayed to be.

“Why do we listen to people who lost elections as if they are experts in winning elections?” she asked. She also ridiculed the low spending on Facebook by (winning) Democratic Rep. Conor Lamb, who held on to his Pennsylvania swing district.

The problem is that Ocasio-Cortez's district was ranked as D+29 in the 2017 Cook Partisan Voter Index, meaning that it was 29 percentage points more Democratic than the national average. Ocasio-Cortez's district isn't representative of the sort of territory Democrats need to hold in order to retain governing power in Congress — Lamb's is. In an interview with the *New York Times* following the election, Lamb expressed frustration at Ocasio-Cortez's insistence that the party adopt some positions that are politically toxic in moderate areas. He complained about her “tweeting out that fracking is bad in the middle of a presidential debate when we're trying to win western Pennsylvania — that's not being anything like a team player.”

One retort to the Yangs, Spanbergers, and Lambs of the world is that they're appealing to an older electorate. The rising electorate will be stridently left-wing,

in both cultural and economic beliefs, this argument goes.

But perhaps the biggest surprise, at least to political pundits, was that Trump actually expanded his base of minority voters; exit polls suggest that Trump did better with minorities than any Republican president in decades, making significant gains with black and Latino voters.

While these gains weren't enough to save his reelection hopes, they presented liberal elites with a truth they'd rather not hear: Black and Latino voters are not all the identitarian, far-Left caricatures they are often portrayed to be. Especially when it comes to social issues, many of them tend to be much more conservative than their white Democratic colleagues.

For instance, a majority of white Democrats said in one 2018 poll that they'd like to see immigration to the United States increased. Just 38% of minority Democrats and 32% of black Democrats agreed. American National Election Studies data found 83% of white Clinton voters said that increasing diversity has made the U.S. a better place; 46% of all Hispanic voters agreed.

Maybe you were shocked to learn that

in the most diverse state in America, California, voters rejected Proposition 16, which would've repealed the state's ban on racial discrimination and empowered authorities to use affirmative action policies in hiring and university admissions, by double digits. But I wasn't. National Pew polling shows that a majority of people in all ethnic groups think race should not be considered in college admissions. Yet it would be hard to know that if you took a look at the endorsements page for the referendum, which included both of the state's U.S. senators (one of whom is the next vice president), the state's governor, and a wide slew of California-based businesses including Twitter and Uber.

What all of this represents is a chasm between the multiracial population of the country and the Democratic Party. This isn't to argue that the Republican Party is perfectly in sync with the diverse electorate — the party did lose the presidential election, after all — but that neither major political party is.

This was not the plan. Demography was supposed to be destiny. As America becomes a browner nation, the Democratic Party was supposed to form a veritable electoral Voltron that an aging, white Republican Party can't compete with. Yet even with a leader like Trump, who was often impolitic with his language and abrasive toward people of other cultures, the GOP was able to capture a sizable chunk of minority voters, enough to ensure Texas and Florida weren't even close calls on election night.

“
As the country becomes more diverse and integrated, so does its politics. Over time, groups of people who are staunchly attached to one political persuasion naturally begin to open themselves to other ways of thinking about the world. This is a good thing.”



Bucking stereotypes in Los Angeles.

Far from strict voting along racial lines, this reality reveals that people vote along their social networks — that is, they are influenced by their friends, family, coworkers, and neighborhoods. As the country becomes more diverse and integrated, so does its politics. Over time, groups of people who are staunchly attached to one political persuasion naturally begin to open themselves to other ways of thinking about the world.

This is a *good thing*. We should be proud to live in a country that isn't just ethnically diverse but also ideologically diverse; nobody needs to be locked into one way of thinking about the world just because of his or her skin color. Contra the *New York Times*'s Charles Blow, who claimed with agony that “some people who have historically been oppressed will stand with their oppressors,” it's likely that many black and Latino voters supported Trump because wages went up under the mostly good economy he oversaw prior to the onset of COVID-19.

As Jose Mota, a former vice consul at the Dominican Republic in Philadelphia, told the *HuffPost* reporter Daniel Marans, “I never saw so many Dominicans telling me, ‘I am going to vote for the Republican.’ Many people say, ‘This guy, he's a bully, but I have

food on my table in [a] time of need.”

Therein lies the challenge for Democrats. It's simply not enough to call the other side racist or sexist and hope that every woman or nonwhite person will run to the polling booth to vote for you. Not everyone is as repelled by politically incorrect language as the post-graduate set that increasingly guides the elite liberal institutions in the U.S. While most people support some form of police reform and a pathway to citizenship for those in the country illegally, many want more policing of violent crime and decent border security, too.

This means Democrats have to be willing to meet minorities where they are, which is roughly in the middle. The Democratic agenda on issues such as increasing the minimum wage, improving college affordability, and expanding access to healthcare is quite popular; referring to Latinos as “Latinx,” asking whites to check their privilege, and defunding the police aren't. While Joe Biden tacked close enough to the center to avoid being defined solely by the far-Left, there is no doubt that via both cable news and social media, the Democratic Party is increasingly being characterized by niche cultural views espoused by college-educated elites. This cultural distance from the bulk of voters, many African Americans and Latinos among them, is one of, if not the biggest threats to securing a Democratic majority actually big enough to govern.

As the Trump years recede into the rearview mirror, the challenge for Democrats is avoiding the polarization that occurred under both the Obama and Trump administrations; only by winning the trust and support of a commanding majority can you govern with anything resembling consensus support.

On the other side of the aisle, there are signs of GOP candidates, such as Florida Gov. Ron DeSantis and Missouri Sen. Josh Hawley, who have shown they know how to tap into certain working-class populist themes without the boorish excesses of the current president. It would be the height of irony if the Democrats' inability to calibrate means the Republicans will be the ones who eventually reap the benefits of an increasingly diverse America. ★

Zaid Jilani is a Bridging Differences writing fellow at the University of California, Berkeley, Greater Good Science Center and a freelance journalist.

- ▶ Election 2020 P. 32
- ▶ Finance & Economics P. 34
- ▶ White House P. 36
- ▶ Congress P. 37
- ▶ National Security P. 38
- ▶ Energy & Environment P. 40
- ▶ Cybersecurity P. 42
- ▶ Transportation & Infrastructure P. 43
- ▶ Washington Secrets P. 44

Washington Briefing



ELECTIONS 2020

Two runoff races in one state will determine Senate control

All eyes on Georgia Jan. 5

By David M. Drucker

The schizophrenic Republican message in the race for two Georgia Senate seats has caught comedy writers' attention.

With the GOP majority on the line in a rare pair of runoff elections, Senate Republicans are blanketing Georgia with tens of millions of dollars and thousands of paid staff and volunteers in an aggressive bid to convince voters to pull the lever on Jan. 5 for first-term Sen. David Perdue and appointed Sen. Kelly Loeffler. Simultaneously, President Trump and his supporters, including Perdue and Loeffler, are claiming Georgia's voting system is rife with fraud. It cannot be trusted, they say, in an apparent effort to explain how President-elect Joe Biden became the first Democrat to win the state's Electoral College votes since 1992.

"On Jan. 5, vote for American values by casting your ballot for David Perdue and Kelly Loeffler in another totally rigged election. Your ballot will be turned into compost by corrupt Democratic poll workers who want to steal another election," declared the voice-over in a parody of a GOP campaign advertisement crafted by CBS's *The Late Show with Stephen Colbert*.

"So, remember to vote because a vote for Republicans is a vote that's a futile exercise thanks to socialist mailmen canceling your vote with ballots from dead people," the spoofed television spot continues. "The results won't matter because it's the most important election of our lifetimes. Hanging in the balance is control of the Senate, which Republicans need to check Joe Biden, who will never be inaugurated. Trump won the election by a lot of votes."

If you're confused, here's a primer:

Having garnered 14,056 votes more than Trump, Biden is poised to win Georgia's 16 electoral votes after an

unprecedented hand recount of ballots finishes this month or next. In that same Nov. 3 election, Perdue defeated Democratic challenger Jon Ossoff by 86,637 votes, and Loeffler finished 7 percentage points behind Democrat Raphael Warnock in a crowded special primary election held the same day. Neither Perdue nor Warnock received 50% of the vote, triggering January runoffs that might deliver Senate control to the Democrats.

But Trump claims the election was fraudulent, and Perdue and Loeffler, apparently agreeing, demanded Georgia's top elections official, Republican Secretary of State Brad Raffensperger, resign on the grounds he mismanaged the vote. Republican leaders in Washington, bolstering Trump's assertions, are declining to refer to Biden as president-elect. Perdue and Loeffler, plus the Republican senators and conservative groups parading through Georgia to campaign for them, are imploring voters to back the GOP nominees lest Democrats win the Senate and give Biden a blank check for socialist Armageddon.

Erick Erickson, a conservative writer and talk radio host in Macon, Georgia, said the conflicting message runs the risk of depressing Republican turnout. "There is going to be a segment of the base that thinks if Georgia is going to be stolen by Democrats when Republicans are in charge, why bother?" he said. "For those who internalize that, it's going to be a problem getting them motivated."

With all Senate races from the November elections settled except the two Georgia runoffs, Republicans hold 50 seats to the Democrats' 48.

The GOP can afford to lose one runoff, but a Democratic sweep on Jan. 5 would cede control of the chamber, based on Vice President-elect Kamala Harris's tiebreaking vote. This dynamic last occurred in 2001 after President



George W. Bush was inaugurated, with Republicans ruling a 50-50 Senate because of Vice President Dick Cheney's tiebreaker. A Republican senator switched party allegiances later that year, delivering the Democrats a one-seat majority for the remainder of the 107th Congress.

To hold the line in Georgia, Republicans and their allies are leaving nothing to chance.

The Club for Growth is investing \$10 million in the runoffs and leading what it dubs the "Save America" coalition of leading conservative groups in a coordinated effort to push Perdue and Loeffler over the finish line. The National Republican Senatorial Committee, the Senate GOP campaign arm, is even more engaged. The NRSC, in conjunction with the Perdue and Loeffler campaigns, plans to spend tens of millions of dollars more, with expendi-



tures on advertising plus robust field and data programs that include hundreds of ground troops and nearly two dozen regional field offices across the state.

And despite Trump's protestations about the outcome of the presidential election, the campaigns are running on a message that Democratic victories would eliminate the last line of defense in Washington for Republicans and the voters that support them. Senate Minority Leader Chuck Schumer of New York, who declared that "now, we take Georgia, then we change America," is figuring prominently in GOP talking points. Republicans are confident the pitch will be successful.

"There is a very real consequence to Democrats taking control of the U.S. Senate," NRSC spokesman Jesse Hunt said. "The only way they can do that, as Sen. Schumer so aptly put it, is if they

take Georgia."

Republicans have history on their side. The winner in round one of a November election for Senate tends to win the runoff. That is what happened in 2008 when then-Sen. Saxby Chambliss, a Republican, was forced into a runoff against Democrat Jim Martin. That bodes well for Perdue. What about Loeffler? The last time a Democratic presidential nominee won Georgia was 1992 when Bill Clinton won the state. That year, Republican Senate challenger Paul Coverdell finished second in the general election but went on to oust Democratic incumbent Wyche Fowler in the runoff. Also, turnout tends to be lower in runoff elections, which also benefits the Republican candidates in a year that smashed turnout records.

Still, after Biden topped Trump and Georgia emerged as a genuinely competitive battleground for the first

time in decades, Democrats like their chances. With the Republican message still muddled and Trump dominating the discussion on the right, Democrats are expressing confidence that running on coronavirus competency and protecting Obamacare will resonate with voters just like it did in the presidential race.

"While Republicans are forced to run on a toxic message of fighting against healthcare protections for 1.8 million Georgians with preexisting conditions and stalling on coronavirus relief, Georgia Democrats are focused on issues like expanding access to healthcare and making sure we have an economy that works for all Georgia families," said Alex Floyd, spokesman for the Georgia Democratic Party. ★

David M. Drucker is a political reporter for the Washington Examiner.

FINANCE & ECONOMICS

Senator-elect Roger Marshall hopes to work with Democrats on an infrastructure package

The Kansas Republican also wants to keep taxes and regulations down

By Nihal Krishan

Roger Marshall is the Republican senator-elect from Kansas, having been elected to succeed Sen. Pat Roberts in 2020. He has served as the representative for Kansas's 1st Congressional District since 2017.

Marshall is a physician who served in the Army Reserve for seven years and practiced medicine in Great Bend, Kansas, for more than 25 years. As an OB-GYN, Marshall delivered more than 5,000 babies. Marshall was also a business owner for 25 years. His family continues to have business interests in healthcare, agriculture, community banking, and the oil and gas industry.

As a fifth-generation child growing up on a farm in Butler County, Kansas, Marshall became the first in his family to attend college. He received his bachelor's degree from Kansas State University and received his medical doctorate from the University of Kansas.

Marshall, 60, lives in Great Bend with his wife, Laina. He has four children and two grandchildren.

The senator-elect spoke to the *Washington Examiner* about the 2020 election, the next coronavirus relief package, and what common ground he has with Democrats on economic issues.

Washington Examiner: First of all, I'm curious about your first thoughts and initial reactions on becoming a senator-elect and meeting some of your new colleagues yesterday.

Roger Marshall: Well, on the one hand, of course, we're just so honored, so excited. We've got some big boots to fill. At the same time, though, we're still waiting on the Georgia Senate seats to fill one way or the other, but I feel very optimistic about that, and then the challenges with the presidential election, so there's a lot of uncertainty out there today as well. So I'm frustrated that we're not hitting the ground, solving problems. And with all these pieces of uncertainty, it's really hard to move forward on something like, what does the next COVID relief package look like? So anyway, I'm running in my mind and just thinking about what to do next. I guess I'm not very good at stopping and celebrating.

Washington Examiner: The stimulus package that you just alluded to, how would you go about crafting it? And what would be your priorities?

Marshall: Based on talking to hundreds, maybe thousands of people in Kansas I visited with, No. 1 is liability protection. Whether you're a small-business owner or, you know, a superintendent of schools or school board member, we need liability protection. Next, we need another bite of the apple for some folks for the Paycheck Protection Program, the most successful federal program I've ever seen rolled out. We also need some type of gap stop money for unemployment insurance benefits, but I'm happy to say that the unemployment rate in Kansas is down to under 6% already. But

'We need more roads and bridges, better roads and bridges. We need high-speed internet, all those types of things in Kansas.'

the aerospace industry, hotels, restaurants, some of these industries are still hurting. So some of those folks still need some help with the Paycheck Protection Program and unemployment insurance for their employers.

Washington Examiner: So how much would you be willing to spend through a package?

Marshall: That \$500 billion number that Republicans have been talking about looks pretty good to me. I think that's a good number for me to start with. And the devil's in the details in terms of what's in the \$500 billion. But I ran a business before, and we all have a budget to stick to. And if I had to put down a budget number, that would be a good place to start.

Washington Examiner: That's a good place to start. So you are open to spending significantly more than that for coronavirus relief then?

Marshall: No, no, I'm not open to much more than that. You know I'm from the business world, not the government. So you know, \$500 billion, plus or minus 10%, something like that.

Washington Examiner: So it's safe to say that you're not much in support of helping state and local governments,



we need more roads and bridges, better roads and bridges. We need high-speed internet, all those types of things in Kansas. The challenge is how we're going to pay for it. And we're certainly ready and willing to have those discussions.

Washington Examiner: And any sort of amount that you think might be fitting, maybe a trillion dollars or a trillion and a half? And how would you pay for it?

Marshall: I don't have a number in mind. At the end of the day, I don't want to raise people's income taxes or the property taxes or all the things out there. I think it's going to have to be some type of a user fee. That would be the large chunk of it.

Washington Examiner: What do you think about our economy right now, in terms of whether you think it needs to be opened up any further than it is or that we're fine as is and we should kind of continue to a wait-and-see approach? Many conservative scholars and leaders have been pushing to reduce health restrictions and allow more commercial activity.

Marshall: I think that's a state-by-state, county-by-county decision, rather than the federal government being any more involved. Again, the vaccine will be a game changer, and I'm optimistic that we're going to see that going forward as well. I think that those decisions should be made at each local level. And it's hard to sit up here in D.C. and describe what should be happening in each state. We know the virus obviously attacks different parts of the country at different times of the year. So there's just no way in Washington [that] we should be trying to micromanage those types of decisions.

Washington Examiner: Anything else you would like to add regarding how we should be structuring the economy from your future perch in the Senate?

Marshall: My interest is in lower taxes and less regulations. So as long as we do those things, the American economy will take care of itself. ★

Nihal Krishan is a reporter for the Washington Examiner.

many of which are facing incredible shortages right now. That's not something that you're particularly open to?

Marshall: No, no, and no.

Washington Examiner: Any particular level of unemployment aid you're in support of? Like an additional \$300, \$400, or \$500 a week through the federal government?

Marshall: This last relief package amounted to paying people about \$25 an hour, and that's what [House Speaker Nancy] Pelosi still wants. And that was paying people more to stay at home than to go back to work. So I'd want maybe about half or two-thirds of what it was before, of the \$600 a week that we had.

Washington Examiner: What would you do that the first couple of priorities of yours that you think you could work with Democrats on when it comes to helping Americans in a financial or economic sense?

Marshall: Well, I think it starts with sound economic policy. Hopefully, they agree that by cutting taxes, we grew the economy, and by rolling back regulations, we grew things. So I hope that Democrats are committed to a strong economy with those same basic principles.

Washington Examiner: But I think we both know very well that Democrats are not going to be in favor of cutting taxes or pulling back regulations. Are there one or two areas where you do see an opening to maybe work with them and have some common middle ground?

Marshall: I think there is a middle ground on those issues. I don't expect them to cut taxes more, but I think they could keep the current tax cuts from the [2017 tax cut] in place and make those changes permanent rather than temporary. And I think we've got to really pay attention to these regulations. I was in the private sector when Dodd-Frank hit and when [Obamacare] hit and the Clean Water Rule and everything else. Those regulations just killed our Kansas economy. So I hope that they understand that and that we can maintain the status quo here. I think there's opportunities in environmental conservation and in some health-care opportunities and things like that.

Washington Examiner: And what about infrastructure? That's kind of a big one that a lot of folks in politics are saying could be the first big piece of legislation and obviously has huge economic ramifications.

Marshall: Yes, I do see that as a great bipartisan opportunity. And certainly,

WHITE HOUSE

Trump's legal long shot extends 2020 presidential contest

Court challenges are marred by the president and his supporters alleging unproven mass fraud

By W. James Antle III

President Trump's reelection campaign may be on the cusp of its first major legal victory: disqualifying a small number of mail-in ballots for first-time voters in Pennsylvania who were unable to confirm their identification by the required Nov. 9 deadline.

A court ruled last week that the commonwealth's Democratic secretary of state overstepped her authority when she instructed county officials to count such ballots as long as the voter ID requirements were met by Nov. 12, a different date than is listed in the statute.

These ballots were already segregated and uncounted, but the ruling could be a favorable sign that the Trump campaign may be able to challenge successfully all mail-in ballots received after the Election Day deadline set by the state legislature yet extended by the state Supreme Court due to the pandemic.

Still, that would only be 10,000 votes. Joe Biden leads in the state by more than 53,000 votes, which has led to the Democrat being declared the president-elect. Pennsylvania is not sufficient to changing that outcome for Trump, but without it, he has no viable path to a majority in the Electoral College.

This illustrates how difficult the task ahead is for Trump and his legal team. They are contesting the results in multiple states, with recounts coming in Georgia and possibly Wisconsin. They have filed lawsuits in Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin, Arizona, and Nevada. Many of these suits have failed.

Al Gore fought for 37 days to challenge the result in Florida and, by extension, the 2000 presidential race. But



that was a single state where fewer than 600 votes separated him from Republican opponent George W. Bush. The U.S. Supreme Court ultimately left that tally in place when it ruled against him in the controversial *Bush v. Gore* decision.

Trump needs to succeed in challenging the results in several states where he trails Biden by tens of thousands of votes. "The legal efforts are going absolutely nowhere, and I think Trump recognizes that deep down," said a Republican operative in Washington. "But on the surface, he needs to fight it for his base for a little while longer. He also has a couple of hardcore staffers who are telling him he can still win."

Supporters of the president, including former New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani and White House press secretary Kayleigh McEnany, have made more extensive fraud claims in public than the attorneys have in court. Trump has gone even further. He tweeted in all caps about unsubstantiated claims that Dominion voting machines deleted 2.7 million Trump votes nationwide, helping to swing Pennsylvania against him.

This may make the legal team's job

even more difficult. It also puts pressure on judges, including the three sitting justices Trump appointed to the Supreme Court, who might be inclined to side with the legal team on some legal or constitutional issues but don't want to be seen as serving partisan political ends.

But the optics of states showing Trump leads on election night, pausing counting, and then flipping to Biden once the count resumed has many rank-and-file Republicans concerned. Trump victory true believers are plentiful on the campaign's data team, the forecasts of which were closer in many battleground states than the public polling.

"I think Trump has to explore every legal angle and contest every vote that he can," said GOP strategist John Feehery. "Not just because he thought he won but also because his voters think he won. Transparency is about the only thing that will help the country to move forward."

One question that remains is at what point the challenges help people accept the result versus when they ensure they will never be accepted by one side of the political divide, as was the case in 1960, 2000, and 2016.

"The endgame is that he does exactly what he feels the Dems did to him for four years: delegitimize Biden as much as he can," said the operative. "I'm not sure if it works, but I think he wants to try to hurt Biden as he prepares to take office."

The "safe harbor" date for states to select their electors is Dec. 8, six days before the Electoral College is scheduled to meet. ★

W. James Antle III is the Washington Examiner's politics editor.

CONGRESS

‘The message wasn’t right’: Election losses leave stunned Democrats rethinking path forward

The blue wave never materialized

By Susan Ferrechio

House and Senate Democrats are rethinking their messaging after stunning losses on Nov. 3. Democrats returned to Congress this week chastened by the election results that fell far short of polling predictions. The party is now wondering if it is time to reform its message.

“The message wasn’t right, whatever it was,” Sen. Joe Manchin, a West Virginia Democrat, told the *Washington Examiner*.

Analysts predicted that Senate Democrats were likely to sweep into the majority by flipping as many as eight seats.

Instead, they won Republican seats in Arizona and Colorado and lost Alabama’s seat held by Democratic Sen. Doug Jones. Other Republicans, such as Sens. Lindsey Graham, Susan Collins, and Joni Ernst, easily won their reelection efforts despite polling that showed them behind or in tight races.

Democrats expanded their 47-member caucus by just one vote and will remain in the minority unless they can win two Senate seats up for grabs in two Georgia runoff elections.

Manchin and other Senate Democrats who long advocated for a centrist agenda that avoided pledges to eliminate the filibuster, implement the Green New Deal, or pack the Supreme Court, said the election shows that voters do not support a far-left agenda.

“I’ve always thought the electorate is more moderate,” Manchin told the *Washington Examiner*.

Asked about eliminating the filibuster,

which prominent party liberals called for ahead of the election, Manchin responded, “That’s crazy talk. Crazy talk.”

House Democrats are scheduled to return to the Capitol this week for the post-election “lame duck” session.

They’ll gather privately for leadership elections and likely a lot of self-reflection.

House Democrats performed particularly poorly on Election Day, failing to flip any seat defended by a GOP incumbent despite polling predictions to expand their majority by up to 15 seats.

They managed to win only three GOP seats left vacant in North Carolina and Georgia. Two wins in North Carolina were primarily the results of redistricting in favor of Democrats.

Republicans outperformed polls and have flipped eleven seats so far. They are on target for a net gain of at least eight seats, with many races still undecided.

If she is reelected to a fourth term with the gavel, House Speaker Nancy Pelosi is now poised to control the smallest majority since World War II.

Pelosi has yet to address the losses directly but told fellow Democrats and the media that Joe Biden’s victory marks a significant win and a mandate for the party.

But party centrists say the messaging to voters was hijacked by prominent members of the caucus’s far-left wing, including Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, who supports defunding the police, eliminating immigration enforcement officers, and implementing a dramatic climate change plan, the Green New Deal.

“The brand has been weak for a while,” Rep. Elissa Slotkin, a centrist Michigan Democrat, said on MNSBC. “And therefore, every two years, you can superimpose whatever is the most popular thing, and you are going to convince some people that is what all Democrats are about.”

The liberal wing of the Democratic caucus is fighting back against the charge.

The Sunrise Movement, Justice Democrats, and other liberal groups circulated a letter last week, doubling down on the liberal message and arguing that Democrats did not do enough to embrace their base and show they will work to raise wages, support Black Lives Matter, and implement a wealth tax, among other initiatives.

The groups attacked Pelosi over her April appearance on the *Late Late Show*. Pelosi conducted the interview from her San Francisco home while eating expensive ice cream in front of two costly freezers.

“When Democratic leaders make unforced errors like showing off two sub-zero freezers full of ice cream on national television or cozy up with Wall Street executives and corporate lobbyists while Trump tells voters we are the party of the swamp, it is not surprising that we lose,” the letter said. “We need a new generation of leadership grounded in a multiracial, working-class experience and background.”

So far, nobody is challenging Pelosi for the speaker’s job. Still, the head of the House Democratic campaign arm, Rep. Cheri Bustos, announced she’ll step down from her position after narrowly winning reelection to her Illinois seat.

Ocasio-Cortez defended the progressive agenda and said that slogans, including “Defund the Police,” came from activists, not the Democratic Party.

“The messaging hurt to the extent that it did because our operations and investments are not great, and it makes the party vulnerable,” Ocasio-Cortez said on Twitter. “The blind impulse to blame activists and the left both demoralizes a key constituency and distracts from asking real questions and fixing serious operational issues.” ★

Susan Ferrechio is chief congressional correspondent for the Washington Examiner.

NATIONAL SECURITY

The Biden doctrine: 'Goodbye, America First. Hello, multilateralism'

Biden can flip the switch on some policies, while others will take more time and effort

By Jamie McIntyre

One legacy of President Trump's "America First" foreign policy is the clear message to the rest of the world that no deal with the United States can be relied on once the president who made it is gone.

Trump spent his four years in office ripping up agreements made by several of his predecessors, most notably the 2015 Iran nuclear deal, which he called the "worst deal ever," negotiated by President Barack Obama and signed by six other world powers, including U.S. allies Germany, France, the United Kingdom, and the European Union.

Trump began his tenure by quickly exiting the Paris climate accord and ended it by notifying the World Health Organization the U.S. would withdraw from the body, which Trump blames for failing to confront Beijing over its handling of the coronavirus pandemic.

In between, Trump withdrew from the landmark Cold War-era Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty, which banned intermediate-range missiles from the nuclear arsenals of the U.S. and Russia; declined to extend the 2010 New START, which capped the number of nuclear warheads each country could deploy; and pulled out of the 1992 Open Skies Treaty, which allowed each country to overfly and photograph each other's military facilities.

Trump was also unhappy with NATO's plan, agreed to under Obama in 2014, for all member nations to boost their spending on defense over 10 years to at least 2% of gross domestic product

by 2024

Trump insisted on an accelerated plan, berating allies who have yet to meet the goal, and demanded Germany in particular meet the standard now.

And Trump blew up a long-standing cost-sharing agreement with South Korea, demanding a fivefold increase to \$5 billion, to cover the cost fully of keeping 28,500 U.S. troops deployed there.

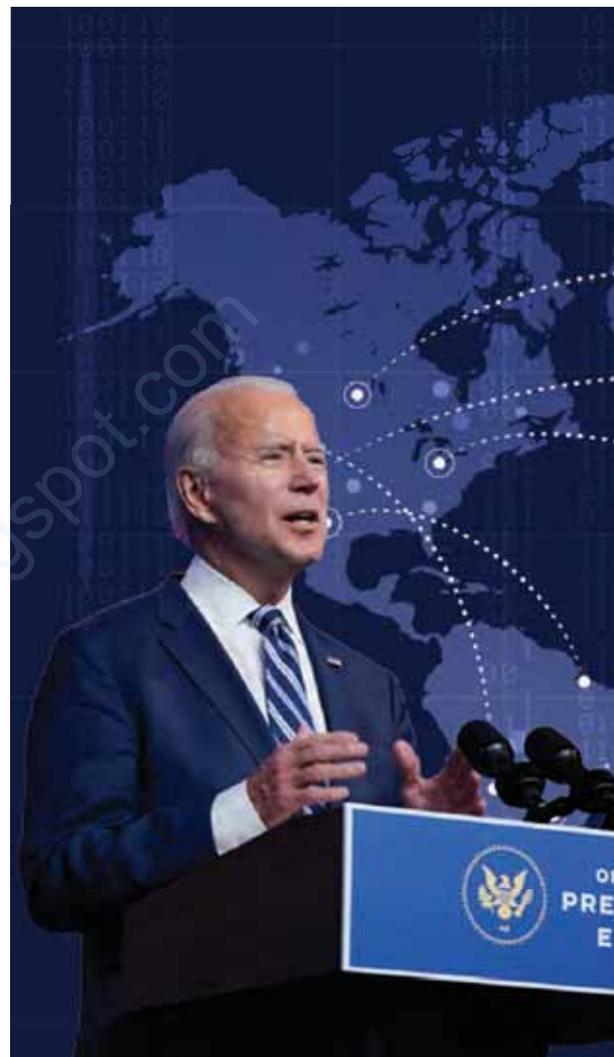
Things will be a lot different under President-elect Joe Biden, who will be pursuing a policy of "multilateralism," as the Democrats seek a return to a time when the U.S. quarreled less with its allies and more with its adversaries.

Some of Trump's policies can be quickly reversed by executive order, such as rejoining the Paris climate accord, which requires countries to meet largely voluntary goals they set for themselves to reduce greenhouse gases.

Biden can also accept Russia's offer to extend the New START automatically for five years when it expires in February while continuing to seek a more comprehensive agreement, as Trump's State Department has been doing.

The fractious two-year negotiations with South Korea will likely be settled quickly once Biden is in office, with the U.S. accepting a modest increase in compensation for U.S. military forces.

Other Trump policies will be trickier to reverse.



While U.S. allies are anxious for America to rejoin the Iran nuclear deal, Biden has indicated first that Iran must be in full compliance.

The International Atomic Energy Agency, the United Nations's nuclear watchdog, reports that Iran continues to increase its stockpile of low-enriched uranium far beyond the limits permitted under the deal

and to enrich it to a greater purity than permitted.

But even if it returns to compliance, Iran and other countries have to wonder if any deal with the U.S. would survive the next president, which could very well be Trump again in 2024.

Reaching a deal with North Korea to



Jamie McIntyre is the *Washington Examiner's* senior writer on national security. His morning newsletter, "Jamie McIntyre's Daily on Defense," is free by email subscription at dailyondefense.com.



abandon its nuclear program is similarly problematic.

Trump rejected the consensus assessment of the U.S. intelligence com-



Arab states such as Saudi Arabia will find a pragmatic ally looking to construct a coalition to put pressure on Iran but also one that will hold them to task on human rights.

–Adm. James Stavridis, a former supreme NATO commander

munity that Kim Jong Un will never give up his nuclear arsenal because it believes it is the only thing guaranteeing the survival of his regime.

Now, many national security experts talk about how to live with a nuclear North Korea, perhaps by negotiating a more limited agreement that would institute restrictions on delivery systems that could threaten the U.S.

Biden is sympathetic to Trump's desire to end forever wars, but, given the Taliban's flouting of its agreement to reduce violence in return for a full U.S. withdrawal from Afghanistan, Biden is likely to want to keep some 2,000 troops in the country for the time being to increase pressure for a peace agreement.

There's another argument for keeping at least a token presence in the

country.

If the U.S. leaves, so will all the other NATO nations that have been part of the international coalition helping the Afghan government battle the Taliban.

"We went into Afghanistan together, we will adjust together, and, when the time is right, when the conditions are met, we will leave together," said NATO Secretary-General Jens Stoltenberg last month.

Biden has surrounded himself with advisers from the Obama era, people he knows well and is comfortable with, including former Pentagon official Michele Flournoy, who is the odds-on favorite to be nominated as defense secretary, and Tony Blinken, former deputy secretary of state, who's a candidate for the top job. He has also chosen former U.N. ambassador and national security adviser Susan Rice and Delaware Sen. Chris Coons, who holds Biden's old Senate seat.

Biden's team is expected to focus more on human rights and political freedoms, especially with respect to Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the Uighurs.

"Arab states such as Saudi Arabia will find a pragmatic ally looking to construct a coalition to put pressure on Iran but also one that will hold them to task on human rights," said retired Adm. James Stavridis, a former supreme NATO commander, who predicted that Biden will not reverse the move of the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

"Allies and friends will be wary after four years of divisiveness and the policy of 'America First,' which at times trended toward 'America Alone,' as the administration withdrew from agreements, pulled back troops, and walked away from traditional methods of doing business," Stavridis wrote in a recent op-ed.

"A Biden administration won't make all of them happy on all issues," he said. "But nearly every one of them will welcome a change." ★

Jamie McIntyre is the senior writer on national security for the Washington Examiner.

ENERGY & ENVIRONMENT

Liberal climate activists challenge Biden to keep promises on personnel

Sheldon Whitehouse cautions against the use of litmus tests for appointees

By Josh Siegel

President-elect Joe Biden's choices on whom to appoint for cabinet positions and other personnel will be the first "real test" of whether he will deliver for liberal climate activists who were initially reluctant to back him in the campaign.

Liberal activists are keeping pressure on Biden not to appoint Obama-era centrists with ties to the oil and gas industry to his administration even as he faces the challenge of getting his appointees approved through a Senate run by Mitch McConnell if Republicans maintain control.

"This is the first real test if Biden is able to back up his rhetoric on climate," said Collin Rees, a senior campaigner with Oil Change International, an environmental group that advocates for keeping fossil fuels in the ground. "We want to refute this false narrative that just because the Senate might be in McConnell's hands means we need to roll over and instantly pick Republicans or corporate-friendly Democrats. It's really dangerous and self-defeating."

Liberals are urging Biden to make recess appointments or deploy the force of the Vacancies Act to get liberal officials in key positions if a GOP Senate proves too big a barrier. President Trump made "generous" use of the Vacancies Act, progressives say, which enabled him to install acting leaders of agencies without Senate confirmation.

"Progressives are not going to stifle themselves from criticizing fos-

sil fuel-friendly potential appointees just because some elements in Biden's camp might find the Constitution's recess appointment power or use of the Vacancies Act too provocative," said Jeff Hauser, founder and director of the Revolving Door Project.

The push by liberals, however, risks provoking a Democratic conflict over how far to go in combating climate change. Within hours of his victory, centrists argued that Biden owed his success to winning back swing voters in industrial Midwestern states and blamed liberal positions such as the "Green New Deal" and banning fracking for losing House seats in GOP-leaning districts.

Environmentalists and liberals, meanwhile, claimed that young voters delivered Biden a "climate mandate" and are threatening to turn on him if he doesn't deliver.

"Given the popular and decisive mandate we delivered, he has a responsibility to carry that forward and use every tool in his toolbox to make climate a top priority, which includes putting personnel who reflect that," said Lauren Maunus, legislative and advocacy manager for the Sunrise Movement, a group of young climate activists who helped inspire the Green New Deal.

Sen. Sheldon Whitehouse, a Rhode Island Democrat, told the *Washington Examiner* that it's "not going to be easy" for Biden to confirm a cabinet if Republicans control the Senate.

Whitehouse, however, warned that it's counterproductive to impose limits on the pool of talent who can provide counsel to Biden on a complex and technical issue such as climate change.

"Litmus tests are one of the ways we waste our own time and create circular firing squads and give aid and comfort to the fossil industry," Whitehouse said. "The question is: What's the agenda, and how hard are [personnel] fighting? Let's get it done."

Liberal activists say they've seen



positive signs from Biden since more than 100 groups, led by Oil Change U.S., the Sunrise Movement, 350.org, and Greenpeace demanded in a letter before the election that he ban fossil fuel executives, lobbyists, and representatives from working for him.

Last month, Biden's campaign released a transition team code of ethics that includes a ban on lobbyists, which seems to apply to people with ties to the oil and gas industry.

Rees and Hauser, along with other liberals, hope Biden deploys the same policy as president-elect.

“Progressives are being listened to like they were not in past two transitions, but it doesn't mean everything is rosy,” Hauser said.

Liberals are also mostly happy with Biden's picks for personnel volunteering on transition teams.

The teams, including those covering energy and environment agencies, are packed with Obama administration alumni, but they also include environmentalists, clean energy experts, and people of color.

“Joe Biden and Kamala Harris are true champions for climate action, clean

“Joe Biden and Kamala Harris are true champions for climate action, clean energy jobs, and environmental justice, and we are confident that their nominees will reflect the diversity of our country in all ways and advance our shared values and goals.”

—Tiernan Sittenfeld, senior vice president of government affairs at the League of Conservation Voters

energy jobs, and environmental justice, and we are confident that their nominees will reflect the diversity of our country in all ways and advance our shared values and goals,” said Tiernan Sittenfeld, senior vice president of government affairs at the League of Conservation Voters, a progressive environmental group.

Leading the transition team for the Department of Energy is Arun Majumdar, the first director of ARPA-E, the agency's advanced energy research hub. He is rumored to be on Biden's shortlist to lead the department.

The Interior team is led by Kevin Washburn, who served as assistant secretary of Indian affairs during the second term of the Obama administration.

Heading up the Environmental Protection Agency transition team is Patrice Simms, vice president of healthy communities at Earthjustice, which has spearheaded many of the legal challenges against the Trump administration's rollbacks of climate and environmental regulations.

Notably missing from the list is former Obama administration Energy Secretary Ernest Moniz, who has been the biggest target of liberal activists who want to block or limit his influence in a Biden administration because of his stance that natural gas should play a role in the clean energy transition.

Moniz is on the board of Southern Company, a utility that generates most of its power from natural gas.

Environmentalists and liberals also liked Biden's selection of Ron Klain as chief of staff, citing his experience helping Biden implement clean energy funding from the 2009 American Recovery Act.

But progressives are trying to keep out corporate-tied personnel from any position that could influence climate policy — not just the EPA and the Energy Department, but also the Treasury, the Office of Budget and Management, the National Economic Council, and more.

Rees and Hauser were disappointed

with Biden's choices for the OMB transition team, which include Brandon Belford of Lyft, Divya Kumaraiah of Airbnb, and Mark Schwartz of Amazon.

“The OMB Review Team is a huge corporate mess,” Rees said. “They've got the potential to throw up some serious roadblocks to a climate agenda across the board.”

They also criticized the inclusion of Bridget Dooling, a George Washington University professor who worked in the OMB's Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs during the administrations of former Presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama. That office has influence over regulations issued by environmental agencies.

“OMB determines the regulatory trajectory of the entire executive branch,” Hauser said. “Under Obama, strong EPA administrators were rendered ineffectual by corporate captured personnel in OIRA.”

In addition to demanding that he focus all agencies on climate, liberal groups such as the Sunrise Movement have urged Biden to create a new White House Office of Climate Mobilization that would report directly to the president and coordinate the federal government's response to the issue.

Jeff Navin, a former acting chief of staff at the Energy Department during the Obama administration, said Biden would balance appointing personnel with prior federal experience with people bringing “new perspectives and ideas to the table.”

“This will be Joe Biden's government, not Barack Obama's third term. But Biden is going to be able to bring people back into the government who know how the system works and can hit the ground running on Day One,” said Navin, who is now a partner at Boundary Stone Partners, a government affairs and communications firm. ★

Josh Siegel is an energy & environment reporter for the Washington Examiner.

 "Daily on Energy" is a morning newsletter written by Washington Examiner energy and environment writer Josh Siegel and Abby Smith. Subscribe for free at newsletters.washingtonexaminer.com.

CYBERSECURITY

Emails alleging election interference spread malware

Cybercriminals use emotional reaction to the 2020 election to lure victims

By Grant Gross



Cybersecurity experts say cybercriminals are spreading malware through email spam that alleges interference in the recent U.S. election.

Cybersecurity vendor Malwarebytes Labs reports the spammers are sending out emails with attachments containing QBot, a decade-old banking Trojan that collects browsing data and steals banking and financial information from victims.

“At the core of the malware attacks we witness each day are typical social engineering schemes,” Malwarebytes wrote. “World events such as the COVID pandemic or the U.S. elections provide ideal material to craft effective schemes resulting in high infection ratios.”

The malicious emails typically are disguised as replies to existing threads and contain a zipped file that appears to be a DocuSign file but is an Excel spreadsheet containing malware, the company said.

In addition to infecting the victim who downloaded the attachment in the spam email, QBot can also hijack the victim’s email threads and infect others, said Rag-

nar Sigurdsson, CEO and co-founder of AwareGO, a security training firm. As the malware spreads through email threads, recipients are “tricked into thinking that a legitimate conversation is being continued.”

Criminals use controversial events such as the U.S. election to prey on victims eager to reinforce their beliefs, other cybersecurity experts said.

“We are more inclined to open emails and click on links in them if they promise us information that could be valuable or important to us,” Sigurdsson told the *Washington Examiner*. “The stakes are high with the U.S. elections and their results; people are desperate for news no matter how they voted.”

The potential good news is that this scheme is limited in scope, said Kacey Clark, a threat researcher at digital risk firm Digital Shadows.

“This campaign maintains geopolitical parameters, limiting potential targets,” Clark told the *Washington Examiner*. “In contrast, COVID-19 affected worldwide populations, and phishing campaigns that leveraged COVID-19-

themed lures carried a much wider target audience.”

As the election gets resolved, criminals will move on to other schemes, Clark added. “The United States presidential election is a heavy-hitting topic right now; however, cybercriminals will likely exploit the next large-scale event, such as Brexit, for example, while conducting future campaigns,” she said.

Nevertheless, computer users should be careful with emails related to world events, cybersecurity experts said. “The best way to stay safe is to trust no email, ever,” Sigurdsson said. “Always be suspicious. Even if it comes from a known sender and is a part of an ongoing email conversation.”

Avoid clicking on links or attachments in these emails, he added.

Especially with emails about current events, recipients should double-check the sender’s identity, added Chloe Messdaggi, vice president of strategy at Point3 Security.

“It’s so important for everyone to double-check every little detail, beginning with the sender’s details. It’s so easily done,” she said.

Some popular email environments show the sender’s actual address automatically. Others allow recipients to check by clicking on the sender’s name. “This simple step sounds obvious to those in the know, but it’s amazing how many either don’t know or don’t take this important first step,” she said. “Unfortunately, this clever approach first appears disguised as a response to an ongoing chain, which helps establish trust by fooling recipients into believing they’ve talked with the sender before.”

Recipients should click on the “from” field before opening these kinds of emails, she suggested.

If an email says “hi” or dives into the topic without using the recipient’s name, that should raise suspicions, she added. Emails with purported DocuSign attachments are sketchy right now, and “any link that takes you to an Excel sheet is not legit.” ★

Grant Gross is a contributor for the Washington Examiner.

TRANSPORTATION & INFRASTRUCTURE

Public transit ballot initiatives did well on Election Day, but not in Portland

The bastion of progressivism and renewable energy soundly rejected a new tax

By Jeremy Lott

In the Nov. 3 elections, voters surprised infrastructure experts by passing the vast majority of local public transportation funding items put before them. The big exception to that was voters in Oregon's Metro district. They voted against a payroll tax to pay for infrastructure improvements, including a MAX light rail extension.

Voters in the Metro district, which includes Clackamas, Multnomah, and Washington counties, rejected the "Get Moving 2020" measure, 58% to 42%. The vote in Portland was closer but still against the measure, 54% to 46%.

The failed measure would have created a new 0.75% payroll tax on businesses with 26 or more employees to fund an extension of the light rail to the city of Tualatin, the construction of a new bridge over the Clackamas River, the conversion of public transportation buses to run on electricity, more street lights, and free bus and MAX fares for minors, among other things.

Romic Aevaz is a policy analyst at the Eno Center for Transportation in Washington, D.C. He told the *Washington Examiner* that transportation measures fared "extremely well" overall.

"There was some uncertainty over whether these measures would fare differently this year, given the pandemic, but these margins show that voters were, by and large, supportive of transit investments and willing to tax themselves to pay for major expansions and operational expenses over the long term," he said.

Aevaz called the Metro-Portland vote



Portland MAX Light Rail

the "notable exception." He speculated that a left-right peel-off was responsible for its defeat.

"I suspect that pushback and opposition campaigns from big business over the new payroll tax and their claims that it would impact hiring may have played a role. My understanding is that there was also pushback among some otherwise progressive pro-transit voices over whether the measure went far enough, was too car-centric in its approach, or whether the proposed light rail line was a worthwhile alignment. I can't say whether it was the big business pushback or the pushback about the merits of the measure that played the largest role, but I think these two dynamics likely played a combined role in the defeat," Aevaz said.

Vlad Yurlov is a policy analyst with the Portland-based Cascade Policy Institute. He said he believes the problem was not with the opposition but with the measure itself. "Get Moving 2020 failed because it was based on spending \$2 billion on extending a light rail line that has continuously failed expectations. Meanwhile,

only 3% of the measure supported necessary traffic congestion relief," Yurlov told the *Washington Examiner*.

"Residents and businesses that regularly supported transportation improvements stood up to a measure that not only demanded another payroll tax but didn't serve their needs," he added.

The *Washington Examiner* reached out to several locals to ask why they voted the way they did on the measure.

Paul Willenberg is an online sake retailer in Portland. He opposed the transportation measure.

"I voted no because taxing businesses results in lower wages for employees and higher unemployment rates, which would likely outweigh infrastructure benefits. I also feel like, with taxes as high as they are in Oregon, they could just use the money they already have if this were important. Another red flag was the union support," Willenberg explained.

Lee Penn is a retired journalist and computer consultant in Portland who describes himself politically as "not affiliated with either of the major parties." He voted against the measure because "the local papers and some other sources I trust recommended against it. Their impression is that the transit measure would lead to open-ended, poorly directed spending."

"In other words, the issue was lack of oversight," he added.

Penn told the *Washington Examiner* that he is wary of "piling taxes on taxes and debt on debt," and he suspects that "many voters shared these concerns." But he also pointed out that "Portland voted for an expansive preschool program to be financed by soaking the rich" on the same ballot.

The "Preschool for All" measure, which passed, charges Portland and Multnomah County with building a new preschool system that will be funded by an additional 1.5% income tax on individuals making over \$125,000 a year and households making over \$200,000 a year. It charges another 1.5% for individuals making at least \$250,000 a year and for households making at least \$400,000 a year. ★

Jeremy Lott is a contributor for the *Washington Examiner*.

BEDARD

Washington Secrets



Sharyl Attkisson: Media plotted to destroy Trump

The national media has been on a long path of replacing straight news with a biased liberal narrative pushed by executives and TV anchors, but it came to a crescendo with President Trump, according to an award-winning journalist.

Once eager to live up to straight-reporting Walter Cronkite's "That's the way it is" motto, former CBS investigative journalist Sharyl Attkisson said that ethical and bias standards have been junked in the media's war on Trump, led by CNN and the *New York Times*.

"Today, things are different. The media have unsheathed all their daggers to destroy Donald Trump," she wrote in her upcoming book, *Slanted: How the News Media Taught Us to Love Censorship and Hate Journalism*.

In her book from HarperCollins Publishers, due for a Thanksgiving week release, Attkisson charts what many in the industry have seen going back to the Reagan administration, a growing urge by news executives and eventually reporters to push a liberal bias.

She reveals several cases at CBS when her stories were killed or watered down because they were not negative enough about Republicans. She highlighted a recording of a *New York Times* staff meeting where an anti-Trump campaign was put into place. And she demonstrated several examples of media hypocrisy in covering Trump vs. Democrats.

Attkisson, herself a former White

House reporter, charted the dozens of "mistakes" the press corps has used to beat Trump up and led the president to accuse the media repeatedly of "fake news." She included the list in the book, provided in advance to Secrets.

Just reporting a straight story on Trump, she said, has brought criticism. "Since mid-2015, the dominant press narrative has been decidedly anti-Trump, so much so that if an independent reporter remains objective and takes no particular personal position on Trump, that reporter is accused of being pro-Trump," she penned.

Spinning the narrative of a biased storyline has become the rule, and it has become obvious in the coverage of Trump and the 2020 presidential race.

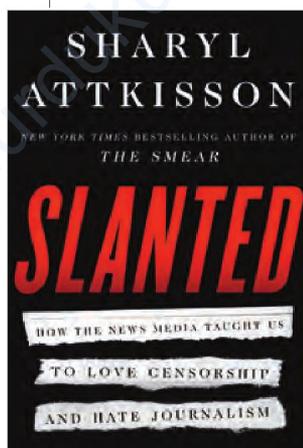
For example, she wrote about how the media covers verbal flubs by the

president and Joe Biden. When Trump messes up, it is a "lie" to be added to the media's long list of them. When Biden appears confused, it's a gaffe.

"So, although it is a legitimate pursuit for the press to examine and call out false statements by political figures, we destroy our own credibility by not treating similar false statements equally. Contrast Biden's 'gaffes' with what is said about Trump. Biden is a 'gaffe machine'; Trump is a 'congenital liar,'" she wrote.

And in the case of some outlets, notably CNN, she said, it may be impossible to return to a neutral tone because that audience is gone.

"Walter Cronkite would roll over in his grave," one of CNN's original anchors, Lou Waters, told Attkisson, who also worked for CNN and is now



Former CBS investigative journalist, Sharyl Attkisson

the anchor of Sinclair's Sunday morning TV program *Full Measure with Sharyl Attkisson*.

"I can't watch CNN," he added.

Overall, Attkisson isn't hopeful for the future. While she said that there are many straight news reporters still working, the trend favors the biased kind.

"A new breed of reporter is dominant at many news organizations: the kind who think it is their job to convince you to believe whatever they personally believe, the kind who don't look for original stories, seek out research, or open their minds to opposing views. They are the kind that spin the news according to what they want you to think. They ignore facts that contradict their story line. They get their ideas from other reporters, quasi-news media, PR firms, political operatives, and talking points pushed out by special interests. In other words, their sources are those in the business of pushing narratives," she wrote. ★

Slow start on Trump Presidential Library



It is typically a second-term chore, and certainly, President Trump pushed it off during the reelection fight and coronavirus battle.

But now that it appears Joe Biden will be moving into the White House, Trump's team has to turn to funding the construction of the Donald J. Trump Presidential Library.

Fundraising will be key and the library, required by law, and

accompanying museum could cost \$700 million or more. Former President Barack Obama's, in Chicago, is expected to cost \$500 million, and former President George W. Bush's in Dallas cost \$250 million.

Trump's key fundraisers, however, said that they are not seeking money for the effort yet as they raise cash for ballot fights in several states.

Then there is the location. Trump has said he is looking at several, including his own properties, but it is unclear if there is a final choice. At this stage of his one-term presidency, former President George H.W. Bush had already picked Texas A&M in College Station.

While colleges and universities, typically linked to the libraries, are not clamoring for the Trump library, Republican New York City Councilman Joe Borelli has urged the president to pick Staten Island. Trump won it in 2016 and carried 62% of the vote there in this month's election. ★

ON DEEP BACKGROUND

★ One of the hottest social media accounts for Washington insiders is Room Rater on Twitter, @ratemyskyperoom. The account judges the backgrounds on Zoom calls. For former Obama deputy chief of staff **Jim Messina**,

it graded a 4 out of 10 and said his looked like a "near hostage video." Virginia Sen. **Tim Kaine** was downgraded to 7/10 because electric cords were showing. GOP strategist **Ron Bonjean** did better, 8/10, for having "great depth." Sometimes,

politics gets the best of the account. Democratic Sen. **Amy Klobuchar** sat in front of a standard bookshelf but won 10/10 and this comment: "Well presented bookwall. Good mix of books/objects/shapes. Standing with truth, justice and democracy." ... ★ Just like the push by conservative pundits to get people to switch from Twitter to Parler, there's a new effort to get Facebook users to switch to CloutHub, which calls itself the "free speech alternative to Facebook, Twitter & Youtube." ... ★ The House Democratic Blue Dog Coalition feels it will play a bigger role in a Biden administration. Up against a Senate GOP wall, they feel their centrist approach

will be needed to help tone down liberal Speaker **Nancy Pelosi's** demands enough to win a bipartisan majority in the Senate. ... ★ Secretary of State **Mike Pompeo** spoke at the inaugural opening of the new Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation and Institute two blocks from the White House, giving a speech on how President Trump has embraced the Gipper's message of "peace through strength." But it was his socks, showing toy soldiers, that put an exclamation mark on his address. "You are the embodiment of peace through strength with your socks, being a foot soldier," said Institute Director **Roger Zakheim** as Pompeo laughed. ★



Ron Bonjean's Zoom

Business



SUBURBAN OFFICE TREND

Commercial real estate in tailspin from pandemic

Avoidance of crowds and more people working from home sharply reduced demand

By Jay Heflin

The pandemic threw commercial real estate into a tailspin last spring as employees and their bosses abandoned offices to work from home and retailers shuttered their stores to slow the spread of the coronavirus. More than eight months have passed, and much of the sector is struggling to

recover.

Cities have been hit particularly hard. “We have seen significant impact in major markets that have high density. Large companies have sat relatively empty since March,” said Edward Mermelstein, founder and CEO of the real estate firm One & Only Holdings.

Only 8% of workplaces in large met-

ropolitan areas expect to reopen before the end of the year, and another 35% have no timeline to reopen, according to a Conference Board survey conducted in late August.

Marina Vaamonde, founder of PropertyCashin, told the *Washington Examiner* that metropolitan areas might be forever changed by the pandemic.

“Downtown will no longer be the center of town as we know it,” she said in an email. “The decreased amount of traffic in and out of downtown will have a devastating effect on the business located in the area.”

Linda Foggie, a senior vice president at Turner & Townsend, a professional services firm specializing in the commercial real estate sector, said the pandemic will reshape metropolitan regions as companies relocate to less populated areas.



“What we might start to see is a spreading out, what we call sometimes the hub-and-spoke model. Sometimes, people refer to it as the suburban office,” she said. “What I mean by that is demand for a big office in the center of a major city with a thousand people in one building, maybe the day for that will pass.”

Still, the tumult facing commercial real estate is not limited to big cities. It’s happening in the suburbs, too.

Shopping malls, many of which are located in the suburbs, could lose more than half of their anchor stores by the end of next year as people shop online to avoid crowded stores.

Gary Beasley, CEO and co-founder of real estate firm Roofstock, said he expects that roughly 20% of the workforce will continue to work from home, at least part time, after the pandemic passes.

Roughly 5% did so before the virus hit.

The increase in remote workers has put downward pressure on rents for commercial real estate because less space is required to house a smaller number of employees.

“Landlords are in deal-making mode and more about retaining occupancy than maximizing rent,” Beasley said.

Property owners are negotiating all aspects of rent concessions, from rent reduction to rent forgiveness, Mermelstein said.

The pandemic hit the consumer-facing subsectors of commercial real estate the hardest, according to Matt Frankel, a certified financial planner and senior real estate analyst for Millionacres, a Motley Fool service.

“Retail is an obvious example, and hotels and entertainment properties have also been among the most affected,” he said.

Entertainment properties, such as movie theaters, have taken a tremendous hit since the pandemic began.

AMC movie theaters last month announced that it could run out of cash by the end of the year.

Frankel said that one movie theater operator modified its leases to reduce its rent but increase the length. So the tenant eased its monthly payment but is locked into a longer agreement.

“There are certainly an elevated amount of rent concessions taking place right now, but in many cases, it’s designed to benefit both the landlord and tenant,” he said.

Still, some companies with leases that are about to end are choosing not to renew them, according to Mermelstein.

“Offices have remained relatively empty, and many tenants have given back keys,” he said.

Vaamonde warned that landlords could face a dire consequence if they can’t fill their vacancies.

“As it stands, a number of office buildings will continue to be tenantless for the foreseeable future. As time goes by, property owners [could] ... find themselves in foreclosure,” she said.

The value for commercial real estate has already been written down by an

average of 27%, according to a report by Wells Fargo.

“It’s a big number,” Lea Overby, a Wells Fargo analyst, told the *Financial Times*. “This is material.”

Write-downs are due to appraisals being done because commercial property owners are having trouble making their mortgage payments and need a new loan to cover expenses.

Others seek to sell their properties.

Vaamonde said that her firm has seen purchased properties in Dallas, Texas, Cleveland, Ohio, and Charlotte, North Carolina, go for 60 cents on the dollar.

“As distressed sellers of commercial real estate hit the market, there is an enormous upside to scooping up the deals,” she said.

As companies close, Foggie said she expects the ones surviving will merge to avoid a similar fate.

“As the recession deepens, some companies will not be able to survive. As those companies fall out, you may start to see some consolidation in certain industries, mergers and acquisitions,” she said.

Other owners might seek to repurpose their property, according to Deryl McKissack, CEO of McKissack & McKissack, the nation’s largest and oldest African American and female-owned architecture, engineering, and construction management firm, which is located in Washington, D.C.

McKissack said that adaptive reuse was already a big trend in commercial real estate, but now, many office buildings may become residential because people are doing all their living and working at home.

“This trend is here to stay because people like this flexibility,” she said.

Still, landlords take a hit going this route because residential rents are lower than commercial rents. To close that gap, some owners have transformed office space into luxury condos and charged more for rent.

“That works if they are in highly desirable locations,” McKissack said. ★

Jay Heflin is business editor for the Washington Examiner.

MOORE

Why the media trashes Trump's superrecovery

Let's be honest: The Democrats and the media want the economy to crash before Joe Biden enters the White House in January. They have been rooting against the economy for four years now.

The problem is the economy isn't crashing and burning — just the opposite. The pandemic lockdowns flattened the economy earlier this year, and there's lots of heavy lifting to do to get all the jobs back. But they are coming back, and Trump will be bequeathing to Biden the swiftest recovery from a deep recession in modern history. The last quarter came in at a record 33% growth.

The jobs report released earlier this month recorded nearly 1 million more private sector jobs added to the economy. That means 12 million new hires in some six months. Nine months into a pandemic, and this superhero performance on Trump's economy has the un-



employment rate down to 6.9%. That's half of what the Congressional Budget Office predicted.

How good is this? It took six months to get unemployment below 7% under Trump. It took Obama-Biden almost six years to do that.

There are now 6 million unfilled jobs in America. That's more than at any time during the entire eight years Obama was president. The small-business confidence level is higher today than from 2009-16, the supposedly prosperous years when Biden managed

the anemic economic recovery.

But if you were to believe the media, there is no recovery under Trump. If you want to have fun, Google the phrase "economy is slowing."

You will get scores of hits from news reports over the last four months warning of trouble ahead. When the blockbuster jobs report came out, the *Washington Post* posted this oxymoronic headline: "Economy added 638,000 jobs as growth slows."

Technically, that is a slowdown from 4 million in June, quadrupling the old monthly all-time record.

If Larry Bird hits eight of 10 shots from the field in the first half and seven of 10 in the second half, it would be a little strange to say he cooled off.

The faster the economy heals, the more it is disparaged as "slowing down." The newsrooms in America see some phantom job killer just around the next corner except the real one, Joe Biden, and the reporters seem visibly disappointed when it doesn't show up.

The election is over. Why is the media disparaging the Trump recovery?

One reason is that anti-Trump derangement syndrome is such a truth-altering virus in the newsroom that they can't give Trump credit for anything. Another explanation is that the Left craves another \$2 trillion to \$3 trillion debt bomb stimulus bill, and every new report of the surging economy argues against that. Chemotherapy isn't necessary when you're cancer-free.

But most of all, Democrats and the media know in their hearts Biden will perform much worse on the economy than Trump. So, they want to set that starting hurdle so low that no matter how dimly Biden performs, he will still be heralded as the guy who saved the economy, not the one who capsized it.

If you want to see an economy that is genuinely "slowing down," wait until you see what the "liberals" do to it. ★

Stephen Moore is the finance and economics columnist of the *Washington Examiner* and an economic consultant with FreedomWorks.



Life & Arts

Books The black-pilled laureate of modern Britain, P. 50

On Culture France's war on American theory, P. 55

Downtime Hip pocket, P. 57

Also: Madcap Mexicans ★ Who was Stanley Kubrick? ★ Springing for cancer ★ *The Queen's Gambit* is brilliant ★ The Buzzard king



Luca Marinelli in *Martin Eden*.

“Shot in a grainy 16 mm that recalls the great French and Italian art-cinema of the 1960s and ‘70s, Pietro Marcello’s new adaptation of *Martin Eden* is a beautiful film.”

Park MacDougald, P. 53



BOOKS

The Black-Pilled Laureate of Modern Britain

By Aris Roussinos

What does it say about England that her greatest living writer lives in exile on the west coast of Ireland? For some years now, Paul Kingsnorth has lived in rural Galway, tending a small farm with his young family, cutting hay with a scythe, and alternating visionary works of fiction with doom-laden essays on environmental collapse and the totalitarian seductions of late modernity. He is, perhaps, the English equivalent of Michel Houellebecq (another former exile to Ireland's bleak and rural western lands). But instead of submission, Kingsnorth urges retreat and then resistance. Whereas Houellebecq is fixated on the supermarkets and holiday villages of modern France, Kingsnorth's imagination, like his life, takes him to the last wild places of the British isles, to the moors and fens, to the rain-lashed Atlantic coast, and to the mythical Dark Mountain after which he named his deep ecological writing collective.

A lifetime environmental activist and journalist, Kingsnorth's alienation from the modern green movement, which he dismisses as captured by corporate interests, has led him into deeper and more turbulent waters. Where a perennial melancholy streak in the British imagination ponders decline, Kingsnorth's mind leaps forward to collapse. Fusing his unfashionable support for Brexit with his dreamlike evocations of Britain's landscapes, Kingsnorth can be

seen as a green nationalist of a uniquely English type, still railing against the Norman yoke and seeking a path back to the eternal Greenwood. In his essays, which sympathetically quote Theodore Kaczynski and insist on the looming inevitability of our civilization's destruction, Kingsnorth has marked out his terrain as the black-pilled laureate of modern Britain. His recent revelation, in an interview with Rod Dreher, that he has reverted to his "own ancestral faith, Christianity," signifies an intriguing and not unexpected new direction for a writer of such powerful, pagan sensibility.

All these strands of Kingsnorth's life and work join together in his latest novel, *Alexandria*, the conclusion of his Buckmaster Trilogy. In *The Wake*, the first of the series, Kingsnorth offered us, in a vigorously Germanic reinterpretation of Old English, the tragedy of Buccmaster of the Lincolnshire fens, a Saxon man against time, fighting and failing to keep his world together in the aftermath of the

Norman invasion. In *Beast*, a short masterpiece of spare and visionary prose, his descendant Edward Buckmaster abandons his family and suburban modernity to live alone on the high moors, hunted by an oppressive and hallucinatory natural world. In *Alexandria*, set 1,000 years in the future, we find ourselves in a small, primitive community, scratching a living from yams and sugar cane in the hot and sweltering fens of what was once East Anglia, where "bambu is high, air full of Skito and

Mij." In the simplified English that has become the accepted register of post-apocalyptic fiction, we learn that "this heat was not always here, air was not always wet, beneath Waters are forests and cities from Atlantean times." It is "nine hundred years since Atlantis fell, since Alexandria was built, since Waters rose, since great heat, great dyin come over Erth."

The few survivors of this great conflagration are part tribal community, part monastic order. Protected from the outside world by their great "hedge of Yoo and Horn and Bow," they live around a "Cloyster" and "Lady Chapel," sculpting totem poles to the birds

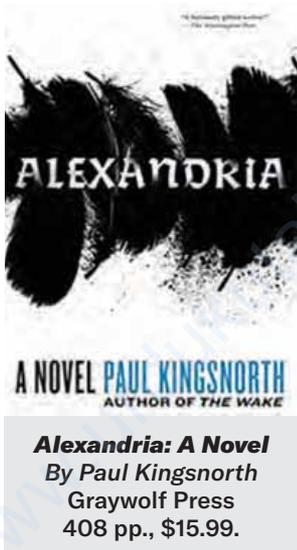
they worship as bringers of wisdom and harbingers of a great salvation. A struggling matriarchy, their worship of the Gravesian "great Lady" seems designed to inoculate themselves from the oppressive presence of "the Machine" and its malign and superhuman intelligence Wayland, which, they dimly perceive, has wrought this great catastrophe.

Through the Order's fearful mantra that "in mind, in word, in Machine is deth," the central, anti-technological drift of Kingsnorth's essays is finally made explicit. "Wayland will tempt you, offer you riches," we are warned, "he knows all minds, he will give you what you most seek, and then you will be trapped." The appeal of technology and of progress is explicitly likened to that of "Sir Pent," who holds out progress "like Appels just fallen from Tree" to seduce us weak and selfish humans: In fiction as in life, Kingsnorth's pagan mysticism now adopts a Christian framing.

But the Order's simple and restricted life of primitive rites and coming of age rituals is imperiled by adultery within the narrow confines of the clan. The baser human passions are already threatening to destroy the last surviving world of man when the threat from without materializes, that of the Machine in semi-human form.

The red "stalker" K, the "meta-human" emissary of the mysterious and feared Alexandria, the techno-optimist online paradise at the novel's heart, can be read as Kingsnorth's first, sustained assault against liberalism as well as tech utopianism. Speaking in the prissy and bloodless standard English of a malign C-3PO, he declares in his sales pitch to his fearful human prey, "I have no sex, no race, no tribe, no attachments, no tastes, no opinions, no prejudices, no mother, no father, no family, no home, no history. Thus, I am liberated." Indeed, he emphasizes, "Many humans were like me at the last. It was a project for a while amongst some of the elites."

When K mocks the tribal simplicity of the Edg folk, we think of Kingsnorth, the self-critical essayist of home-crafted compost toilets and the manual labor of the scythe, voicing his own doubts through the dismissive tones of the enlightened meta-human. It is "a kind of regressive paradisiacal primitivism," K remarks, a false and backward hope that "if you can drop the literacy and the conceptual thought, ease yourself back down



Alexandria: A Novel
By Paul Kingsnorth
Graywolf Press
408 pp., \$15.99.

into the mud, live simply, renounce complex technologies, speak to the birds, you can live as one of them again." There is no going back, K insists, only the liberation of plugging yourself into Alexandria and leaving behind the regressive human attachments of kin and kind and land.

So familiar is K's increasingly hysterical vision of "eternal progress" — its preaching of "total equality" and "a world with no war, no hatred, no starvation, no superstition," its angry shrieks that "biology is a crime! Biology means ignorance, stasis, division, injustice" — that the deep-rooted but hidden conservatism of Kingsnorth's writing is finally brought to the surface. No wonder, then, that K accuses the last of Earth's humans of being "ludicrous, childish, reactionary" for refusing to follow its path into the future: In the character of K, the bitterly clear-sighted voice of Kingsnorth's essay-writing threatens, at times, to break the novel's spell.

It would not be a Kingsnorth novel if salvation was not to be searched for and found in the hallowed landscapes of "old Albion." Summoning the power of "those who stand in long line behind, walking back through time," of "those who have made me," and of his sacred attachment to the ground beneath his feet, the novel's visionary seer and paterfamilias, desperate to save his tribe, fuses with the author himself.

On the desperate quest across the flooded wastes of what was once England, to the sacred height of Glastonbury Tor, "old holy hart of this holy isle," Kingsnorth's tragic, mystic engagement with the land of England reaches its climax. "Land speaks here to those who listen," we are told, "to those who know words," and we are left certain the author has been listening. Concluding his dark and powerful Buckmaster Trilogy on "Avlon," the sacred hill that, "ridged like great old wight, like Sir Pent curled around old World Tree," Kingsnorth has finally traveled beyond literature into myth, cementing his title as a profoundly religious writer of uniquely English stamp. His pagan sensibility, rooted in the land, now reflects his own Christian awakening, and his tragic, epic vision now concludes on a final, fragile note of hope.

Aris Roussinos is a writer and journalist and a contributing editor at UnHerd. He lives in Southeast England.

BOOKS

Madcap Mexicans and Doomed NEETs

By Chris R. Morgan

The 10 stories collected in Julian Herbert's *Bring Me the Head of Quentin Tarantino* seem, at first, to have been engineered using the very artistic DNA of the collection's namesake. Like the films of the American director, the stories of the Mexican author are a concoction of the urbane and the savage. Sophisticated protagonists convene with subterranean society and return to report surreal, nightmarish encounters in the vigorous and cynical language of hardened adventurers. They are formally very clever, upending genre tropes, telling stories within stories, fluidly switching between

points of view, and otherwise testing the limits of narrative reliability. One story even includes sheet music and pictures of the inside of the protagonist's mouth.

And much like Tarantino's films, Herbert's stories may prove too showy and divisive for some people — people like me who don't much care for Tarantino. But this knee-jerk rejection may ill-serve Herbert's fiction, with its literary sophistication and unique satirical bite lurking beneath the flash.

The hyperkinetic tenor of this collection is set down in the first story, which begins with Max, a failed filmmaker-turned-office drone who is caught in the middle of a corporate scandal that includes fraud and arms smuggling into Nicaragua. It then switches to the direct point of view of the narrator: a "personal memories coach" paid to make colorful embellishments to Max's experience. "I could have been one of the many fleeting new voices of Mexican literature," the narrator claims. "But I refused. ... I refused because I am smart: I want to be corrupted by money, not flattery." But when his

clients don't pay, he hijacks their "memories and anecdotes" with his own literary touches, sometimes "offering them as short stories ... to cultural publications and literary supplements."

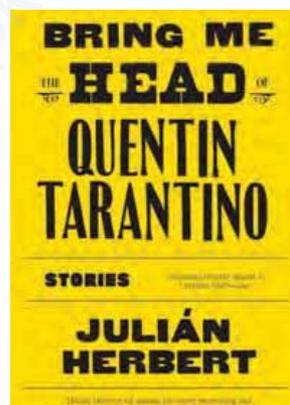
"I'm a true Mexican businessman, and that means I'm trained to carry out or condone any low-down action in exchange for money."

Herbert has a fondness for disillusioned creatives akin to what a cosmetics lab technician might feel for the rabbits he stuffs with experimental chemicals. In "NEETS," a conceptual artist who specializes in gruesome pornography is tortured by the thought that he is fathering a literal "Exterminating Angel" who can kill anything at will. "Caries" tells of another conceptual artist with "blind faith in his own point of view, his own aesthetic conscience," who discovers "sheet music in his teeth." He transcribes the music for an exhibition only to be accused of plagiarizing a preexisting composition.

In "M.L. Estefania," a crack-addicted ex-tabloid journalist poses as the titular author of Westerns to make ends meet. He ends up on a speaking tour of a hundred schools and colleges. When the narrator expresses doubts about the fraud, his more efficiently corrupt partner dispels them: "It's not fraud: we're working in a gray zone created by postmodern education and culture. The death of the author and all that crap you go on about in your talks." The title story centers on a film critic kidnapped by a drug lord

whose resemblance to Tarantino betrays an obsession with his films. It is the longest story, more of a novella really, that doubles as a satire on cartel violence and the pretensions of academic criticism, including long discourses on Harold Bloom, parody, and the nature and craft of writing.

Herbert's stories exemplify what might be called pulp surrealism. His fiction is equally comfortable depicting the madcap violence of a neo-Western as it is exploring the bizarre inner space of the human subconscious. It is where Death



Bring Me the Head of Quentin Tarantino: Stories,

By Julian Herbert, tr. Christina MacSweeney
Graywolf Press
176 pp., \$15.99.

LIFE & ARTS

Valley and the uncanny valley meet.

In “There Where We Stood,” two academics in Chile think they’ve spotted Juan Rulfo, the long-dead Mexican master of the short story, eating in a bar. “White Paper” recalls at once the angular prose poetry of Donald Barthelme and the ghost stories of M.R. James, told from the ghost’s point of view. “The Dog’s Head,” centered on a partially eaten croissant left on a seat of a Berlin train, imagines a kind of expressionist Nicholson Baker. The most realized of these experiments, though one I wish was longer, is “Z,” in which a man keeps his appointments with a therapist who, along with the rest of the world, is slowly succumbing to a zombie state:

“Practically the whole army has been infected to some extent. ... And although it’s true that they get the best vaccines, it’s also the case that cells of deserters spring up on a daily basis (or at least that’s what CNN says: the national media have disappeared), at the service of the worm catchers. Anything that still functions here relies on corrupting everything else until it becomes an allegorical mural of destruction.”

As with fellow Mexican author Fernanda Melchor’s novel *Hurricane Season*, published in English earlier this year and reviewed in these pages, Herbert’s stories take a candid, cynical view of Mexican society. Violent crime, political corruption, and the overall cheapness of life are taken as givens. But both authors use inventive, discursive, and nonlinear narrative methods to counteract the brute cynicism of their stories’ content. Their success in doing so suggests that literature clarifies and accentuates the absurdity of common — and not-so-common — cruelty better than prestige television, cable news, or digital media can ever hope to.

The prestige of the short story in the United States rests somewhere between that of the thought experiment and that of the TV pilot pitch. American readers will delight in Herbert’s lapidary style and gallows wit, and they may also appreciate his cleverness for its own sake. But the candor, disillusionment, and moral and social precarity depicted within the novel is something they would have to go back in time to recognize in their land — back to a time before the U.S. was a world power, when it was not quite as well understood as

it is today. Back, that is, to the time of Washington Irving, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Edgar Allan Poe, and Herman Melville. The posthumous fame that these writers achieved can sometimes obscure the strangeness at the heart of their work, shaped in no small part by their own social precarity and by the wild physical and human landscape in which they wrote. Whatever differences in style and subject between those authors and this new generation of Mexican writers, their work has the same quality for their respective readers, coming on like storm clouds in the same darkness, drenching them in the same overwhelming torrents

Chris R. Morgan is a writer from New Jersey. Follow him on Twitter: @CR_Morgan.

BOOKS

Who Was Stanley Kubrick?

By Daniel Ross Goodman

There are only five directors with four or more films in the American Film Institute’s list of the top 100 films of all time. One of them is Stanley Kubrick, by any measure one of the greatest directors in the history of cinema. His films, including such masterpieces as *2001: A Space Odyssey* and *The Shining*, are stunning in their psychological acuity and grand narrative sweep, as well as in the painterly attention to detail that Kubrick brought to every shot and composition. Indeed, the director may have been the first to realize composer Richard Wagner’s vision of a “*gesamtkunstwerk*,” or total work of art, in the medium of film. There is so much to take in in any single Kubrick film that Martin Scorsese has asserted that “one of his pictures are equivalent to 10 of somebody else’s.”

By the time Kubrick died in March 1999, shortly after completing *Eyes Wide Shut*, he was widely regarded as a master filmmaker. But Kubrick himself was a recluse — critics pored over his films, but relatively little was known about the man. This began to change in 2001, with the release of the documentary *Stanley Kubrick: A Life in Pictures*, directed by Jan Harlan, Kubrick’s brother-in-law and frequent executive producer. Since then,

books, biographies, and films about Kubrick have proliferated.

The most recent addition to this growing library is David Mikics’s *Stanley Kubrick: American Filmmaker*. Mikics, a professor of English at the University of Houston and a columnist for *Tablet* magazine, uses interviews and archival material to examine the human side of Kubrick’s life and work. Along the way, he traces the outlines of Kubrick’s biography, from his modest upbringing in the Bronx to his early career as a photographer for *Look* magazine and his later career as a director. Throughout, Mikics offers incisive analyses of Kubrick’s films, as well as a number of big-picture arguments about the themes and concerns that unite them.

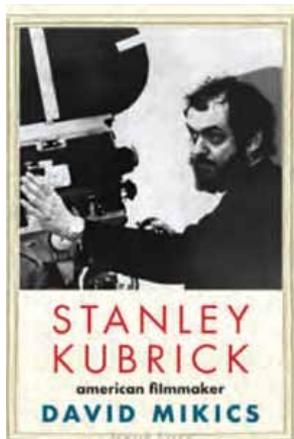
According to Mikics, “Most Kubrick movies are about rebellion of some kind.” They tend to center around intelligent characters struggling to break free from what is enclosing them, only to become even more trapped within the system they were attempting to escape. “His movies are about mastery that fails,” argues Mikics. “Perfectly controlled schemes get botched through human error or freak accidents or hijacked by masculine rage.” Kubrick’s gallery of rebels — Alex in *A Clockwork Orange*, Dave Bowman in *2001*, Jack Torrance in *The Shining*, Barry Lyndon in *Barry Lyndon*, Bill Harford in *Eyes Wide Shut* — are like butterflies trapped in airtight bottles: The harder they try to break free, the closer they come to bringing about their own undoing.

Mikics’s major contribution to our understanding of Kubrick is to show how these themes are linked to the director’s own life. Kubrick’s deep interests in chess and photography, for example, furnish us with “a key to the Kubrick universe. His films have the aura of the kid who has spent his time thinking and tinkering, trying to get things exactly right — a skill you need in both chess and photography. But when the grown-up world looms and boyhood hobbies yield their place to the facts of life, which include not just sex (as in *Lolita*, another movie about a child) but war and mass death, then you grow up fast.” Kubrick, Mikics explains, was a hyperintelligent thinker and tinkerer who rebelled early and often: against high school, where his grades were so poor he couldn’t get into college; against his Jewish heritage (he

declined to have a bar mitzvah, writes Mikics, “from sheer lack of interest”); against the Hollywood studio system; and arguably, by dint of his permanent relocation to England, against the United States itself. The “deep-frozen impersonality” that some attribute to the director’s films is really, Mikics argues, Kubrick’s “rejection of Hollywood pathos” and other American filmic conventions. Instead of this pathos, Kubrick gave us bewildering scenarios in which characters attempt to rebel against totalizing systems, the machinery of which can be seen nowhere but the effects of which are felt everywhere.

Although Mikics helps us better understand Kubrick’s films, we’re still left somewhat in the dark about the director’s life. Kubrick grew up comfortably middle class and never experienced “war and mass death” (though he was, as Mikics points out, “obsessed” with the Holocaust). Where did his feelings of alienation and rebelliousness come from? Were they simply a result of Kubrick being a “misfit” in high school, as he once told an interviewer? Or was there something deeper in his psyche that we can only venture to guess?

I have always felt there was a great affinity between Kubrick’s films and Franz Kafka’s fiction. This is especially true of *Eyes Wide Shut*, which, though adapted from a novella by Arthur Schnitzler, has the feel of a film heavily inspired by Kafka’s *The Trial*. Both feature a seemingly innocent man suddenly wrenched from his everyday life and placed in circumstances beyond his capacity to deal with; characters who mysteriously appear for brief but crucial moments before inexplicably disappearing; long, sinuous, ultimately futile attempts to penetrate an invisible but omnipresent system of power; and characters of enigmatic authority who attempt to explain to the protagonists precisely why it is that they are out of their depth. Mikics briefly refers to Kubrick’s fondness for Kafka, but I wish he would have explored this connection further.



**Stanley Kubrick:
American Filmmaker**
By David Mikics
Yale University Press
248 pp., \$26.00.

Some of Mikics’s most fascinating insights do, however, concern *Eyes Wide Shut*. It was Kubrick’s final and most personal film and was, Mikics shows, one he had been thinking about for much of his career. We learn, for example, that Ruth Sobotka, Kubrick’s second wife, may have been the one who told Kubrick about Schnitzler’s *Dream Story*, over which he obsessed for decades; that Kubrick met his third wife, Christiane Harlan, in a masked ball in Munich; and that Kubrick had sketched out the basic plot of *Eyes Wide Shut* in an anecdote told to Kirk Douglas as early as 1954. In some ways, all of Kubrick’s life and work were leading to *Eyes Wide Shut*, but it is only in retros-

spect that this becomes clear.

“Everybody pretty much acknowledges that he’s the man,” Jack Nicholson said about Kubrick, “and I still feel that underrates him.” Mikics’s informed, enlightening, and engaging book brings us one step closer to understanding the man behind the camera.

Daniel Ross Goodman is a writer from western Massachusetts and a Ph.D. candidate at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. He is the author of Somewhere Over the Rainbow: Wonder and Religion in American Cinema and the novel A Single Life.



FILM

Martin Ubermensch

By Park MacDougald

Jack London’s 1909 novel *Martin Eden* tells the story of a working-class Oakland sailor, based in large part on London himself, who embarks on a journey

of self-education and literary ambition in order to prove himself worthy of the love of a wealthy woman. He succeeds, but at great cost: His will to power and creative vision end up alienating him from the proletariat and its socialist politics, which he comes to view in Nietzschean terms as a form of “slave morality.” Yet by the time he achieves literary stardom, years of poverty and humiliation have embittered him against the bourgeoisie, including the bourgeois woman he once loved. Rich but miserable, contemptuous of his fans and critics alike, and seemingly trapped within the mental prison of a worldview that exalts individual genius above all else, Martin ends by drowning himself, returning to the sea from whence he came.

The Italian director Pietro Marcello’s new film adaptation of *Martin Eden*, now available for streaming on the Kino Lorber website, transposes the action from early 20th-century Oakland to an ambiguously midcentury Naples, Italy. The film opens with a rich but haggard Martin (played with impressive intensity by Luca Marinelli), well-dressed, eyes sunken and a little crazy, dictating into a tape recorder: “The world is stronger than me. Against its power, I have nothing but myself, which, in any case, is quite something.” This, we are immediately informed, is a man who has had to claw his way up in the world and who may have been broken by the act of making it. Then we flash back to the past, when the plot begins in earnest. Martin, a quiet and pensive young sailor, rescues a drunken rich kid, Arturo Orsini, from the clutches of an overeager port security guard. As an expression of gratitude, the Orsinis invite Martin to dinner at their estate, where he meets their beautiful and cultivated daughter, Elena (Jessica Cressy). Immediately smitten, he begins to devour literature in order to impress her. As Elena starts to return his affection, Martin hatches a plan to win the approval of her family: He will become a famous writer.

What follows is in many ways a standard kunstlerroman: Martin struggles, for what feels like an eternity on-screen, to get one of his short stories accepted by a magazine. He moves to the countryside to save on rent, he falls behind on his bills, he becomes sick from overexertion, and he listens to his fellow proletarians scoff at his useless literary

LIFE & ARTS

ambitions while enduring the not-so-subtle snobbery of the Orsinis, by now his prospective in-laws. He is briefly elated when he finally sells his first story, but his happiness is soon punctured by his friend Russ Brissenden (Carlo Cecchi), an aging poet who predicts that Martin's engagement will fall apart and advises him to return to sea and devote himself to socialism. Russ's prediction about Elena comes true, but Martin ignores his political counsel. Instead, he loses himself in sensuality and sinks further and further into the persona of the Nietzschean overman, the "blonde beast" whom he praises in one of his tirades against liberalism.

Visually, *Martin Eden* is beautiful. Shot in a grainy 16 mm that recalls the great French and Italian art-cinema of the 1960s and '70s, the film treats viewers to a colorful cross section of Neapolitan society, high and low: the cramped squalor of the slums, the grime of the ports and foundries where the workers earn their pay, the beautiful Italian countryside, and the elegant if stifling homes and gardens of the wealthy. And Marinelli is a captivating lead man, expertly expressing Martin's street brawler-cum-intellectual persona.

But for all its style, *Martin Eden* has the feel of a film that doesn't know what it wants to say. London was a socialist and intended his novel as a critique of how individualism could sink into fascism; by stuffing it full of details from his own life (Martin, like London, hones his writing by studying the social Darwinist philosopher Herbert Spencer's *The Philosophy of Style*), he presented the political evolution and eventual psychological disintegration of its protagonist as a sort of "there but for the grace of God go I" parable, with the saving grace, in his instance, being socialism.

Marcello seems similarly interested in the appeal of fascism to certain creative types — we get a glimpse of Italy's blackshirts near the end of the film, implied to represent the logical endpoint of Martin's ideas — but the film's setting works against its message. *Martin Eden* doesn't exist in any specific time period: The clothes, cars, TVs, and music all suggest something in the 1960s or '70s, but the main political and intellectual currents are all interwar, and there are frequent references to a coming war that one can only assume is World War II.

This confused setting turns into a plot problem. London couldn't have known for a fact in 1909 that socialism would lead to a new sort of tyranny, but modern viewers can, and so when Martin makes precisely this point to a group of socialist workers, it's unclear how we're supposed to take it. Yes, of course, fascism is bad, but isn't Martin basically right here? And without socialism to play the role of the saving grace that could plausibly rescue Martin from his alienation, what are we left with? The banal observation that unhappy people can go down strange political roads or that egotists gravitate toward ideologies that glorify egotism. Those are fine points to make, but I'm not sure you need 2 hours and 9 minutes to make them.

Park MacDougald is Life & Arts editor of the Washington Examiner Magazine.

TV

The Queen's Gambit is Brilliant

By Graham Hillard

What is it with chess players and madness? Having talked his way out of a Louisiana asylum, the 19th-century master Paul Morphy died in a bathtub surrounded by women's shoes. A guest of more than one psychiatric ward, the Austrian genius Wilhelm Steinitz is said to have offered "pawn odds" to God. And on the list goes, from Grigoryan to Fischer. Though *The Queen's Gambit*, Netflix's wonderfully entertaining new series, declines to march its protagonist straight into a mental hospital, it nevertheless concedes that inspiration can come at a significant price.

Adapted from a novel by Walter Tevis, *The Queen's Gambit* spends the bulk of its pilot in the Methuen Home for Girls, a 1950s orphanage in which 9-year-old Beth Harmon (Isla Johnston) is grieving the death of her mother. Adrift in an unfamiliar sea, Beth consoles herself with two interrelated pursuits. By day, she plays chess with Mr. Shaibel (Bill Camp), a janitor who instructs her in the game that will become her life's pursuit. By night, stoned on institutionally



Anya Taylor-Joy in *The Queen's Gambit*.

dispensed tranquilizers, she watches as ghostly rooks and pawns do battle on the dormitory's ceiling.

That the opening chapter can feel sluggish at times is a consequence of the care with which showrunner Scott Frank has set his table. A veteran screenwriter responsible for such gems as *Out of Sight* and *Get Shorty*, Frank understands that the themes he means to harvest must be planted in Beth's troubled childhood, however cramped its scope. Observing our heroine through the eyes of her increasingly astonished teacher, viewers can't help recognizing the anger and obsessiveness that will fuel Beth's later struggles with alcohol and drugs. Nevertheless, and despite characteristically excellent work by Camp (*The Night Of*, *The Outsider*), it is no small relief when the series departs the Methuen Home in favor of Beth's adoptive life in the suburbs of Lexington, Kentucky.

Indeed, the episodes that follow Beth's escape from a monotone existence are not only an improvement on the pilot but some of the most delightful television produced this year. Taken in by sweet-natured housewife Alma Wheatley (Marielle Heller), Beth discovers a vibrant world that the orphanage's walls have held at bay. *The Queen's Gambit* owes a debt to *Mad Men* in the exuberance with which it show-



is supplied by Beth's attempts to conquer her various addictions. An intuitive player, Beth relies on the mental haze brought on by illicit substances. Whether she can put them aside is one of the questions that the series must eventually address.

Yet *The Queen's Gambit* is not, in the end, a show about the cost of genius. Rather, its chief concern is something altogether rarer. Can a broken life, buoyed by perseverance and the loyalty of friends, be saved? Optimists in the audience will like the answer.

Graham Hillard teaches English and creative writing at Trevecca Nazarene University.

ON CULTURE

France's War on American Theory

By Blake Smith

The French government is fighting on two fronts: one against Islamism and one against "American multiculturalism." The first front is nothing new. The Oct. 16 beheading of Samuel Paty, a teacher who showed his class drawings from *Charlie Hebdo* mocking Muhammad as part of a lesson on freedom of expression, was horrific but unsurprising. Equally predictable was the subsequent wave of terror attacks in France and demonstrations across the Muslim world. Such events sadden but can no longer shock. Americans have been surprised, however, to see the French responding to these attacks by targeting not only networks of Islamic radicalization but also the United States's media and universities.

"Falling in line with American multiculturalism is a kind of intellectual defeat," French President Emmanuel Macron warned last week, frustrated by American journalists' coverage of Paty's murder and its aftermath. The *New York Times* initially covered the story as if it were an episode of American police violence, using the headline "French Police Shoot and Kill Man After a Fatal Knife Attack on the Street." This headline provoked fury in the French government and throughout the French press, which fulminated against American "blind-

cases midcentury style.) Soon, Beth is devouring a string of boys at local chess tournaments, a bird of prey so pitiless that no one can withstand her attack. Though the game sequences that mark this part of the show are inventively filmed, with Frank doing everything short of embedding a camera inside a bishop, the series can only work if its anchor is both compelling and likable. Happily, Frank and company have cast in the role of the older Beth a performer who could very well be on the verge of serious stardom.

That actress, Anya Taylor-Joy, will be familiar already to audiences who recall 2015's Puritan horror classic *The Witch* or who thrilled to 2020's zany update on Jane Austen's *Emma*. The lead in both films, Taylor-Joy brought to her performances a talent for immersion that ought not to have been possible given her peculiar, eerie beauty. Here, assigned a part that requires emotional range and the ability to make staring at a chessboard interesting, the actress dominates the proceedings like no young starlet since Carey Mulligan. Watching *The Queen's Gambit*, I was reminded of the latter's work in the superb 2009 drama *An Education*. Though the two women make use of different tricks, they share an ability to command attention without seeming to try.

As *The Queen's Gambit* moves from

match to match, Beth comes into contact with the men who will push her to new personal and professional heights. The first of these is D.L. Townes (Jacob Fortune-Lloyd), a dashing intellectual with whom Beth enjoys an amusing chess flirtation. ("Harmon, you're humiliating my rook," etc.) The second, Benny Watts (Thomas Brodie-Sangster), is a fellow prodigy who provides crucial guidance as his rival-cum-love-interest ascends the ranks. Though other men drift in and out of Beth's life, the most significant of all may be Vasily Borgov (Marcin Dorocinski), a Soviet champion who plays with such elegant restraint that one struggles even to imagine him losing. Having bested Beth in an early game in Mexico City, Vasily serves as the Minotaur at the center of her labyrinth, the climactic villain who is no less dangerous for all his Slavic refinement.

It is to Frank's great credit that *The Queen's Gambit* resists the temptation to turn Beth's chess career into a mere metaphor. ("They're just pieces," she replies upon being asked whether the king and queen represent her dead parents.) Instead, the series leans in to the drama of each match as it unfolds, correctly perceiving that viewers will appreciate the heroine's journey on its own literal terms. To the extent that any extra punch is needed, that energy

LIFE & ARTS

ness” and “indecenty.”

The *New York Times* was not alone in interpreting events in France in hyper-racialized and moralizing terms, now the obligatory register of U.S. prestige media. The *Washington Post* complained: “Instead of Fighting Racism, France wants to ‘reform Islam.’” In such stories, France, like the U.S., is a land of white supremacy. The problems of France’s Muslim population, from everyday criminality to rejection of mainstream French values to terrorism, are either the invention of racists or themselves the consequences of racism.

It is naturally unpleasant for the French to hear their country spoken of in such terms, especially by Americans, at a time when the U.S. is wracked by racial discord. Right-wing French newspapers, such as *Le Figaro*, were quick to give space to Americans such as Thomas Chatterton Williams, who reassured the French that the U.S. media misunderstand France’s “specificity” and exaggerate the problem of racial discrimination.

Members of the French government, however, believe that the problem goes deeper than misrepresentation. French Minister of Education Jean-Michel Blanquer recently argued that the coverage of the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* reflects the dominance in U.S. intellectual life of what he referred to as “intersectional theses.” In Blanquer’s account, ideas about what Americans commonly refer to as “identity politics” threaten France’s political stability by actively producing the racial and cultural divisions they claim to neutrally describe.

Blanquer’s argument, which was met with condemnation from many French scholars, may seem to echo populist rhetoric throughout the world. From Hungary to India to the U.S., populist leaders have railed against journalists, intellectuals, and foreigners for supposedly undermining national unity. But French suspicions of America’s intellectual influence have a deeper foundation. Long associated with the Left, these suspicions are a reaction to America’s role in promoting ideas opposed to the values of the French Revolution and the identity of the French nation.

In the years following World War II, the U.S. attempted to break the hold of the militantly anti-American and intensely nationalist Communist Party on

French intellectual life. The CIA covertly funded anti-communist ventures, such as the magazine *Preuves*, in which supporters of pro-U.S. policies, including philosopher Raymond Aron, frequently published essays. After the CIA’s role in these operations was revealed in 1966, French leftists began to suspect the influence of the U.S. intelligence agencies everywhere. The so-called “revisionist” historians of the 1970s, including Francois Furet, who argued that the Jacobinism of the French Revolution was the prototype totalitarianism, were accused by their critics of being CIA agents out to tarnish the legacy of 1789.

The traditional French Left was dealt another blow by the enthusiastic American reception in the 1970s and 1980s of left-wing French philosophers such as Gilles Deleuze and Michel Foucault, who criticized Marxist theory and the Communist Party. Though these “post-modern” thinkers were rather marginal in French universities, they became academic superstars in the U.S., where their theories were reworked to become part of a new elite consensus then germinating on college campuses.

In his book *French Theory*, the intellectual historian Francois Cusset traced how U.S. academics jettisoned the aspects of Foucault’s and Deleuze’s ideas that criticized capitalism and mass media while using other parts of their work as a tool to study “cultural identity.” In France, the postmodernists had been understood as critics of unitary notions of the self and of the complex relations between language and power. In the U.S., they became gurus whose work supposedly proved that all mainstream culture was premised on the oppression of racial, cultural, and sexual minorities. Now hegemonic in U.S. universities, a distorted version of their ideas, organized around the watchword of “intersectionality,” is returning to France, where, in the meantime, the Marxist Left, oriented toward anti-American nationalism and a defense of the legacy of 1789, has all but disappeared.

Today, it is the French Right that bemoans the U.S.’s intellectual influence. As Bruno Perreau observes, the movement against gay marriage in France during the mid-2010s was organized around fears of “gender theory,” which, according to its French detractors, “was invented in the United States, a society

built on a consumerist, communitarian, and politically correct model ... incompatible with France’s own traditions.” Focusing on the influence of American theory allowed French opponents of gay marriage, mostly conservative Catholics, to avoid framing their arguments in explicitly religious terms and to claim that they were opposing America’s atomized and conflict-ridden society. Although unsuccessful, the movement against gay marriage in France served as a model for similar campaigns in Eastern Europe, which link domestic debates about the rights of sexual minorities with fears of Americanization.

French conservatives are not crazy to fear that American ideas are influencing their society. American theories about identity are being taken up by intellectuals and activists behind what Blanquer and others call “Islamogauchisme” (“Islamogauchism”): a convergence of the post-Marxist Left with Islam. One of the most radical groups in this camp, the Indigenes de la Republique, has used appeals to “intersectionality” and connections to U.S. universities, such as the University of California, Berkeley, to present its opposition to French secularism as part of a progressive movement to “decolonize” France rather than as a specifically Muslim religious agenda. However, as Itay Lotem, a leading expert on the Indigenes, points out, this group is only selectively intersectional — it opposes gay marriage and “white feminism” on the grounds that focusing on sexuality and gender divides the Muslim community.

The French Right’s attacks on “gender theory” and the Islamogauchists’ tactical ambivalence toward intersectionality suggest that the French government’s recent bluster against U.S. ideology covers a more disturbing reality. Opposing forces in an increasingly divided society use concepts imported from the U.S. to present religious conflicts in secular, progressive terms. Perhaps the real intellectual defeat for France would be to remain trapped in arguments for or against American ideology. And perhaps the real victory would be to face down the sectarian divisions that this discourse obscures.

Blake Smith is a Harper Schmidt fellow at the University of Chicago, where he works on cultural ties between France and India.



DOWNTIME

Hip Pocket

By Eric Felten

A Sunday or two ago, I was halfheartedly watching some professional football, wondering whether the fake cheering of the nonexistent crowd would outlast the coronavirus, becoming, like a sitcom laugh track, a permanent faux-fixture of the enterprise.

Then, something interesting happened.

As the first half of the game was nearing an end, there was that official time waster, the two-minute warning, which CBS used in part to promote the halftime show. The camera panned over the commentators who would soon be telling us about the game. They were sitting at the ready, mostly checking the sheaves of statistics prepared for them by the research department. But not Nate Burleson: The former wide receiver was checking the time. And he did so with style. It wasn't clear at first — he wasn't looking at anything strapped to his wrist. Nor was he checking a smartphone. No, he was looking down at something cupped in his palm, something about the size of a macaroon. It was on a chain and glinted under the bright studio lights. Having consulted this metal macaroon, Burleson slipped it into a pocket of his suit.

Burleson was wearing an icon of steampunk fashion: a pocket watch.

There are two sorts of pocket watches: the gentleman's watch and the more desirable railroad-grade watch. The gentleman's watch, which only has to keep good time and look good while doing so, operates like a plain mechanical wristwatch. Railroad-grade watches are far more complex, designed to keep the trains running safely on time. If you wanted to reduce head-on train collisions, it helped if everyone working the railroad was operating on the same time. The railroad watches had jewel-rich movements of tremendous accuracy. But they also had safety measures, most notably a lever that had to be pulled to set the time so that one didn't accidentally change

it while trying to wind the watch up.

The other main difference among pocket watches is whether they have “hunter” cases, a locket-like enclosure with a cover that snaps down over the face of the watch.

After World War II, during which GIs got into the habit of wearing wristwatches, pocket watches went the way of the grandfather clock. After the war, pocket watches were disposable. One might recall the scene from Chinatown in which Jake Gittes digs into a pile of unwanted old pocket watches and puts two under the tires of a parked car. The private detective is able to come back the next day and, by seeing when the watches were smashed, know when the car left the night before.

But we are finally seeing a reversal in the pocket watch's fortunes. Jeff Brook restores and deals in the vintage timepieces at his website www.ThePocketWatchGuy.com. He has the sort of waxed mustache one might expect of a pocket watch aficionado. He says that after decades of neglect, pocket watches have become a popular affectation of snazzy dressers.

When we start going back to work, I suspect there will be a desire to dress more formally. After years of business casual, this year, we reached the reductio ad absurdum of the casual movement: months of working in pajamas and sweats. Putting on a suit and tie will be a way to put 2020 behind us, the more formal, the better. I expect to see a trend toward three-piece suits, a fashion already available at the natty clothier Suitsupply. Nothing finishes off the formality of a three-piece suit quite so elegantly as a watch chain draped to a waist-high pocket.

What sort of watch to put in that pocket?

The Obama White House had Washington's Tiny Jewel Box restore and engrave vintage, gold-cased Elgin pocket watches as gifts for highly valued members of the administration.

Brook says his favorite collectible watch to wear is the Hamilton model 950B, a pinnacle of the railroad-grade watches.

Whatever the model, I think now is a perfect moment to start using a pocket watch. After all, how better to wait — whether for votes to come in or vaccines to become available — than with that authoritative statement of time and its passing?

Eric Felten is the James Beard Award-winning author of How's Your Drink?

LONG LIFE

Springing For Cancer

By Rob Long

“You can get away with anything,” an older friend of mine once told me, “if you're wearing an expensive watch.”

What he meant was that people rapidly scan each other for status markers. Some do it professionally: If your clothes are nice, the security personnel at a nice hotel won't notice that you've come in just to use the bathroom. Some do it unconsciously: A person in a Mercedes just has more gravity than a person in a Chevrolet Spark, and there's no use pretending otherwise.

It matters, to some people, where you sit at certain restaurants. Years ago, I was lucky enough to have lunch in the White House Mess, the small dining room in the White House that's run by the Navy. When I proudly mentioned this to a Washington-insider friend of mine, he immediately wanted to know where I was seated. When I told him, he shrugged. “That's nice for you,” he said, unimpressed.

And we all know that there's a difference in prestige, if not in actual financial reward, between winning an Oscar, an Emmy, and a People's Choice Award.

What I didn't really know until a few years ago, when I suddenly found myself scheduled for a bone marrow biopsy (spoiler alert: I'm fine), was that there's a status hierarchy to that, too.

“Where are you going?” a friend of mine asked at lunch when I told him about my little health issue.

When I told him, he shook his head violently.

“No. No. No,” he said. “Don't go there. I have a guy. He's wonderful. He's a concierge medicine guy, so you know he's good. He was the guy who did this for, I want to say one of the Eagles? Maybe Hall? Or Oates? I'm going to call him. He's the best.”

“I have a doctor,” I said.

My friend was trying to be nice, and I appreciated it, but what I was really looking for was more along the lines of a “hey, too bad about the bone marrow biopsy, let me buy lunch” kind of thing.

“Who is your doctor?” he asked.

I told him.

LIFE & ARTS

"I don't know who that is," he said.

"Why would you?" I asked. "You're a patent attorney."

"Where did you find this doctor?"

I told him that he was the closest in-network doctor who also had a headshot on his website. I was comforted by that for some reason.

"Are you kidding me?" my friend shouted. "That's a terrible way to choose the guy who is going to tell you that you have bone marrow cancer."

"I'm actually hoping that he —"

"With things like this, you work your network. You ask around, you get names, you find the most successful, richest friend or friend-of-friend you can, or in your case, I guess the widow or heir of that person, and you ask for a referral. Why is this hard for you? You're in the entertainment industry. Isn't that how it works back there?"

He had a point. The entertainment business is what they call a "relationship business," in which these personal connections make all the difference. And even when you can't have a celebrity-endorsed doctor perform your procedure, you can at least choose the venue. My cousin was an ambulance driver in Los Angeles, and he told me that years after comedy legend Lucille Ball's death, his passengers would still remove their oxygen masks and croak out a request: "Take me where *I Love Lucy* died." He'd then head over to Cedars-Sinai hospital, where, in fact, Ball had passed away of a ruptured abdominal aorta.

"That doesn't matter to me," I said. "I like my doctor. He's wearing a nice suit in his photo. I'm happy with him. Plus, it's a \$10 co-pay."

"OK," my friend said. "It's your cancer. But if it were my cancer, I'd want to go to a doctor with a little more connection."

He was about to say more, but the bill arrived, and he became preoccupied with getting my credit card so we could split it. A few weeks later, the test results came in, and it turned out that it was just an odd blood anomaly.

"I still think you should've gone to my guy," my friend said when I told him the news. "My guy could've found something."

He may have been correct. You get what you pay for, I suppose, and I just didn't want to pay for the deluxe, high-status option. I didn't want to spring, in other words, for cancer.

Rob Long is a television writer and producer, and the co-founder of Ricochet.com.



LIFE IN UNIFORM

The Buzzard King

By Trent Reedy

In my most recent column, I told you about my friend Don White, a retired colonel who served 31 years in the Air Force, having started out in the Army Air Corps in 1946. He was a second lieutenant when his squadron arrived in Korea in 1950, a few months before the start of the Korean War. After the war started, he and his crew flew B-29s specially modified for the weather service. The aircraft were stripped of all weapons, save for the tail gun, and were used for reconnoitering weather to help coordinate operations on the ground.

All of White's squadron's flights were called "Buzzard." Buzzard Horse. Buzzard Dawn. Buzzard Lion. Buzzard King was assigned to conduct a nighttime weather survey over North Korea, and White was to be co-pilot for the mission. His aircraft commander, Maj. Mask, fell ill and was grounded, so command of the mission turned to Capt. Paul Thendon, who was new to Korea. Buzzard King would be his first flight in the war.

During the flight, they took flak from enemy anti-aircraft batteries.

"I wasn't afraid of it," White explained. The North Koreans were bad shots, and this wasn't the first time his aircraft had been under fire. "It's kind of pretty, in a scary way. Normally, you just see a black puff when the round explodes. You might see a little flash, but you don't see any shrapnel coming out of it. At night, you see bright flashes of light when the round explodes. If it's real close, you'll hear little sounds as the shrapnel hits the airplane, kind of like hitting a tin pan with a fork."

I was impressed he had taken it all so casually. But not everybody aboard the aircraft was so calm. As they flew east over North Korea on autopilot, far-off flak exploded. They weren't being hit, but Thendon switched off the autopilot and turned south, calling for maximum power

to fly to safety as fast as possible.

"Sir, what the heck do you think you're doing?" White asked.

"They're not going to get me," Thendon kept repeating.

White faced a tough decision. He was not in charge of the aircraft, and Thendon outranked him. His duty was to obey. But he also had a duty to complete the mission.

"Sir, we don't quit," he said. "This crew doesn't run from flak. We run the mission." He informed the captain and the rest of the crew, "I have assumed command of this aircraft."

Thendon instantly turned over control and sat back in his seat with his chin down, crying. White flew the rest of the mission, including the landing.

Back on the ground, White told the rest of the men, "What happened tonight was just between us as a crew. Don't go around talking about it."

"You chose to protect Capt. Thendon?" I asked.

"I didn't want to embarrass him," White said. "He was brand new in the squadron, and he didn't need that hanging around his neck."

The incident was kept off the books. But White thinks his navigator, a major, quietly talked to command because after White's normal promotion to first lieutenant, he was quickly given command of his own B-29 crew. The situation was unusual in that White was to command an aircraft on which he was the lowest-ranking crew member. He offered to let the others seek reassignment, but they stayed, with the understanding that they outranked him on the ground but White was in command in the air.

Thendon eventually commanded his own aircraft crew and flew many missions, serving with honor throughout his time in the war.

"He learned his lesson in his first flight," White said.

White's compassion, courage, and excellent leadership instinct on the Buzzard King mission saved Thendon's career and bolstered his unit's effectiveness. We could all learn a lesson from his example.

**Some names and call signs in this story may have been changed due to operational security or privacy concerns.*

Trent Reedy served as a combat engineer in the Iowa National Guard from 1999 to 2005, including a tour of duty in Afghanistan.

GURDON

Chuck Schumer says bye-bye to Americaaaa!



Have you watched the recent viral video of Chuck Schumer shouting that he wants to change the world? Last weekend, after networks called the presidential election for Joe Biden, the Democrats' Senate leader took to the street to celebrate with a noisy crowd.

His brief utterances at the gathering had the usual hollow, awkward quality that his attempts at stirring rhetoric usually do. His tone rises as though to conclude the peroration of a triumphant speech, but it falls flat. He is no Pericles. His actual words were dramatic, though. "Now we take Georgia, then we change the world," he declared, as though he were Gen. Sherman marching on Atlanta. Not realizing the regional resonance of "taking Georgia" but noticing that he was on camera, he put on his mask, pumped his fist, and boomed, "Now, we take Georgia, then we change Americaaaa!"

By taking Georgia, Schumer means winning two Senate seats that are up for grabs in runoff races in the Peach State on Jan. 5. If the blue party nabs them, they'll have 50 seats, equal to the Republicans, and the deciding vote in the chamber will belong to the vice president — Kamala Harris.

What does Schumer mean by change Americaaaa? Democrats want to use control of the Senate, if they get it, to pack the Supreme Court with left-wing judges who'll allow them to run roughshod over constitutional limits on federal power. Then they'll grow government into something unrecognizable to a free society. They want to use Senate control, no matter how slim, to make states of the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico, thereby adding four unassailable Democratic seats. They intend to scrap the filibuster

so legislation can pass with a simple majority, so they can ram through extreme left-wing policies such as big tax increases on the middle class — it'll be presented as making billionaires pay their "fair share" — and climate and energy policies that will chop the economy and general prosperity off at the knees.

But why does Schumer want to change Americaaaa? The truth is that he probably doesn't. He's calling for such change to pander to left-wing radicals. Why? Because he's sphincter-twitching terrified that one of them, Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, will run against him in the 2022 primary because he's a fuddy-duddy old geezer, and she's a sparkling if ignorant rising star. In other words, Schumer is faking his support for changing Americaaaa because he's scared of losing his job. Edifying, no?

This is one of those things that falls into the multitudinous category of shocking but not surprising. It's shocking, or should be, that one of our most senior political leaders would disingenuously advocate reforms that demolish the nation's delicate and fantastically effective foundational structure. But it cannot be surprising because so many pols do much the same, changing their beliefs to win election.

Take the late Sen. John McCain.

"Schumer is faking his support for changing Americaaaa because he's scared of losing his job."

In May 2010, when he was fighting desperately to keep his Senate seat, McCain released a TV ad blaming illegal immigrants for "home invasions and murders." (Sound familiar?) Reversing his longstanding position against building a border wall, he called for completion of the "danged fence."

You can see why Winston Churchill endorsed democracy only as the least worst type of government, saying, more precisely, "Democracy is the worst form of government except for all the others." This is because it obliges politicians to secure popular approval, as it should, and prompts them frequently to do terrible things, even things they dislike, in order to stay in office. While Biden is orating about unity, Schumer is tacking fast toward the fringe solely because he daren't let himself be outflanked to his left by AOC.

Oak trees start as acorns. American socialism may grow out of Schumer's timidity.

Thus, unless Republican donors step up and help their party fight in Georgia, where gossip has it that just two Senate races could cost \$500 million, the Democrats might gain a razor-thin advantage in "the world's greatest deliberative body" and use it to smash norms that have served America for a quarter of a millennium.

If there is one thing that, more than any other, makes the idea of a Democrat in the White House a prospect that one can tolerate with sanguine equanimity, it is that he will be blocked from that party's worst excesses by a Republican majority in the Senate. Thus, the political battle of the next two months could decide whether we still recognize America, or we have to start calling it "Americaaaa." ★

Hugo Gurdon is editor-in-chief of the *Washington Examiner*.

ZITO

When the NFL plays politics, small-business owners get tackled, too



PITTSBURGH — Jimmy Coen never stops moving. The 60-year-old small-business owner walks up and down Penn Avenue in Pittsburgh's Strip District business neighborhood, talking to fellow business owners, handling small problems, grabbing lunch outside at Cafe Raymond, or just striking up conversations with people along the street. Most people call him by two names: Jimmy Yinzer. He gets the Yinzer moniker because that is what he named the black-and-gold filled stores he owns along this ancient city neighborhood. The word is an homage to the distinct dialect in this Appalachian city, thanks in large part to the Scots-Irish population who first settled the region.

Instead of "you all" or "you guys," people around here say "yinz."

Most people who live or visit here and are Steelers fans make his stores their first destination. When you think of the Steelers, you think Yinzers. There are Terrible Towels, key chains, pants, dresses, leggings, footballs, sweatshirts, hats, and car mats. There are outrageous camouflage black-and-gold pants and black Steelers hats with bright gold fake hair flowing out the back. His stores along Penn Avenue have everything needed to create the most kicked-out Steelers man cave or she shed in the country. There are three Yinzer stores within one block of each other on Penn Avenue (with one under repairs from a recent fire).

His customer base is like a miniature United Nations. A variety of different languages, muffled slightly by masks, fill the air within his stores and along the tables outside his stores.

When the pandemic hit, he adjusted. When a fire broke out in the middle of the night at his flagship store, he wept. So did the city. Then, he adjusted.

When the NFL decided to inject

politics into their brand with advertising, social media posts, and tributes on their uniforms, he adjusted, but it hasn't been easy. "Back in 2016, when the NFL first became mired in politics, I took a hit in sales," he said. "The same in 2017. People don't want the places they go to escape from stress and drama to amplify the stress and drama."

In 2016, when Colin Kaepernick first decided not to stand for the national anthem, the NFL experienced an 8% dip in television ratings during the regular season when compared to 2015.

The slide continued in 2017, dropping television ratings another 9.7 percentage points as the football organization continued to look more like a social justice organization than the one place where a guy from Canton, Ohio, can have something in common with a guy who lives in Manhattan because they are rooting for the same team.

The Pittsburgh Steelers is a unique brand in that it rose in accomplishments and talent while the city was falling to its knees as steel mill after steel mill closed in the 1970s. People around here had little to look forward to except this rough-and-tumble team that beat back odds and expectations and won four Super Bowls within five years. The Terrible Towel, nothing but a common dish rag, became the city's unofficial symbol, and Steeler Nation was born.

As families were forced to move across the country or abroad, they never let go of their Pittsburgh roots. Those expats became the reason thousands of verified Steelers bars exist around the world.

"The very idea that that sentiment has diminished, even a small amount, is sad," he said. Jimmy Yinzer is the quintessential American story. He is the guy who came from nothing and did poorly in school but never stopped pushing to live the American dream. He began his retail experience working at

the former Kaufmann's department store selling furniture, but he wanted more. So he started a second job, one he created selling merchandise on a table on Penn Avenue.

It was on that street as a vendor hawking trinkets that he learned the hum of the city and the intricacies of reading people and building relationships. It was 16 backbreaking years on the pavement, whether it was pouring rain, 100 degrees, or snowing. No matter what, he pulled up in his van before the sun came out and set up to serve the city and its tourists.

He got his first storefront 15 years ago and the second one seven years later. His beloved flagship store was a purchase of love, the former home of the Feinberg Variety. It was where the Terrible Towel was first sold 40 years ago. When the Feinberg family retired, he bought the building. Last spring, a fire tore through the roof. He is still wading through the insurance bureaucracies to open it back up. But outside of it, on an unseasonably sunny fall day last week, he had a table set up and was selling merchandise, just like the old days. And now, the city's beloved team is a remarkable 8-0, its best start in the team's long history.

"When you walk into my stores, you are part of a community, a family. Everyone, no matter where they come from or what color they are when you walk in here, there is this sense that we are all in this together," he said. "My fans have not changed, but outside forces are dragging them down."

Sports team owners decided, beginning in 2016 and continuing through this year, to bet on younger people's consumer activism instead of older, loyal, and prosperous lifelong customers' preference to just watch the game.

That decision doesn't just hit their bottom line. It hits people like Jimmy Yinzer. As one customer in the store said, "It used to be I scheduled my entire Sunday around football games. That does not happen anymore. If it's on and I am home, I watch. But I am not decked out in my game jersey. Right now, I am not feeling it." He was purchasing a brand new black-and-gold sweatshirt for his wife. This one had "Yinzer" blazed across the front. It's a purchase that proves businessmen like Jimmy Yinzer know their customers. ★

Salena Zito is a senior writer for the *Washington Examiner*.



BARNES

Dire predictions about the Republican Party were wrong, again

For a few years now, we've been told the Republican Party is in a state of long-term decline. Young people reject the party in droves, women are angrily leaving it behind, and immigrants and minorities are oblivious to Republican appeals.

But somehow, Republicans manage to avoid the death sentence declared by scholars and the political guru establishment. They escaped again on Nov. 3. True, a Democrat won the White House, but Republicans captured a minimum of 10 House seats, though "experts" predicted they'd lose that many or more. The result: They're positioned to win the House in 2022 and install Republican Kevin McCarthy as speaker.

This is far from what the grassroots political community expected as well. House Democrats were geared up to pummel Republicans, making it difficult to win a House majority again. Instead, the supposedly irreversible Republican decline would continue. And we'll soon find out if that's the case.

In 2021, the first test of Republican strength comes in the runoffs in early January for Georgia's two Senate seats. Republican incumbents David Perdue and Kelly Loeffler scarcely laid a glove on their Democratic opponents in the general election. They're bound to get tougher in the runoffs.

Republicans need to add only one seat to control the Senate, but they have a better-than-even chance of winning both. That would create a 52-48 GOP Senate for Majority Leader Mitch McConnell to manage.

In the House, Republicans had won seven seats after a few days of ballot counting and led in as many as five more. Republican officials estimated

the party would wind up with 210 to 212 seats, tantalizingly close to a 218 majority.

What about state legislatures? Democrats made a strenuous effort to take over the legislatures of Texas, Pennsylvania, and Michigan. Their plan was hatched in the Obama era and engineered by Eric Holder, Barack Obama's first attorney general. It failed in all three states.

A striking feature of the Republican campaign in the House was its resourcefulness. In Miami, the issue of socialism contributed to the defeat of two unsuspecting Democrats. But with communist Cuba 90 miles away, socialism had a special resonance. And given the sharply left-wing agenda of Democrats, it was far from extreme to mention. "We had the right message," said Tom Emmer, the Minnesota congressman who runs the National Republican Congressional Committee.

To her regret, Democrat Donna Shalala explained she is merely a "pragmatic socialist." A one-term House member, she was Health and Human Services secretary in the Clinton administration and later the University of Miami's president. She lost to Republican Maria Salazar, a Miami TV host. The other victorious Republican was Carlos Gimenez, the former mayor of Miami.

In California, Republicans made headway in a state that Democrats dominate. They did it by electing two Korean American women, Michelle Steel and Young Kim. In Indiana, businesswoman Victoria Spartz, an immigrant from Ukraine, won a House seat Republicans had expected to lose. So much for the GOP's lack of appeal to immigrants.

That wasn't the only surprise. Republicans feared a Texas seat from

which Will Hurd, a widely respected GOP congressman, was retiring was a lost cause. The seat, stretching for miles outside San Antonio, is minimally Republican and heavily Hispanic. Yet Tony Gonzales, a former Navy cryptologist and college professor, captured it. Democrats were stunned.

The opposite of long shots are seats Republicans were embarrassed to lose two years ago. They won both back. Nancy Mace narrowly took the House seat in Charleston, South Carolina. A tough cookie, she was the first woman to graduate from the Citadel, the Military College of South Carolina, in 1999. And Stephanie Bice ousted Democrat Kendra Horn from the Oklahoma City seat she had shockingly won in 2018. Bice, a state senator, told voters she would "work for you — not Nancy Pelosi."

In an election in which 91% voted a straight ticket, President Trump had coattails, helping Republican candidates running under him. He deserves credit. As a result, pollster Neil Newhouse of Public Opinion Strategies said, "Senate Republicans bucked the dire predictions to hold on to at least a tie in the Senate."

That wasn't all. "House Republicans not only picked up a half-dozen or more seats when they were expected to lose double-digits," Newhouse noted, "but they didn't lose a single incumbent in the general election, and Republicans didn't lose control of any state legislative body across the country. And you know why that's important — redistricting."

Perhaps the big minds who dis Republicans will take this under consideration. ★

Fred Barnes is a *Washington Examiner* senior columnist.

HANNAN

Republicans, please stop making it all about Trump



Republicans should have every reason to be satisfied. They won support from voters of every ethnic background as identity politics was comprehensively rejected. Their down-ballot candidates fared well, outperforming President Trump nationally and in key states. The GOP made gains in the House and ought to hold the Senate.

Yet, incredibly, they risk throwing it away. At best, their refusal to accept the presidential election result looks petty and graceless and risks what ought to be two comfortable Senate wins in Georgia. At worst, it undermines the legitimacy of America's institutions.

Let's start with Georgia. The GOP ought to be strolling to victory in the two outstanding Senate elections. Georgia's Democrats won't be boosted by an exceptional national turnout next time. The election will be about the local candidates, not about Trump. Once the focus swings back to what they stand for, the relative nuttiness of the Dems, one of whom hosted Fidel Castro at a church meeting in 1995, will become a factor.

Georgian voters are a sensible and level-headed lot: They understand the difference between a Democratic Senate dragging Biden to the far left and a Republican Senate pushing him toward the moderation that most people favor. In normal times, the Republicans wouldn't just be ahead in the Peach State; they'd be inflicting the kind of hammering that Georgia's Democrats last suffered in 1864 at the hands of Gen. Sherman.

The surest way to jeopardize that outcome is to replicate the conditions of Nov. 3 — that is, to make the election all about Trump. Yet that is what the party risks doing with its unsubstantiated allegations of fraud and a stolen election.

No one questions the right of a losing candidate to check that procedures were properly followed. I don't much care for the recent rise in lawfare — that is, the almost automatic tendency of the losing side to challenge the count. But for better or worse, it has become part of the election cycle.

Until now, though, the challenges had some basis. It is not enough to say, "I don't like this outcome, so it must be crooked." Yet that is what Trump was saying even before the first ballot had been cast.

His peevishness is unsurprising. Trump has a toddler's inability to accept that he isn't No. 1. Whenever anything goes against him — a business negotiation, a court case, a TV award ceremony — he alleges that the rules were rigged. In 2020, as in 2016, he stated in advance that if he lost, it would be through fraud.

To which lots of decent and principled conservatives tend to say, "Yup. Well, that's Trump for you." Those who ask why he gets an automatic pass tend to be written off as literal-minded, unsophisticated, or missing some elemental truth. As long as Trump was delivering good things, and, without question, he did deliver some good things, it was not quite the done thing in conservative circles to dwell on his character flaws.

I never understood why. When a

“No one questions the right of a losing candidate to check that procedures were properly followed.”

president undermines the electoral system, he endangers the republic. The chief executive is the one person who should never be given a pass. We should set higher standards for him, not lower ones.

Let me spell this out. Civil wars happen not when people disagree about what to do but when they disagree about who has the right to issue orders. In the United Kingdom, officeholders swear an oath to the crown because it stands above politicians and parties. In the United States, that function is performed by the Constitution, which is why successive generations have sacralized the document, hanging it like a holy relic in the National Archives and making their representatives swear oaths to it.

One of the things that makes the U.S. different from, say, Libya or Syria is that people's loyalty is to the system, not to a particular faction. When you state it like that, you realize how fragile and contingent it is. Human beings are hierarchical creatures. We respond more readily to flesh-and-blood leaders than to old pieces of parchment.

Republicans, as their name suggests, are supposed to uphold republican institutions. They are meant to understand that laws are sustained by an intricate latticework of unwritten norms, behavioral codes, and precedents. My sense is that most elected Republicans do understand this and believe that Trump lost squarely. But they won't say so for fear of their audience.

This is precisely what Franklin meant by "if you can keep it." Subordinating the authority of the electoral process to an individual is precisely the two-bit Caesarism that the founders warned against. Please, America, don't go there. ★

Daniel J. Hannan is a British Conservative MEP.

Alex Trebek, 1940-2020

'A cheerleader of sorts of the value of living and hope'

By Peter Tonguetta

We knew how much we would miss Alex Trebek. When, in March 2019, the longtime host of the game show *Jeopardy!* revealed that he had received a diagnosis of stage IV pancreatic cancer, we began to reckon with what would become a grim new normal. The odds were that sometime soon, the man whose famously calm disposition and ease with all manner of facts, figures, and tidbits had serenaded countless dinner hours would no longer be among us. That came to pass on Nov. 8, when Trebek died at age 80.

It must be a special kind of burden to be a public figure while contending with a terminal illness. A grim diagnosis has a way of focusing the patient's attention inward, on his own mortality, but a celebrity in the same position must also contend with avaricious but well-meaning fans and a routine of rigorous public engagement. The constant calls for health updates are surely emotionally draining.

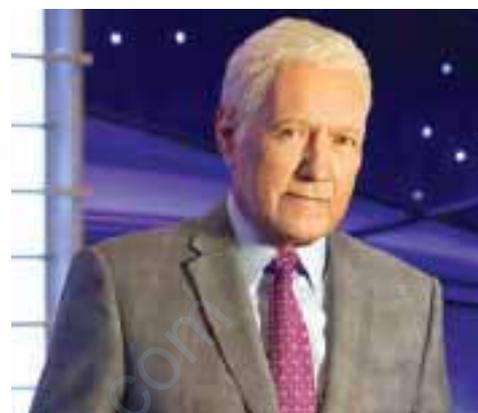
Trebek handled the predicament gracefully: Aware that his plight roused genuine sympathy among a loyal fan base built over three decades as host, Trebek checked in with bracingly honest cancer status reports. He also returned the love that was sent his way. Speaking in a video recorded on the anniversary of his diagnosis, Trebek candidly recalled moments in which he wondered about the wisdom of proceeding with

chemotherapy treatments that resulted in awful physical side effects and bouts of agonizing depression. To concede to such thoughts, though, went against his grain. "It would have been a betrayal of other cancer patients who have looked to me as an inspiration and a cheerleader of sorts of the value of living and hope," Trebek said. "And it would certainly have been a betrayal of my faith in God and the millions of prayers that have been said on my behalf."

In fact, Trebek's affinity with the public, and with our stand-ins, the contestants who filed on and off the set of *Jeopardy!* through the years, was among his most notable qualities. When a player confidently buzzed in with the wrong answer in the form of a question, Trebek could be quick or cutting, but he was never mean-spirited; he corrected you as a teacher might and relished when you made up for your mistake. And during "Final Jeopardy!" when a player was revealed to have made a wild, uneducated guess or to have placed a reckless wager, Trebek more often than not seemed gently disappointed. In affecting the manner of a mellow life coach, Trebek injected just enough spontaneity into a role that was highly choreographed, consisting of the reading of clues, the calling on contestants, and the management of the game itself.

Born in Ontario in 1940, Trebek kicked off his career at the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Upon arriving in the United States, he cycled through a largely inauspicious series of 1970s-era game shows, from *The Wizard of Odds* to *High Rollers*, before being tapped to oversee that great blue board in the fourth incarnation of *Jeopardy!* starting in 1984 and continuing even after his illness was announced.

To be a game show host during Trebek's early years was to court genuine celebrity, but this host had an altogether different, more lasting quality than Bob Barker's auctioneerlike showmanship on *The Price Is Right* or Chuck Woolery's *I'm OK — You're OK*-style friendliness on *Love Connection*. He also benefited from a game that



demanding real knowledge, unlike the guessing prompted by a steady diet of *Wheel of Fortune*. Canadian-accented and, for much of his career, amusingly mustachioed, Trebek was happy to put himself at the service of his show's endless barrage of factoids and trivia, none of which he condescended to. "We are a show that comes into your home every day that doesn't disturb you," Trebek said in an interview with the Archive of American Television. "Everyone can play. You can spend a half-hour together without feeling you have to flee the room to go watch your own show."

Trebek did not overstate his importance — he even appeared in a cameo in Robert Altman's *Short Cuts*, embodying the sort of low-wattage star that average folks would be impressed by — but *Saturday Night Live* star Will Ferrell's famous Trebek impression, first trotted out in the 1990s, was funny without being quite right: The real Trebek had nothing of the priggish scold in him.

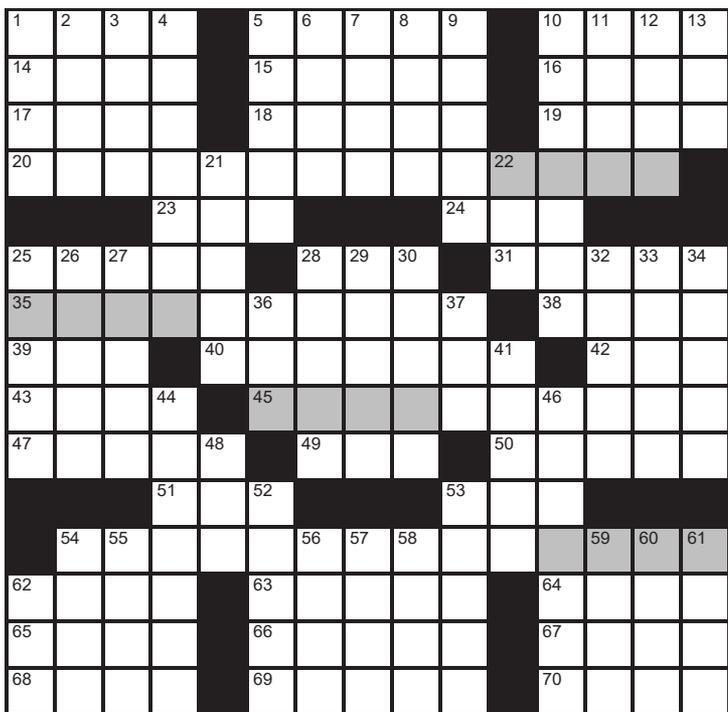
In his labors, Trebek emerged as not only the world's greatest game show host but also as the most plausible heir to those stone-faced television newsmen of yesteryear who at least affected objectivity and dispassion. Like Walter Cronkite or John Chancellor before him, Trebek appeared to have the world at his fingertips, and now, in death, he has the world at his feet. ★

Peter Tonguetta writes for many publications, including the Wall Street Journal, National Review, and Humanities.

CROSSWORD

Change Hands

By Brendan Emmett Quigley



- 49 Deep desire
- 50 Modify
- 51 Beaver's work
- 53 Ice Cube's group
- 54 Group that manages the changing of administrations, and a hint to this puzzle's theme
- 62 Fishing spot
- 63 Second thought
- 64 Profits
- 65 Prefix with science
- 66 Playful aquatic animal
- 67 [No return allowed]
- 68 Marries
- 69 Cook in a wok, perhaps
- 70 Warrior princess of 1990s action TV

- 29 Adhesive
- 30 Sci-fi character
- 32 Sci-fi character
- 33 London line
- 34 Beatle Ringo
- 36 Ornamental flower, for short
- 37 Singer DiFranco
- 41 Eaten at persistently
- 44 Humor essayist David
- 46 Recurring economic proposal
- 48 Skedaddled
- 52 Early PC system
- 53 ___ Dame
- 54 Watch info
- 55 Rip apart
- 56 Jot
- 57 Dancer's dress
- 58 Cynical retort
- 59 Let up
- 60 Blood-related
- 61 ___ Verde National Park
- 62 Mil. captive

DOWN

- 1 Sound astonished
- 2 WWI battle locale
- 3 "Me neither"
- 4 Not meant to be public
- 5 Platters
- 6 Jacob's Old Testament twin
- 7 Pessimist's word
- 8 Send to the canvas
- 9 Speak derisively
- 10 Side-to-side
- 11 Eye part
- 12 Waiting room call
- 13 Fine endeavor?
- 21 Furnish with gear
- 22 Mafia
- 25 Secure site starter
- 26 Quarterback Rodgers
- 27 "Have ___ myself clear?"
- 28 Spread out

ACROSS

- 1 Women's doc, informally
- 5 Flattens
- 10 Moon goddess
- 14 From
- 15 Writer ___ Bashevis Singer
- 16 State vehemently
- 17 Lowly laborer of old
- 18 Japanese electronics company
- 19 Message from a Galaxy far, far away?
- 20 Butcher's best selection
- 23 They average 100
- 24 In favor of

- 25 5-7-5 poem
- 28 Hydromassage facility
- 31 Root beer brand that "Has Bite"
- 35 Alt-rock band with the 2020 album "The Slow Rush"
- 38 Dolt
- 39 Chorus line leader?
- 40 Athrob
- 42 "Don't ___ stranger!"
- 43 Pea holders
- 45 Some chess puzzle instructions
- 47 Show of contempt

SOLUTION TO LAST

WEEK'S CROSSWORD: WHO WON?





EXAMINER TODAY

EXAMINER TODAY delivers a must-read briefing with exclusive reports and cutting-edge insights direct to your mailbox. Broadcast from our newsroom in the nation's capital, this daily newsletter keeps you posted on the top news here and critical developments everywhere that are on our editors' radar screen.

GO TO NEWSLETTERS.WASHINGTONEXAMINER.COM TO SIGN UP

Washington Examiner

DAILY ON ENERGY

Daily on Energy is a news-packed briefing for policy professionals and others following energy and environmental issues. Daily on Energy delivers important stories from the Washington Examiner and other publications to your inbox, a schedule of important policy events and regulations, and news of innovations that will have an impact on policy in the future.

SUBSCRIBE TODAY.
NEWSLETTERS.WASHINGTONEXAMINER.COM

Savings?

Start here.

GEICO, the Government Employees Insurance Company, insures **over a half-million federal employees** like you – and has been helping serve their insurance needs for over 75 years.

We stand ready to serve you.

Get a free quote today!



geico.com/federal • 1-800-947-AUTO