



① *National Review Takes a Stand against Trump*

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## National Review Takes a Stand against Trump

MIKE ADAMO  
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

Last Thursday night, *National Review*, the quintessential publication of the American conservative movement, published a symposium called “Conservatives against Trump.” Twenty-two writers contributed brief, principled pieces on why the right-of-center movement should not embrace Trump, even if he’s currently popular among a large and frankly embarrassing part of the Republican Party’s base.

Radio host Glenn Beck calls the Trump phenomenon a “crisis for conservatism.” He and other writers make a good case that Trumpism is not a legitimate outgrowth of the conservative movement that began with the founding of *National Review*.

*National Review makes the case that Trumpism is not a legitimate outgrowth of the American conservative movement.*

“He consistently advocated that your money be spent, that your government grow, and that your Constitution be ignored,” writes Beck. Yuval Levin, editor of *National Affairs*, calls Trump’s promises of unilateral leadership incompatible with conservatism. “He poses a direct challenge to conservatism,” Levin writes, “because he embodies the empty promise of managerial leadership outside of politics.”

Only a few writers—too few, in fact—directly attack Trump on his politics of bigotry. “Not since George Wallace has there been a presidential candidate who made racial and religious scapegoating so central to his campaign,” writes David Boaz of the Cato Institute. One contributor counts the various groups Trump has publicly attacked—“immigrants, women, the disabled”—and the list could go far beyond that.

Others focus on Trump’s flamboyant and un-conservative temperament. “The man has demonstrated an emotional immaturity bordering on personality disorder,” says Mona Charen of the Ethics and Public Policy Center. No one, economist Thomas Sowell writes, should trust a “shoot-from-the-hip, bombastic showoff” to handle the intricacies of foreign policy.

Several contributors reflect on the causes of Trump’s popularity and its portents for American political culture. “Should his election results match his polls,” writes John Podhoretz, editor of *Commentary*, “he would be, unquestionably, the worst thing to happen to the American common culture in my lifetime.”

Trump has always been a blowhard, but what’s happening to this “common culture” that Podhoretz talks about? Many commentators have argued that Trump isn’t a cause but a symptom of the wild, anti-intellectual, and bigoted populist politics that are dominating this election. “The middle-class consensus in America has collapsed,” writes R. R. Reno, editor of *First Things*. “This is the most important political and social earthquake since World War II. The conservative movement’s leadership isn’t up to the challenge, and a good number of voters are willing to gamble on Trump’s bluster.”

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## Armed Protest in Oregon Backed by Extraction Firms

By **SAM BENEVELLI**  
STAFF WRITER

For almost a month now, we have been hearing about gun wielding activists occupying an animal wildlife refuge in rural Oregon. It is easy to dismiss these self-proclaimed militiamen as right-wing extremists with absurd justifications for initiating a government standoff. But one question that should be running through your mind is, “why are they still out there?”

The simple answer as to why the government has not removed the protestors from the seized federal property is rather simple: memories of Waco and Ruby Ridge, both where federal officials tried to intervene in an armed protest with deadly results, are still too fresh. In Oregon, as of January 23, however, there has only been one arrest of a man who is accused of driving a stolen government truck.

Reporters from all major news outlets have also been camped out in snowy fields to witness the spectacle as well as to attend daily press conferences for updates from the protestors about their unwavering aims. These conferences not only give the militiamen, hailing from all across the West, the opportunity to interact with the locals, but also

## This Week’s News in 140 Characters

### EDITORIAL REPORT

**Chris Cillizza** @TheFix · 10h  
"I have very big returns...and everything is very beautiful." -- Donald Trump on his tax returns.

**Noah Rothman** @NoahCRothman · 22h  
For all the focus on the schism between activist and establishment GOP, break up between intellectual and Beltway GOP is maybe more bitter.

**Rich Lowry** @RichLowry · Jan 23  
Very moved by the outpouring of support from NR readers--thank you, thank you, thank you

**Greg Gutfeld** @greggutfeld · Jan 23  
"Snow is cold and white, just like Republicans." (feel free to use, MSNBC)

**Allahpundit** @allahpundit · Jan 21  
Increasingly likely that Jeb's legacy from this race will be that he did more than anyone else to enable a Trump victory

**Stephen Bell** @atstephenbell · Jan 20  
bowie leaves us and then a 9th planet appears, i don't need to read your science article

**John DeVore** @JohnDeVore · Jan 19  
If Bernie keeps dominating HRC in the NH polls, I will bravely volunteer to be his official soft food taster

**Matt Viser** @mviser · Jan 19  
John McCain's former running mate is now endorsing the man who said, "He's not a war hero." Welcome to 2016, everyone.

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ARMED PROTEST IN OREGON *cont.*

to give frequent updates on fragile negotiations with government officials.

The occupation began on January 2 to rally support for the Hammonds, a father and son sentenced to five years in prison for setting fires on their land that then spread to federal property. What began as a demonstration of support and frustration quickly grew into an ideological struggle for the militiamen.

*Resource extraction firms such as Exxon/Mobile, British Petroleum, and Chevron are prominent backers of wise use groups.*

Many in the West share similar sentiments with the protestors’ message: the seemingly arbitrary federal control of lands leads to the alienation of small rural towns. These cries of misuse of federal oversight echo the preaching of the wise use

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## Haley Shines in GOP Response

By **ALEX KLOSNER**  
STAFF WRITER

Earlier this month, South Carolina Governor Nikki Haley gave the GOP response to President Obama’s State of the Union Address. Contrary to Obama’s claim of a strong economy, Haley revealed more realistic economic conditions.

She argued that slow economic growth, crushing debt, and the rising cost of healthcare are nothing for Obama to boast about. Under the Obama administration, the national debt has skyrocketed. At the beginning of his term, U.S. debt stood at \$10.6 trillion. According to the Washington Times, U.S. debt could reach \$20 trillion by the end of Obama’s term.

Data released last year by the Bureau of Economic Analysis indicated that in the 23 quarters after the recession, annualized real GDP growth was only 2.24 percent. Comparatively, it was 4.79 percent

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Bad bet.”

The idea that Trump is merely exploiting voters’ anger at the current state of political affairs has some merit, but I think there are deeper causes for Trumpism. The truth is that latent (and often manifest) racism and anti-elitism have always existed in this group of voters, yet few leaders have been so irresponsible as to blow the lid off it.

Trump has blown the lid off, and others are now finding it expedient to follow his lead. Breitbart, which never came close to the intellectual caliber of *National Review* in the first place, has thrown all its weight behind Trump, and is likely making a lot of money by feeding anger and paranoia to his fanatical followers.

Many Republican politicians have shown remarkable cowardice in their refusal to attack Trump. Few big names in the Republican establishment and conservative media have had the courage to criticize not just Trump’s boorishness, but the anger, bigotry, and totalitarian impulse that lie at the center of his ideology. These are not, in the traditional left-right spectrum, political positions, but they’re the only things on which Trump is consistent.

If the Trump phenomenon is, as Glenn Beck writes, a crisis for conservatism, then it is in particular a crisis of conservative leadership, which has been sorely lacking in its ability to say “no” to the dark forces that drive populist politics. Trump is an unprincipled leader who plays to those forces because it’s easy and it gratifies his ego. *National Review* is providing the much-needed intellectual leadership to try to keep those forces at bay.

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ARMED PROTEST IN OREGON cont.

movement from 30 years ago.

The wise use movement was the brainchild of Ron Arnold as described in his mid-1980s publication, the “Wise Use Agenda.” The agenda defined the guidelines of a loosely aligned coalition of activist groups across the West promoting the expansion of private property rights.

While resource extraction firms such as Exxon/Mobile, British Petroleum, and Chevron are prominent backers of wise use groups, other branches advocate that private citizens living in rural areas are the most negatively affected by environmental regulations.

By the 1990’s, wise use advocates became very close to the political elite. A number of environmental reforms, including the Endangered Species Act, were passed after considerable lobbying efforts from movement supporters.

Today, wise use supporters represent the ideas of a much

smaller population. That is not to say, however, that many locals agree with the protest. “In a way, it’s really a gift to us,” says Iowa conservationist Gina Knudson. Nobody was paying attention to this before. Now, given the fact that the [occupiers] don’t get a lot of sympathy from folks out here, it’s forcing us to have a conversation of, ‘What would we do that’s smarter than that?’”

The conversation in Oregon today centers mainly around efforts to end the confrontation but to continue the conversation. Daily negotiations break down, however, because Ammon Bundy, a leader of the militia, will not recognize the FBI’s negotiation standing, refusing to negotiate unless the local sheriff deputizes the FBI agents.

Once the standoff ends, either through negotiations or government forces taking the refuge back, the intentions of holding the land hostage need to be considered. “Ammon Bundy and his bullyboys aren’t trying to free federal lands, but to hold them hostage,” comments Ursula Le Guin, a fiction writer. “I can’t go to the Malheur refuge now, though as a citizen of the United States, I own it and have the freedom of it. That’s what public land is: land that belongs to the public—me, you, every law-abiding American. The people it doesn’t belong to and who don’t belong there are those who grabbed it by force of arms, flaunting their contempt for the local citizens.”

The lands do belong to the people, but the usage of land and the holding hostage of it are very different in the eyes of the law. Wise use activists cloud any moral justifications for their actions when they are so heavily backed by resource extraction firms interested in making a profit.

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HALEY SHINES IN GOP RESPONSE cont.

during the Reagan recovery.

Healthcare premiums are on the rise and doctors are less available. The cost of the Obamacare mid-range “silver plan” is set to rise 7.5 percent on average this year. According to a Health and Human Services report, 60 percent of enrollees will see an average increase of 6.3 percent.

Haley also addressed the divisions within the GOP. While calling for an end to illegal immigration, she asserted that we should welcome legal immigrants who “who work hard, abide by our laws, and love our traditions” and accept people “regardless of their race or religion”—clearly a reference to Trump’s proposal to ban Muslims from entering the country.

Haley herself is the daughter of Indian immigrants and said that “growing up in the rural South, my family didn’t look like our neighbors,

and we didn’t have much.” Like millions of other immigrants, Haley’s family achieved the American Dream through hard work and talent.

### *Haley’s address met with hostility from the far-right.*

In this period of elevated racial and political tensions, Haley called for conversation and peace, rather than division and hostility. She referenced the tragic shooting at the historic Mother Emmanuel Church in Charleston last summer. Haley stated that although the shooter didn’t look like members of the church, the members “didn’t throw him out, they didn’t call the police, instead they pulled up a chair and prayed with him for an hour.”

She noted that after the horrific mass murder, there were no riots or violence in South Carolina and people “didn’t turn against each other’s race or religion, we turned toward God.” After the shooting, Haley made the powerful symbolic decision to take down the Confederate flag that flew for 54 years above the South Carolina State House.

Unsurprisingly, Haley’s address met with hostility from the far-right. Rush Limbaugh claims that Haley’s response reflects the Republican establishment’s desire to “drive conservatives out of the party.” Conservative columnist and outspoken Trump supporter Ann Coulter tweeted: “Trump should deport Nikki Haley.”

Apparently, the official Republican Party’s current stance on immigration is no longer conservative enough for Coulter and her followers. They not only oppose amnesty, but fervently insist upon a moratorium on all immigration.

Haley’s address only scrapes the surface of the contentious factions within the GOP. Last week, *National Review* published a symposium by 22 prominent conservative writers titled, “Conservatives against Trump.” They argued that Trump is not a true conservative and that his victory in the GOP primary “would provide Hillary Clinton with the easiest imaginable path to the White House.” Conservative radio host Michael Medved argued that Trump’s “much-heralded hard line on immigration discards pragmatic reform policies.”

Governor Haley’s criticism of Trump’s far-right populism was justified and well overdue. If Trump maintains his lead in the polls (as he has for months), he could be the GOP nominee by a comfortable margin. I’d settle for anyone running for president who isn’t Trump, an outdated socialist, or under FBI investigation.

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