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Donald, Hillary and the Bernie factor

By CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER
Washington Post Writers Group

WASHINGTON — Among the abundant ironies of this election cycle, there is this: We are now in the eighth year of the most liberal administration since Lyndon Johnson's.

The primary elections reveal a national mood of anxiety, apprehension and anger, in turn reflecting stagnation at home and failure abroad.

Two-thirds of Americans think the country is on the wrong track. Yet after nearly two terms of Barack Obama's corrosively unsuccessful liberalism — both parties have decisively moved left.

Hillary Clinton cannot put away a heretofore marginal, self-declared socialist. He has forced her into leftward genuflections on everything from trade to national health care. At the same time, Bernie Sanders has created a remarkably resilient insurgency calling for — after Obama, mind you — a political revolution of the left.

The Republicans' ideological about-face is even more pronounced. They've chosen as their leader a nationalist populist who hardly bothers to pretend any allegiance to conservatism. Indeed, Donald Trump is, like Sanders, running to the left of Clinton on a host of major issues including trade, Wall Street, NATO and interventionism.

It turns out that the ultimate general election question is not where Cruz or Rubio or Kasich supporters are going — almost all seem to be making their tortuous way to Trump — but where do Bernie Sanders' supporters go?

Most will, of course, go to Hillary.

Some will stay home. But Trump is making a not-so-subtle pitch to those Democrats and independents who gave Sanders his victories in the industrial Midwest.

The Trump and Sanders constituencies share one stark characteristic: They are both overwhelmingly white. In the Rust Belt, the appeal is to middle- and working-class voters who have suffered economic and social dislocation. The question is whether Trump can win a sufficient number of those voters, erstwhile Reagan Democrats, to flip just a few states that, like Michigan and Pennsylvania, have gone Democratic for the last six elections.

Which is why Clinton is treating Sanders so (relatively) gently. She wants to be rid of him but cannot alienate his constituency — especially after the ruckus made by his supporters at the Nevada state convention and after his string of recent victories in West Virginia, Indiana and Oregon and the virtual draw in Kentucky. She needs him.

Normally, endorsements don't matter in American politics. But the Sanders constituency is substantial and very loyal. And rather angry now as they can see the Clinton machine winning the nomination through superdelegates.

She needs his blessing and active support in the general election. If not carefully cultivated and appeased, say, on the party platform and/or vice presidential choice, Sanders could very well disappear after the Philadelphia convention and leave her to her own devices — which are much lacking, as demonstrated in her recent primary losses.

She needs to keep his legions in the



Charles Krauthammer

game through November. At the very least, she needs him to warn his followers away from a Trump temptation.

That, after all, is Trump's path to victory: Add a few industrial blue states to the traditional must-win swing states — Ohio and Florida, most obviously — and pull off an Electoral College win.

The Clinton counter-strategy is based on the global demographics. Trump's unfavorable numbers are impressive: 79 percent among Hispanics, 73 percent among nonwhites, 72 percent among young people, 64 percent among women, 57 percent in the general population.

Which is the more compelling scenario? Right now, Clinton has the distinct advantage. Flipping reliably Democratic states, as well as lowering Trump's high negatives, are both very difficult.

But there's one wild card: events — unforeseen, unforeseeable, yet near inevitable. We are highly unlikely to go the next six months without a significant crisis. In September 2008, the financial collapse cemented Obama's victory when he, the novice, reacted far more calmly and steadily than did John McCain, the veteran.

This time around, Trump reacted to the terror attack in San Bernardino with a nakedly nativist, shamelessly demagogic, yet politically shrewd call for (temporarily, allegedly) banning all Muslims from entering the U.S. Roundly denounced by Democrats and leading Republicans alike, Trump watched his poll numbers go through the roof. Turns out that GOP voters supported the ban, 2 to 1.

A candidate with the tactical acuity to successfully deploy such breathtaking, bigotry-tinged cynicism is not to be trifled with. Under normal circumstances, Clinton wins. But if the fire alarm goes off between now and Election Day, all bets are off. Clinton had better be ready. Trump has shown that he will be.

Leave them alone, give them space

Rarely are animal babies actually abandoned

Last week's sad and irritating news that a newborn bison calf had to be euthanized in Yellowstone National Park after well-meaning tourists placed it their vehicle, leading to it being rejected by its herd, is a good reminder of our own baby animal issues. Young wildlife — including pups, fawns, bear cubs and birds — are best left alone.

The most common situation here involves harbor seal pups, whose harried mothers leave them on beaches while they go out in the ocean in search of food. Only very rarely — when something happens to the mother seal while it's away — is its baby in any danger of actual abandonment.

"The mother is often nearby, watching, but will not approach with people around. If the baby seal is moved, it has no chance of reuniting with its mother," Tiffany Boothe of the Seaside Aquarium advises.

Most local people — and even most visitors from elsewhere in the Pacific Northwest — know this and leave the seals alone. Less well-known are these additional guidelines from NOAA Fisheries:

- If you see a seal on the beach, give it space. Federal guidelines recommend stay-

ing at least 300 feet away.

- Keep pets away. Dogs may harm the seal, be bitten by it, or pick up mutually infectious diseases.

- A minimum undisturbed observation period of 24 to 48 hours is recommended to see whether the pup is being attended by a female. Signs of an attendant female would include sightings of seals in the water nearby; tracks near the pup; movement of the pup up or down the beach, or in and out of the water.

- Remind others that seal pups need to use shoreline habitat to warm up (do not pour water on them); and rest (do not handle, cover or attempt to feed seal pups).

Call the Seaside Aquarium at 503-738-6211 or the Oregon Marine Mammal Stranding Network Hotline at 866-767-6114 if you are concerned about a particular baby seal or other marine mammal.

Congress finally agrees for the good

Nowadays, it is surprising to learn Congress has agreed to anything more than taking another vacation. Forthcoming chemical safety legislation borders on being an amazing accomplishment.

Federal lawmakers last week unveiled compromise laws that "will provide the industry with greater certainty while empowering the Environmental Protection Agency to obtain more information about a chemical before approving its use. And because the laws involved regulate thousands of chemicals in products as diverse as detergents, paint thinners and permanent-press clothing, the result also will have a profound effect on Americans' everyday lives," according to *The Washington Post*.

If it goes through as expected, the law will be the biggest gain for chemical safety in four decades. Companies like the law because it precludes states from imposing their own standards, unless the federal review process for a chemical

takes more than 42 months. Confidential business information will be protected and risk determinations must be based on up-to-date science.

The law directs the Environmental Protection Agency to immediately begin long overdue reviews of at least 10 common toxin substances, including asbestos, formaldehyde and flame retardants. Going forward, EPA will be able require companies to provide health and safety information for untested chemicals. Currently, only 200 chemicals have been subject to EPA-mandated testing, even though more than 8,000 major chemicals are produced in the U.S., according to the EPA.

This legislation is a welcome rebuttal of the widely held conservative view that congressional gridlock is desirable. Better chemical standards will save lives and alleviate worry. This proactive legislation is welcome and shows what lawmakers can achieve when they do their jobs.

It could be Australia or anywhere

By ROGER COHEN
New York Times News Service

SYDNEY — I boarded a flight Sat Kennedy Airport in New York. There were HSBC ads in the jet bridge.

I flew for 24 hours to the bottom of the world. There were HSBC ads in the jet bridge.

I had my obligatory duty-free experience in Sydney, which is to say that I was channeled through a duty-free store rather than opting to enter it, and so was exposed to all the familiar brands I had seen a day earlier under similar duress.

I left a country, the United States, in the midst of an election campaign.

I arrived in a country, Australia, in the midst of an election campaign. The electoral battle here pits the conservative prime minister, Malcolm Turnbull, from the Liberal party, against Bill Shorten from the left-of-center Labor party. But the candidate people talk about is Donald Trump.

America's election is the world's election, but only Americans get to vote in it.

I left an America raging about refugees and immigration and came to find the Australian immigration minister, Peter Dutton, fuming about "illiterate and innumerate" refugees intent on taking "Australian jobs."

I had a cappuccino before I left. There was a cute heart shape traced in the foam. Next to the Sydney Opera House, familiar from photographs, I had a cappuccino. There was a cute heart shape traced in the foam.

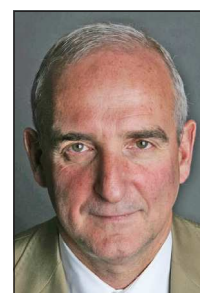
From my window in Brooklyn Heights I watch joggers at water's edge,

some with dogs or infants in strollers. Old industrial areas, piers and warehouses that have no use in the knowledge economy have been transformed into parks and lofts for the gentrified. From my Sydney hotel window I gaze at an urban landscape similarly transformed. I watch joggers at water's edge. They wear the same gear. They use the same devices. They are into wellness in the same way.

I lose myself in the silvery play of moonlight on water. Where on earth am I? I have traveled a long way through time zones over a vast ocean to find myself in the same place. My Twitter feed looks the same. My Facebook friends have not changed. My little universe with all its little excitements and aggravations is still at my fingertips. My bills are maddeningly accessible. Through an immense displacement nothing has been left behind. Even in another hemisphere I contemplate my life from the same angle. People argue about climate change and same-sex marriage and jobs and immigration, as if the world is now a place where everyone discusses the same thing.

Can it be then that Sydneysiders are merely New York's Westsiders with a smile and an economy that has not seen a recession in more than 20 years.

In his great poem *The City*, C.P. Cavafy wrote: "As you've wasted your life here, in this small corner, you've destroyed it everywhere else in the world." We never escape our own skins, nor our lives lived to this point, however far we go in search of escape. But today's



Roger Cohen

trap, fashioned through technology, is of a different nature. The homogenization of experience is also an insidious invitation to conform.

Experience, like journalism, withers without immersion in place. At some level, the truly lived moment involves the ability to get lost — lost in a conversation, or in the back alleys or Naples, or in silence, or in the scents and inflections of a new city. There is no greater thrill than being lost in this way because self is left behind, a form of liberation.

Yet a world is taking form that wants you never to be lost, never to feel displaced, never to be unanchored, never to be unable to photograph yourself, never to stand in awe before mystery, never to exit your safety zone (or only in managed fashion), never to leave your life behind: a world where you travel for 24 hours to your point of departure.

How reassuring! How desperate!

There may be no choice but to head for the Outback, the vast and empty interior of this continent-sized land where everyone hugs the coast, or perhaps eat Vegemite, apparently a singular experience. I will keep you posted, dear reader, should I survive either.

At least Australians speak a different language. A colleague tells me to "sing out" if I need something. A problem is met with the reassuring "She'll be right." She? Who? I am asked if "there's anything else I can get you, AT ALL." I eat brekkie. Those joggers, apparently, are on a footpath, not a sidewalk, and if I need gas when I head for the Outback I'll find it at the "servo." Every sentence seems to end with a kind of upward-rising lilt that turns it into a half-question to which I have no answer.

So I am somewhere else after all. Surely I am. I wake at night, sleep by day, and find myself altogether lost in translation.

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Open forum

Have an opinion?

Did you know a 168-unit apartment complex is being planned between Miles Crossing and the Lewis and Clark school? If you have an opinion about this project, please come to the Planning Commission meeting at 10 a.m. Tuesday in the Astoria City Hall Council Chambers, 1095 Duane St. If you can't come, please write them a letter before the meeting. A project like this could change the landscape of Miles Crossing forever.

TOM TETLOW
 Astoria

Building a wall

Thank you for publishing the letter by Virginia Holdener ("Singled out," *The Daily Astorian*, May 6), in which she expressed her dismay at the ban on our native culture icon and mascot, the Warrenton Warrior. However, she did not go far enough.

The truth is, folks, people of mixed native blood still inhabit

this county. Indeed, Oregon's first schoolteacher married a local American Indian woman, Celiast Smith. She is buried next to Camp Rilea on what used to be American Indian land.

Moreover, the American Indians of this area were never at war with white settlers — one of the few areas where peace reigned. Princess Sharon and her brother still are living in Astoria, and are direct descendants of Concomly, historic chief of Astoria and Fort George.

So what is the big deal? Yet you — Uncle Sam — would continue, in your "state of Oregon" guise, to deny us our culture even now. Out with the warrior American Indian head, in with the Viking hat.

That is the real issue here, isn't it, folks? Clatsop kids cannot be allowed to revere and respect the iconic American Indian warrior. Only Nordic images are allowed here. When Trump is reigning over Clatsop land, no doubt he will build a wall to keep us Native Americans out.

LOIS DU PAYS
 Chinook, Washington