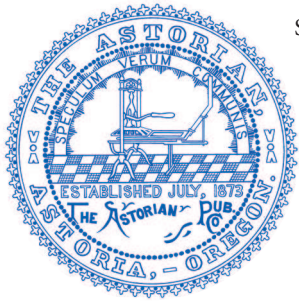


# THE DAILY ASTORIAN

Founded in 1873



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AP Photo/Ben Curtis

Then-U.S. envoy Chris Stevens attends meetings at the Tibesti Hotel in Benghazi, Libya, in April 2011.

## Chinook ancestors would be proud

*Chris Stevens' family is tired of the Benghazi witch hunt*

It isn't often that a remote Pacific Northwest coast newspaper figures in national affairs in even the smallest way, but Washington, D.C.'s attention briefly flickered toward Pacific County, Washington, in the aftermath of U.S. Ambassador Chris Stevens' 2012 murder by thugs in Benghazi, Libya.

Not only did the U.S. State Department reach out to provide a statement of condolence to the Chinook Indian Nation via the *Chinook Observer*, but CBS News came nosing around to see whether there was any vaguely interesting local information to report about the ambassador, a member of the tribe.

The State Department's outreach was an unanticipated but thoughtful gesture, while national media interest was the sort of due-diligence one would hope for from Edward R. Murrow's organization. Unexpected and unwelcome were efforts by some in Congress to use Chris Stevens' tragic death as a weapon to undermine the political career of then-Secretary of State Hillary Clinton.

The Stevens family has shown remarkable patience and restraint as one investigation after another tried to pin blame on Clinton and/or the Obama administration in general. Most recently, late last month Republicans who lead the House Select Committee on Benghazi issued an 800-page, \$7 million report. It lambasted the State Department, the Pentagon and the CIA for failing to adequately protect the slain diplomats and respond once the attack on them was underway. Democrats on the committee labeled the entire enterprise a witch hunt.

Anne Stevens, sister of Ambassador Stevens and chief of pediatric rheumatology at Seattle Children's Hospital, cuts through all the political gibberish in an interview in the June 28 issue



Via Wikipedia/By Kode3

Ambassador Chris Stevens' gravestone in Grass Valley, Calif.

of *The New Yorker*: tinyurl.com/Stevens-Interview.

Some high points:

- The Benghazi compound wasn't well enough protected, but Congress itself underfunded State Department security.

- The latest investigation turned up nothing new. It and earlier efforts were blatantly political.

- Clinton took full responsibility and established a better security program. However, danger is an inherent part of being a diplomat in a tumultuous region. Chris Stevens and his family knew the risks and were willing to accept them.

- "It would be much more useful for Congress to focus on providing resources for all State Department facilities around the world — for increasing personnel, language capabilities, for increasing staff to build relationships, particularly in North Africa and the Middle East."

Perhaps best of all in his sister's remarks, it is refreshing to be reminded of how bright and outward-looking Chris Stevens was. His openness to the world, his courage, intelligence and sense of adventure all were exemplary. His Chinook ancestors would be exceptionally proud.

# The coming political realignment

By DAVID BROOKS

*New York Times News Service*

Donald Trump has done something politically smart and substantively revolutionary.

He is a Republican presidential candidate running against free trade and, effectively, free markets.

By putting trade at the top of the conversation he elevates the issue on which Hillary Clinton is the most squirrely, where her position reinforces the message that she will say anything to get power.

But mostly it's politically smart because Donald Trump's only shot of winning the presidency is to smash and replace the entire structure of the American political debate. For the past 80 years that debate has been about the size of government — Republicans for less government and more market and Democrats for more government and less market.

If that debate structures this election, Trump will get somewhere between 38 and 44 percent of the votes — where he's been polling all year.

Trump's only hope is to change the debate from size of government to open/closed. His only hope is to cast his opponents as the right-left establishment that supports open borders, free trade, cosmopolitan culture and global intervention. He would stand as a right-left populist who supports closed borders, trade barriers, local and nationalistic culture and an America First foreign policy.

In an age of anxiety, that closed posture might have a shot at winning. On trade, for example, 60 percent of Republicans, 49 percent of Democrats and 50 percent of independents believe that trade agreements are mostly harmful, according to a Brookings Institution/Public Religion Research Institute study.

I personally doubt that Trump will be able to pull off a right-left populist coalition. His views on women and minorities are unacceptable to nearly everybody on the left. There's no evidence that he's winning over many Sanders voters or downscale progressives.

But where Trump fails, somebody else will succeed. And that's where he's substantively revolutionary. The old size-of-government question was growing increasingly archaic and obsolete. In country after country the main battle lines of debate are evolving toward the open/closed framework.

If you don't like our current political polarization, wait 10 years. One way or another it will go away. When the frame of debate shifts to open/closed, sometime soon, the old coalitions will smash apart and new ones



AP Photo/Keith Srakocic

Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump speaks during a campaign stop at Alumisource, a metals recycling facility in Monessen, Pa., on June 28. Donald Trump's break with decades of conservative economic thinking on the value of free trade comes as the Republican Party is increasingly relying on older, downscale white voters who are the most skeptical of trade deals and have lost out during an age of globalization.

will form. Politics will be unrecognizable.

It's significant that Trump gave his big anti-trade speech in the Pittsburgh area. That part of Western Pennsylvania illustrates in a very concrete way how the open/closed debate will play out.

Pittsburgh is a great renaissance story. I recently got a tour of it from the mayor, Bill Peduto. We visited a beautiful, tight Italian community with family-owned businesses stretching back generations. We visited a resurging African-American community where local activists were building a cultural center in the home of

the great playwright August Wilson. Mostly we just saw acres and acres of new development: new restaurants, new museums, new loft-style office spaces and several gleaming new hospitals.

Pittsburgh has come so far from the deindustrialization days of the 1970s and 1980s.

But then I drove through the steel mill towns along the Monongahela and other rivers. The storefronts and banks were boarded up, the downtowns deserted. The mills are still operating, but they are so efficient they're eerily empty of human presence. The towns still have residents, but not much is going on. I drove for miles, unable to find even a diner for lunch.

It occurred to me the Pittsburgh renaissance didn't really grow up out of the metro Pittsburgh of old.



David Brooks

**If you don't like our current political polarization, wait 10 years.**

\$131 billion.

You also see how an efficient manufacturing sector makes it possible to divert resources into things that improve the quality of life. As Neil Irwin pointed out in *The Times*, Pittsburgh has lost 5,100 steel jobs since 1990. But it has also gained 66,000 health care jobs over the same time.

The problem is getting people from the bottom layer to the top layer — a 30-minute drive, but a universe away.

The prophets of closedness will argue that the problem is trade. The prophets of openness will argue that we need the dynamism that free trade brings. We just need to be more aggressive in equipping people to thrive in that dynamic landscape. If facts still matter in this debate — and I'm not sure they do — the proponents of openness are massively right.

## Sovereign Kingdom or little England?

By CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER

*Washington Post Writers Group*

WASHINGTON — Given their arrogance, pomposity and habitual absurdities, it is hard not to feel a certain satisfaction with the comeuppance that Brexit has delivered to the unaccountable European Union bureaucrats in Brussels.

Nonetheless, we would do well to refrain from smug condescension.

Unity is not easy. What began in 1951 as a six-member European Coal and Steel Community was grounded in a larger conception of a united Europe born from the ashes of World War II. Seven decades into the postwar era, Britain wants out and the EU is facing an existential crisis.

Yet where were we Americans seven decades into our great experiment in continental confederation, our "more perfect union" contracted under the Constitution of 1787? At Fort Sumter.

The failure of our federal idea gave us civil war and 600,000 dead. And we had the advantage of a common language, common heritage and common memory of heroic revolutionary struggle against a common (British) foe. Europe had none of this. The European project tries to forge the union of dozens of disparate peoples, ethnicities, languages and cultures, amid the searing memories of the two most destructive wars in history fought among and against each other.

The result is the EU, a great idea badly executed. The founding motive was obvious and noble: to reconcile the combatants of World War II, most especially France and Germany, and create conditions that would ensure there could be no repetition. Onto that was appended the more utopian vision of a continental superstate that would once and for all transcend parochial nationalism.

That vision blew up with Brexit on June 23. But we mustn't underestimate the significance, and improbability, of the project's more narrow, but still singular, achievement — peace. It has given Europe the most extended period of internal tranquility since the Roman Empire. (In conjunction, of course, with NATO, which provided Europe with its American umbrella against external threat.)

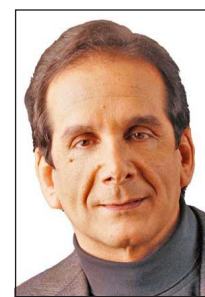
Not only is there no armed conflict among European states. The very idea is inconceivable. (Fighting between the various nations has been subcontracted to soccer hooligans.) This on a continent where war had been the norm for a millennium.

Give the EU its due. Despite its comical faux-national paraphernalia of flag, anthem and useless parliament, it has championed and advanced a transnational idea that has helped curb the nationalist excesses that culminated in two world wars.

Advanced not quite enough, however. Certainly not enough to support its disdainful, often dismissive, treatment of residual nationalisms and their democratic expressions. Despite numerous objections by referendum and parliament, which it routinely either ignored or circumvented, the EU continued its relentless drive for more centralization, more regulation and thus more power for its unelected self.

Such high-handed overriding of popular sentiment could go on only so long. Until June 23, 2016, to be precise.

To be sure, popular sentiment was rather narrowly divided. The most prominent disparity in the British vote was generational. The young, having grown up in the new Europe, are



Charles Krauthammer

**Talk about a great idea executed badly.**

more comfortable with its cosmopolitanism and have come to expect open borders, open commerce and open movement of people. They voted overwhelmingly — by 3 to 1 — to Remain. Leave was mainly the position of an older generation no longer willing to tolerate European assaults on British autonomy and sovereignty.

Understandably so. Here is Britain, inventor of the liberal idea and home to the mother of parliaments, being instructed by a bunch of pastry-eating Brussels bureaucrats on everything from the proper size of pomegranates to the human rights of terrorists.

Widely mentioned, and resented, was the immigration directive to admit other EU citizens near automatically. But what pushed the Leave side over the top was less policy than primacy. Who runs Britain? Amazingly, about half of the laws and regulations that govern British life today come not from Westminster but from Brussels.

Brexit was an assertion of national sovereignty and an attempt, in one fell swoop, to recover it.

There is much to admire in that impulse. But at what cost? Among its casualties may be not just the European project (other exit referendums are already being proposed) but possibly the United Kingdom itself. The Scots are already talking about another vote for independence. And Northern Ireland, which voted to remain in the EU, might well seek to unite with the Republic.

Talk about a great idea executed badly. In seeking a newly sovereign United Kingdom, the Brits might well find themselves having produced a little England.