

May 12, 2015

We have a couple of posts today on the recent shooting in Texas. [Mark Steyn](#) is first and he has some cartoons drawn by the winner of the contest in Garland that the jihadis had gone to break up.

As we mentioned a week ago, I'm none too well at the moment, and it so happens my preferred position in which to write causes me severe pain - which is presumably some kind of not so subtle literary criticism from the Almighty. But I'm back, more or less, with lots to catch up on. ...

... If the American press were not so lazy and parochial, they would understand that this was the third Islamic attack on free speech this year - first, Charlie Hebdo in Paris; second, the Lars Vilks event in Copenhagen; and now Texas. The difference in the corpse count is easily explained by a look at the video of the Paris gunmen, or the bullet holes they put in the police car. The French and Texan attackers supposedly had the same kind of weapons, although one should always treat American media reports with a high degree of skepticism when it comes to early identification of "assault weapons" and "AK47s". Nonetheless, from this reconstruction, it seems clear that the key distinction between the two attacks is that in Paris they knew how to use their guns and in Garland they didn't. So a very cool 60-year-old local cop with nothing but his service pistol advanced under fire and took down two guys whose heavier firepower managed only to put a bullet in an unarmed security guard's foot.

The Charlie Hebdo killers had received effective training overseas - as thousands of ISIS recruits with western passports are getting right now. What if the Garland gunmen had been as good as the Paris gunmen? Surely that would be a more interesting question for the somnolent American media than whether some lippy Jewess was asking for it. ...

... In Copenhagen, in Paris, in Garland, what's more important than the cartoons and the attacks is the reaction of all the polite, respectable people in society, which for a decade now has told those who do not accept the messy, fractious liberties of free peoples that we don't really believe in them, either, and we're happy to give them up - quietly, furtively, incrementally, remorselessly - in hopes of a quiet life. Because a small Danish newspaper found itself abandoned and alone, Charlie Hebdo jumped in to support them. Because the Charlie Hebdo artists and writers died abandoned and alone, Pamela Geller jumped in to support them. By refusing to share the risk, we are increasing the risk. It's not Pamela Geller who emboldens Islamic fanatics, it's all the nice types - the ones Salman Rushdie calls the But Brigade. You've heard them a zillion times this last week: "Of course, I'm personally, passionately, absolutely committed to free speech. But..."

*And the minute you hear the "but", none of the build-up to it matters. A couple of days before Garland, Canadian Liberal MP (and former Justice Minister) Irwin Cotler announced his plan to restore Section 13 - the "hate speech" law under which Maclean's and I were dragged before the Canadian "Human Rights" Commission and which, as a result of my case, was repealed by the Parliament of Canada. At the time Mr Cotler was fairly torn on the issue. We talked about it briefly at a free-speech event in Ottawa at which he chanced to be present, and he made vaguely supportive murmurings - as he did when we ran into each other a couple of years later in Boston. Mr Cotler is Jewish and, even as European "hate" laws prove utterly useless against the metastasizing open Jew-hate on the Continent, he thinks we should give 'em one more try. He's more sophisticated than your average **But** boy, so he uses [a three-syllable word](#):*

"Freedom of expression is the lifeblood of democracy," said Cotler, who was minister of justice under Paul Martin.

"However..."

Free speech is necessary to free society for all the stuff after the "but", after the "however". There's no fine line between "free speech" and "hate speech": Free speech is hate speech; it's for the speech you hate - and for all your speech that the other guy hates. If you don't have free speech, then you can't have an honest discussion. All you can do is what those stunted moronic boobs in Paris and Copenhagen and Garland did: grab a gun and open fire. What Miliband and Cotler propose will, if enacted, reduce us all to the level of the inarticulate halfwits who think the only dispositive argument is "Allahu Akbar". ...

... Can Islam be made to live with the norms of free societies in which it now nests? Can Islam learn - or be forced - to suck it up the way Mormons, Catholics, Jews and everyone else do? If not, free societies will no longer be free. Pam Geller understands that, and has come up with her response. By contrast, Ed Miliband, Irwin Cotler, Francine Prose, Garry Trudeau and the trendy hipster social-media But boys who just canceled Mr Fawstin's Facebook account are surrendering our civilization. They may be more sophisticated, more urbane, more amusing dinner-party guests ...but in the end they are trading our liberties. ...*

Craig Pirrong of Streetwise Professor has kudos for the policeman in Garland.
A few words about Garland.

First, the traffic cop who blew away two Islamist would-be mass murders is a total badass. He took out two guys who surprised him and were spraying him with assault weapon fire: pictures from the scene show dozens of evidence markers on the ground, most of which are likely indicating ejected brass from their assault weapons. His assailants were wearing body armor, which means he took them out with freaking head shots while taking rifle fire. With a service pistol. If that isn't coolness and courage under fire, I don't know what is. ...

... Third, this event has provoked the left into paroxysms of rage . . . at Pamela Geller and Geert Wilders, for having the audacity to engage in politically incorrect speech. As in the aftermath of Charlie Hebdo, I've lost count at the number of talking heads and pixel stained wretches who condemn the violence but . . . The "but" involves some variant on the theme that Geller engaged in hate speech, and had it coming, or at least the government should constrain such offensive speech to prevent such unfortunate events from recurring. Indeed, the "buts" are more frequent and insistent here, because the Hebdo staff were hard core leftists, and Geller and Wilder are most definitely not.

As my father would say when I would try to talk my way out of something: No buts. Period. ...

... The fact that a local traffic cop was the only thing that saved hundreds from the homicidal plans of two Islamist fanatics (one of them a native born American citizen) is deeply concerning. But what is far more disturbing is that this isn't what disturbs what I would wager is a clear majority of the chattering class. What disturbs them (or what they opportunistically claim disturbs them) is speech that they disagree with, and which they are hell-bent on limiting the rights to engage in such speech. They are not targeting hate speech: they are targeting speech and speakers that they hate.

Fine. As we say in Texas: Come and take it.

Michael Barone has written 5,200 words on the British elections. We have some of it and then a link if you want to read more.

Big surprises in Thursday's British election. For weeks the pre-election polls showed a statistical tie in popular votes between Prime Minister David Cameron's Conservative Party and the Labour opposition led by Ed Miliband. It was universally agreed that neither party could reach a 326-vote majority in the House of Commons. A prominent British political website projected that Conservatives would get 280 seats and Labour 274.

But the exit poll, released when voting ended at 10 p.m., projected Conservatives with 316 seats and Labour with only 239. It showed the Scottish Nationalist Party sweeping 58 of Scotland's 59 seats and the Liberal Democrats, the Conservatives' coalition partners for five years, reduced from the 57 seats they won in 2010 to 10 this time. That turned out to be pretty close to the mark. The main error was that even this underestimated the Conservative wave.

Both major parties were suffering because of choices they had made. As party leader since 2005, Cameron made the Conservatives more metropolitan- and less traditional-oriented. The result was a strengthening of the anti-European Union, anti-immigration United Kingdom Independence Party, which was getting 13 percent in pre-election polls.

As Labor leader since 2010, Miliband abandoned Tony Blair's New Labour philosophy and turned Left. But Blair's creation of a separate Scottish parliament whetted rather than slaked the desire of Scots for independence. Scotland voted against independence by only a 55 to 45 percent margin last September, after which the Scot Nats rallied to seriously contest parliamentary seats, 41 of them held by Labour.

So how did Conservatives come to win?

Scotland was a large part of it. In televised debates SNP leader Nicola Sturgeon promised to support a minority Labour government to keep Cameron out of No. 10 Downing Street. But that raised fears that the SNP would force left-wing policies on the whole country — and demand more subsidies for Scotland. "They would take money from the West Midlands," one Conservative candidate there said, "and send it to Scotland." So Labour failed to make the gains in England predicted by the pre-election polls. ...

... Still, the Conservative victory shows that, once again, the appeal of economic redistribution and the opposition to "austerity" have been overestimated. Maybe that's a lesson for America too.

After a few days reflection **Barone** has some observations.

... Were the 2015 results far out of line with historic precedent? Not really. In fact, if you look at each party's percentages of the popular vote, you see that Conservatives and Labour were very close this year to their percentages in 2010. Conservatives have clearly recovered from the trough they found themselves in during the Blair election years (1997, 2001, 2005) but still below the percentages they won in the Thatcher and Major election years (1979, 1983, 1987, 1992).

However, the Liberal Democrat vote evaporated far below the level of all those previous elections and the Ukip (United Kingdom Independence party) did much better and the Scottish Nationals somewhat better than in previous contests (keep in mind that the Scots Nats fielded

candidates only in the 59 Scottish seats and not in the 591 English, Welsh and Northern Irish seats). ...

... 2. Why were Conservatives able to get a majority in 2015 when they weren't able to do so in 2010 with a similar popular vote margin over Labour?

The first answer is that this year they had more incumbents, who had been able to perform constituency services over the past five years: that can be good for 1 or 2 percent and occasionally more: the difference between victory and defeat in a target seat. I noticed this tendency in the Watford constituency, where the hard-working Conservative Richard Harrington was re-elected by a wide margin in a seat which was close in 2010 and in which Conservatives finished third in 2005.

The second and more important reason — though here I am speculating — is that the Conservative campaign, run by the Australian campaign guru Lynton Crosby, seems to have targeted districts shrewdly and bombarded them with messaging emphasizing especially the dangers posed by the possible Scots Nats dominance of a Labour government.

Perhaps in some places this included a high-minded appeal not to break up a Union which has existed since 1707 and under whose Union Jack flag Scots and Englishmen fought and died in battles that saved the world from tyranny. The more typical message would be similar to the Conservative billboard showing former SNP leader Alex Salmond picking a man's pocket and urging voters not to let the Scots Nats steal their cash.

The appeal might be aimed particularly at Ukip sympathizers and supporters: the only way to stop the Scots stealing your money is to vote Conservative. My hypothesis — I need to see more evidence on this — is that prompting Ukipers to vote Tory is the best explanation of why Labour won so few of the Conservative seats it targeted in England and Wales, and why Conservatives managed to take Labour seats there in significant numbers. ...

Follow this link if you want to read more of Barone's analysis.

[Here are some further observations about the British election, based on further analysis over the weekend.](#)

Roger Lowenstein reviewing David McCullough's biography of the Wright Brothers calls them "the workingest boys."

In "The Wright Brothers," David McCullough has etched a brisk, admiring portrait of the modest, hardworking Ohioans who designed an airplane in their bicycle shop and solved the mystery of flight on the sands of Kitty Hawk, N.C. He captures the marvel of what the Wrights accomplished and, just as important, the wonder felt by their contemporaries. John T. Daniels, who witnessed the first flight in 1903, wrote: "It was one of the grandest sights, if not the grandest sight, of my life."

Aviation was an improvement that people did not expect to see. The Washington Post had stated plainly that "it is a fact that man can't fly." There had been many attempts in the 19th century, mostly leading to humiliation. "The difficulty," Mr. McCullough observes, "was not to get into the air but to stay there." The predecessor who seems to have gotten furthest, at least conceptually, was a German, Otto Lilienthal, who disparaged the popular air balloons and,

hoping to mimic the technique of birds, built more than a dozen gliders before fatally plunging from an altitude of 50 feet in 1896.

Lilienthal inspired Wilbur, then 29 and the proprietor with Orville, 25, of a thriving bicycle business in their hometown of Dayton, Ohio. Nothing in their prior lives hinted at epoch-making greatness; they were talented mechanics, unusually well-read (books were among their few possessions) and a bit eccentric. The brothers, Mr. McCullough observes, "worked together six days a week, ate their meals together, kept their money in a joint bank account" and even, according to Wilbur, "thought together." ...

Speaking of work, [ESPN Golf Writer Bob Harig](#) writes on the prospects for Tiger Woods being able to learn how to again grind out the work that precedes wins on the Tour.

Tiger Woods gingerly made his way from the 18th green Sunday, fans screaming his name as he headed toward the scoring area, about to sign for his worst 72-hole score ever at the Players Championship.

Sweat continued to pour from his face as he took questions afterward, summing up a week he described as "a mixed bag," probably something all should have expected given his lack of play both recently and in general.

Perhaps that might explain why Woods walked a bit carefully, maybe it was fatigue, possibly stiffness setting in after a rare 72-hole tournament of late. The Players marked the first time since December of 2013 that Woods played a fourth round in consecutive tournaments, and that really says everything about his game at the moment.

A nine-week break starting in February was a necessary step to get numerous issues in his game back in working order. Then came the Masters, where he surprised many by not only making the cut, but by finishing 17th. A month later brought a tie for 69th at the Players Championship on a TPC Sawgrass course that doesn't allow for the inconsistency Woods is fighting now.

A healthy dose of perspective is again in order, and Woods typically is the one lacking it. So many times he stubbornly pushes forward, looking for results now instead of patiently looking toward the future. And yet it was Woods who took the long view on Sunday. ..

Steyn On Line

"Stay Quiet and You'll Be Okay"

by Mark Steyn

As we mentioned a week ago, I'm none too well at the moment, and it so happens my preferred position in which to write causes me severe pain - which is presumably some kind of not so subtle literary criticism from the Almighty. But I'm back, more or less, with lots to catch up on. There were two big elections in recent days, with dramatic results: in Alberta, the Tories were wiped out; in Scotland, the Labour Party was slaughtered; in England, the Liberals were crushed. Strange times.



I'll have more to say about the elections in the days ahead, but for now let me offer a whole-hearted good riddance to Ed Miliband, the now departed Labour leader who, in a desperate last-minute pander, offered to ["outlaw Islamophobia"](#). That was the British political establishment's contribution to a rough couple of weeks for free speech, culminating in the attempted mass murder in Garland, Texas.

That's what it was, by the way - although you might have difficulty telling that from the news coverage. *The Washington Post* offered the celebrated headline "[Event Organizer Offers No Apology After Thwarted Attack In Texas](#)", while the Associated Press went with "[Pamela Geller says she has no regrets about Prophet Muhammad cartoon contest that ended in 2 deaths](#)". The media "narrative" of the last week is that some Zionist temptress was walking down the street in Garland in a too short skirt and hoisted it to reveal her Mohammed thong - oops, my apologies, her Prophet Mohammed thong (PBUH) - and thereby inflamed two otherwise law-abiding ISIS supporters peacefully minding their own business.

It'll be a long time before you see "Washington Post Offers No Apology for Attacking Target of Thwarted Attack" or "AP Says It Has No Regrets After Blaming The Victim". The respectable class in the American media share the same goal as the Islamic fanatics: They want to silence Pam Geller. To be sure, they have a mild disagreement about the means to that end - although even then you get the feeling, as with Garry Trudeau and those dozens of PEN novelists' reaction to *Charlie Hebdo*, that the "narrative" wouldn't change very much if the jihad boys had got luckier and Pam, Geert Wilders, Robert Spencer and a dozen others were all piled up in the Garland morgue.

If the American press were not so lazy and parochial, they would understand that this was the third Islamic attack on free speech this year - first, *Charlie Hebdo* in Paris; second, the Lars Vilks event in Copenhagen; and now Texas. The difference in the corpse count is easily explained by [a look at the video of the Paris gunmen, or the bullet holes they put in the police](#)

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As for the free-speech issues, some of us have been around this question for a long time. I wrote a whole book about it: [Lights Out: Islam, Free Speech And The Twilight Of The West](#) - well worth a read, and I'm [happy to autograph it for you](#). On page 123 I write about *Jyllands Posten* and the original Motoons:

The twelve cartoonists are now in hiding. According to the chairman of the Danish Liberal Party, a group of Muslim men showed up at a local school looking for the daughter of one of the artists.

When that racket starts, no cartoonist or publisher or editor should have to stand alone. The minute there were multimillion-dollar bounties on those cartoonists' heads, The Times of London and Le Monde and The Washington Post and all the rest should have said, "This Thursday we're all publishing the cartoons. If you want to put bounties on all our heads, you'd better have a great credit line at the Bank of Jihad. If you want to kill us, you'll have to kill us all..."

But it didn't happen.

The only two magazines to stand in solidarity with the Danish cartoonists and republish the Motoons were *Charlie Hebdo* in Paris and my own magazine in Canada, Ezra Levant's *Western Standard*. Ezra wound up getting hauled up by some dime-store imam before the ignorant and thuggish Alberta "Human Rights" Commission whose leisurely money-no-object "investigation" consumed years of his life and all his savings. But he was more fortunate than our comrades at *Charlie Hebdo*: He's still alive.

In Copenhagen, in Paris, in Garland, what's more important than the cartoons and the attacks is the reaction of all the polite, respectable people in society, which for a decade now has told those who do not accept the messy, fractious liberties of free peoples that we don't really believe in them, either, and we're happy to give them up - quietly, furtively, incrementally, remorselessly - in hopes of a quiet life. Because a small Danish newspaper found itself abandoned and alone, *Charlie Hebdo* jumped in to support them. Because the *Charlie Hebdo* artists and writers died abandoned and alone, Pamela Geller jumped in to support them. By refusing to share the risk, we are increasing the risk. It's not Pamela Geller who emboldens Islamic fanatics, it's all the nice types - the ones Salman Rushdie calls the But Brigade. You've heard them a zillion times this last week: "Of course, I'm personally, passionately, absolutely committed to free speech. But..."

And the minute you hear the "but", none of the build-up to it matters. A couple of days before Garland, Canadian Liberal MP (and former Justice Minister) Irwin Cotler announced his plan to restore Section 13 - the "hate speech" law under which *Maclean's* and I were dragged before the Canadian "Human Rights" Commission and which, as a result of my case, was repealed by

the Parliament of Canada. At the time Mr Cotler was fairly torn on the issue. We talked about it briefly at a free-speech event in Ottawa at which he chanced to be present, and he made vaguely supportive murmurings - as he did when we ran into each other a couple of years later in Boston. Mr Cotler is Jewish and, even as European "hate" laws prove utterly useless against the metastasizing open Jew-hate on the Continent, he thinks we should give 'em one more try. He's more sophisticated than your average But boy, so he uses [a three-syllable word](#):

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"However..."

Free speech is necessary to free society for all the stuff after the "but", after the "however". There's no fine line between "free speech" and "hate speech": Free speech *is* hate speech; it's for the speech you hate - and for all your speech that the other guy hates. If you don't have free speech, then you can't have an honest discussion. All you can do is what those stunted moronic boobs in Paris and Copenhagen and Garland did: grab a gun and open fire. What Miliband and Cotler propose will, if enacted, reduce us all to the level of the inarticulate halfwits who think the only dispositive argument is "Allahu Akbar".

Alas, we have raised a generation of But boys. Ever since those ridiculous *Washington Post* and AP headlines, I've been thinking about the fellows who write and sub-edit and headline and approve such things - and never see the problem with it. Why would they? If you're under a certain age, you accept instinctively that free speech is subordinate to other considerations: If you've been raised in the "safe space" of American universities, you take it as read that on gays and climate change and transgendered bathrooms and all kinds of other issues it's perfectly normal to eliminate free speech and demand only the party line. So what's the big deal about letting Muslims cut themselves in on a little of that action?

Why would you expect people who see nothing wrong with destroying a mom'n'pop bakery over its antipathy to gay wedding cakes to have any philosophical commitment to diversity of opinion? And once you no longer have any philosophical commitment to it it's easy to see it the way Miliband and Cotler do - as a rusty cog in the societal machinery that can be shaved and sliced millimeter by millimeter.

Do what the parochial hacks of the US media didn't bother to do, and look at the winning entry in Pam Geller's competition, which appears at the top of this page. It's by Bosch Fawstin, an Eisner Award-winning cartoonist and [an ex-Muslim of Albanian stock](#). Like many of the Danish and [French cartoons](#), it's less about Mohammed than about the prohibition against drawing Mohammed - and the willingness of a small number of Muslims to murder those who do, and a far larger number of Muslims both enthusiastic and quiescent to support those who kill. Mr Fawstin understands the remorseless logic of one-way multiculturalism - that it leads to the de facto universal acceptance of Islamic law. All that "Prophet Mohammed" stuff, now routine even on Fox News. He's not my prophet, he's just some dead bloke. But the formulation is now mysteriously standard in western media. Try it the other way round: "Isis News Network, from our Libyan correspondent: Warriors of the Caliphate today announced record attendance numbers for the mass beheading of followers of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ..."

On Fox the other day, Bill O'Reilly was hopelessly confused about this issue. He seems to think that Pam Geller's cartoon competitions will lessen the likelihood of moderate Muslims joining us in the fight against ISIS. Putting aside the fact that there is no fight against ISIS, and insofar as the many Muslim countries in the vast swollen non-existent "60-nation coalition" are going to

rouse themselves to join the fight it will be because the Saudi and Jordanian monarchies and the Egyptian military understand it as an existential threat to *them*, put aside all that and understand that Islamic imperialism has a good-cop-bad-cop game - or hard jihad, soft jihad. The hard jihad is fought via bombings and beheadings and burnings over barren bits of desert and jungle and cave country in the Middle East, Africa and the Hindu Kush. The soft jihad is a suppler enemy fighting for rather more valuable real estate in Europe, Australia and North America, so it uses western shibboleths of "diversity" and "multiculturalism" to enfeeble those societies. And it does so very effectively - so that when a British soldier is hacked to death on a London street in broad daylight, you can't really quite articulate what's wrong with it; or that, upon the death of the ugly king of a state where Christianity is prohibited, the Christian ministers of Westminster Abbey mourn his passing; or that, when Australians are held siege in a Sydney coffee shop, the reflexive response of progressive persons is to launch a social-media campaign offering to battle Islamophobia by helping Muslims get to work; or that, when violent Muslims stage their first explicit anti-free-speech attack on American soil, everyone thinks the mouthy free-speech broad is the problem. This soft jihad goes on every day of the week, and Bill O'Reilly doesn't even seem to be aware that it exists.

So on the one hand we have Pamela Geller. On the other we have Francine Prose, a former president of PEN and one of those dozens of novelists who's boycotting the posthumous award to *Charlie Hebdo*. I've never read one of Ms Prose's books, so this piece by her in *The Guardian* was my first exposure to her, er, [prose](#):

The narrative of the Charlie Hebdo murders – white Europeans killed in their offices by Muslim extremists – is one that feeds neatly into the cultural prejudices that have allowed our government to make so many disastrous mistakes in the Middle East. And the idea that one is either "for us or against us" in such matters not only precludes rational and careful thinking, but also has a chilling effect on the exercise of our right to free expression and free speech that all of us – and all the people at PEN – are working so tirelessly to guarantee.

This is a writer? This dessicated language is how Ms Prose deploys the tools of her trade? It isn't a "narrative", it's real life. [That's real blood of real writers all over the Charlie floor](#) - and it's not all "white European" blood, either: it includes people with names like "Mustapha Ourrad", *Charlie's* copy editor. Surely he's a fitting victim for Ms Prose as she goes around "working so tirelessly"? But no. The Prose "narrative" is too simple for complicating factors like blokes called Mustapha for whom the point of living in western societies is to live all the freedom of those societies.

If you make the concessions that Francine Prose and Michael Ondaatje are implicitly demanding, what kind of art remains? There was a big fuss a few weeks ago when Steve Emerson said on Fox News that Birmingham, England was a Muslim no-go zone, and the BBC gleefully mocked him because it's only 28 per cent Muslim or whatever. That 28 per cent is pretty spectacular in just a couple of generations. How long before it's 40 or 50 per cent? So, if, circa 2030, you're a PEN member in Birmingham and you want to write a novel about your turf, it will necessarily involve a consideration of the relationship between an ever more Islamic city and what remains of its non-Islamic elements.

But Islam is telling you that subject's closed off. Not long after 9/11, some theatre group in Cincinnati announced a play contrasting a Palestinian suicide bomber and the American Jewish girl she killed. Local Muslims complained, and so the production was immediately canceled - because all the arty types who say we need "artists" with the "courage" to "explore" "transgressive" "ideas" fold like a cheap Bedouin tent when it comes to Islam. The Muslim community complained not because the play was anti-Muslim: au contraire, it was almost

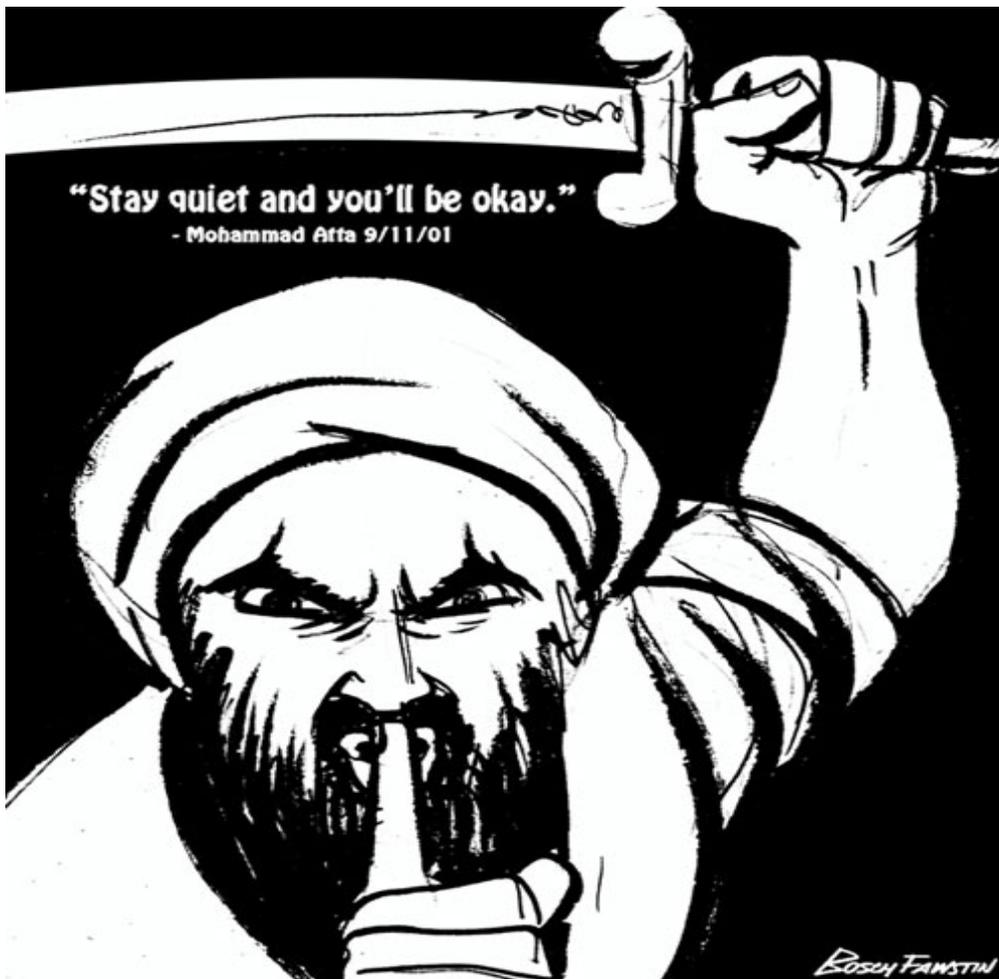
laughably pro-Palestinian, and the playwright considered the suicide bomber a far more sensitive sympathetic character than her dead Jewish victim.

But that wasn't the point: the Muslim leaders didn't care whether the play was pro- or anti-Islam: for them, Islam is beyond discussion. End of subject. And so it was.

So what kind of novels will PEN members be able to write in such a world?

Can Islam be made to live with the norms of free societies in which it now nests? Can Islam learn - or be forced - to suck it up the way Mormons, Catholics, Jews and everyone else do? If not, free societies will no longer be free. Pam Geller understands that, and has come up with her response. By contrast, Ed Miliband, Irwin Cotler, Francine Prose, Garry Trudeau and the trendy hipster social-media But boys who just canceled Mr Fawstin's Facebook account* are surrendering our civilization. They may be more sophisticated, more urbane, more amusing dinner-party guests ...but in the end they are trading our liberties.

A final cartoon from Bosch Fawstin:



"Stay quiet and you'll be okay:" Those were Mohammed Atta's words to his passengers on 9/11. And they're what all the nice respectable types are telling us now.

Streetwise Professor

No Buts. Period.

by Craig Pirrong

A few words about Garland.

First, the *traffic cop* who blew away two Islamist would-be mass murders is a total badass. He took out two guys who surprised him and were spraying him with assault weapon fire: pictures from the scene show dozens of evidence markers on the ground, most of which are likely indicating ejected brass from their assault weapons. His assailants were wearing body armor, which means he took them out with freaking head shots while taking rifle fire. With a service pistol. If that isn't coolness and courage under fire, I don't know what is.

I wonder if the guy has a military background, because most cops are not noted for their marksmanship. That was some serious shooting under the most disadvantageous and stressful conditions possible. He must spend a lot of time at the range, and must be thanking God that the freaks who attacked him apparently didn't, going with the tried-and-true Muslim spray and pray thing. There are a lot of Salafists pushing up rocks in Iraq and Afghanistan because of that. I hope they keep it up.

Second, the American-born leader of this suicide mission had been convicted of a terrorism-related offense, and was on a watch list. So how the hell was he able to get his hands on weaponry that was fortunately too powerful for him and his Pakistani buddy to handle? The FBI watched this guy about as well as he watched Tamerlan Tsarnaev. (So yeah, Al Sharpton. Let's federalize all law enforcement. Here's a case-excuse me, another case-where the feds fucked up, and the local yokel saved the day.)

Third, this event has provoked the left into paroxysms of rage . . . at Pamela Geller and Geert Wilders, for having the audacity to engage in politically incorrect speech. As in the aftermath of Charlie Hebdo, I've lost count at the number of talking heads and pixel stained wretches who condemn the violence *but* . . . The "but" involves some variant on the theme that Geller engaged in hate speech, and had it coming, or at least the government should constrain such offensive speech to prevent such unfortunate events from recurring. Indeed, the "buts" are more frequent and insistent here, because the Hebdo staff were hard core leftists, and Geller and Wilder are most definitely not.

As my father would say when I would try to talk my way out of something: No buts. Period.

I will not spend a millisecond discussing Pamela Geller's words or beliefs, because they are utterly irrelevant. Utterly, completely irrelevant. The government's powers to limit speech are extremely limited, and rightly so. Geller's speech and actions are clearly within the protected zone, and for good reason, particularly for speech with political or religious content.

What is "hateful" or "offensive" is inherently subjective. Giving the government the power to censor or silence or punish speech because someone might be offended, or because he or she might deem words to be hateful, is to give it virtually unlimited power to oppress its political opponents. It is an instrument of social and political coercion and control.

As surely as day follows night, when being offended is grounds to call on the government to silence those who oppress those giving offense, the ranks of the offended and aggrieved will metastasize like the most virulent cancer. The ins will use “hate speech” as a club to bludgeon the outs. It will stifle all public discourse, as the circle of offensiveness will grow ever wider, like a drop of oil on still water. The most insistent and fanatical and politically driven—who are the most easily offended, and the most willing to opportunistically claim to be offended—will have a veto over what can be said, and will use it ruthlessly to enhance their power.

Cliff Asness asked on Twitter where the leftists who were die-hard advocates of free speech back in the '60s and '70s went. The answer to that question is almost trivial. When the left was seeking power, free speech served its interests as a way of undermining the establishment that it hated and wanted to displace. As its power grew, its interest in free speech contracted accordingly. What was a weapon that it could employ against the establishment became a threat as it became the establishment. Put differently: the left's interest in free speech varies inversely with its power.

This can be seen in the time series, but particularly in the cross section. The institutions that the left dominates are the most hostile to free speech. Just look at any university if you doubt this. Conversely, they are most insistent about contrarian voice and speech in those institutions that they do not control, such as churches.

Insofar as those whom the left is rallying to defend in the Geller/Garland affair—that is, Muslims—are concerned, they outdo themselves. In defending Muslims, they infantilize and patronize them: apparently they believe Muslims are so incapable of self-control that they must be shielded from any hateful words, because they are liable to go on a murderous rampage if they hear them. And since when was the left so solicitous of the sensitivities of the religious? Well never, actually, including now. Muslims, and the phantom phenomenon of “Islamaphobia”, are merely battering rams that the left can use to attack its real enemies, i.e., anyone to their right, religious Christians (n.b., one of whom I am most definitely not) and Jews, Jacksonian Americans, traditionalists, libertarians, etc. (The left's “other” is quite diverse.)

The fact that a local traffic cop was the only thing that saved hundreds from the homicidal plans of two Islamist fanatics (one of them a native born American citizen) is deeply concerning. But what is far more disturbing is that this isn't what disturbs what I would wager is a clear majority of the chattering class. What disturbs them (or what they opportunistically claim disturbs them) is speech that they disagree with, and which they are hell-bent on limiting the rights to engage in such speech. They are not targeting hate speech: they are targeting speech and speakers that they hate.

Fine. As we say in Texas: [Come and take it](#).

Examiner

[Big surprise in Britain: Conservatives beat Labour --- and the polls](#)

by Michael Barone

Big surprises in Thursday's British election. For weeks the pre-election polls showed a statistical tie in popular votes between Prime Minister David Cameron's Conservative Party and the Labour opposition led by Ed Miliband. It was universally agreed that neither party could reach a

326-vote majority in the House of Commons. A prominent British political website projected that Conservatives would get 280 seats and Labour 274.

But the exit poll, released when voting ended at 10 p.m., projected Conservatives with 316 seats and Labour with only 239. It showed the Scottish Nationalist Party sweeping 58 of Scotland's 59 seats and the Liberal Democrats, the Conservatives' coalition partners for five years, reduced from the 57 seats they won in 2010 to 10 this time. That turned out to be pretty close to the mark. The main error was that even this underestimated the Conservative wave.

Both major parties were suffering because of choices they had made. As party leader since 2005, Cameron made the Conservatives more metropolitan- and less traditional-oriented. The result was a strengthening of the anti-European Union, anti-immigration United Kingdom Independence Party, which was getting 13 percent in pre-election polls.

As Labor leader since 2010, Miliband abandoned Tony Blair's New Labour philosophy and turned Left. But Blair's creation of a separate Scottish parliament whetted rather than slaked the desire of Scots for independence. Scotland voted against independence by only a 55 to 45 percent margin last September, after which the Scot Nats rallied to seriously contest parliamentary seats, 41 of them held by Labour.

So how did Conservatives come to win?

Scotland was a large part of it. In televised debates SNP leader Nicola Sturgeon promised to support a minority Labour government to keep Cameron out of No. 10 Downing Street. But that raised fears that the SNP would force left-wing policies on the whole country — and demand more subsidies for Scotland. "They would take money from the West Midlands," one Conservative candidate there said, "and send it to Scotland." So Labour failed to make the gains in England predicted by the pre-election polls.

Ukip nearly matched its pre-election poll showing in popular votes, but not necessarily at the expense of Conservatives. Britons are expert tactical voters: they know the political balance in their constituencies and cast votes to achieve national results. In closely contested English seats, Ukip-inclined voters switched to Conservatives. But the Ukip vote held up in safe Labour seats, often finishing in second place. Meanwhile, Cameron ruthlessly attacked his coalition partners, the Lib Dems, in the belt running southwest from London to Cornwall.

The pre-election polls were not as far off as in 1992, when they projected an even vote and Conservatives won the popular vote by 8 points. But as in recent local, European Parliament and UK parliamentary by-elections, they seem to have under-predicted the Conservative percentage and over-predicted Labour by 2 points each. So here. Whether that's because of "shy Tories" unwilling to tell interviewers their preference, or whether it is because of a late, undetected Conservative surge, is unclear.

In either case there are policy implications. The Conservative-led coalition bragged of education and welfare reform and Britain's economic and job growth, the highest in Europe. Labour responded that wages still lagged behind pre-financial crisis numbers. They attacked "austerity" and called for economic redistribution — a higher minimum wage, rent and energy price and rail price controls, a mansion tax on £2 million homes.

That doesn't seem to have worked. The Conservative coalition cut nearly 1 million public sector jobs. To judge from the campaign dialogue, no one seems to have missed them.

Conservatives seem to have won an outright majority, but it will be much narrower than the one they had to share in coalition with the Lib Dems. They can probably rely on some support from the 8 members from Northern Ireland's Democratic Unionist party. But opposing leaders will be gone. Party leaders Miliband and Lib Dem leader Nick Clegg are through. Labour shadow chancellor Ed Balls lost to a Conservative and foreign policy and defense shadows Douglas Alexander and Jim Murphy were swept under by the SNP.

Tough issues remain. There will be an election for the Scottish Parliament next year, and a re-elected SNP majority there may seek another independence referendum. Cameron has promised a renegotiation of Britain's position in the European Union and a referendum by 2017 on whether Britain should remain in the EU, which could split his party.

Still, the Conservative victory shows that, once again, the appeal of economic redistribution and the opposition to "austerity" have been overestimated. Maybe that's a lesson for America too.

Examiner

Some observations on the British election

by Michael Barone

Here are some of my observations on the British elections, in addition to my *Washington Examiner* [pre-election column](#) and my [election night Examiner column](#), plus two blog posts written on the basis of reporting in [Cannock Chase](#) in the Midlands and [Watford at the edge](#) of metro London and two blog posts written as the returns were coming in on election night after the [announcement of the exit poll](#) and [after initial returns indicated](#) that the exit poll, unlike the pre-election polls, was substantially right.

1. Historical context

Were the 2015 results far out of line with historic precedent? Not really. In fact, if you look at each party's percentages of the popular vote, you see that Conservatives and Labour were very close this year to their percentages in 2010. Conservatives have clearly recovered from the trough they found themselves in during the Blair election years (1997, 2001, 2005) but still below the percentages they won in the Thatcher and Major election years (1979, 1983, 1987, 1992).

However, the Liberal Democrat vote evaporated far below the level of all those previous elections and the Ukip (United Kingdom Independence party) did much better and the Scottish Nationals somewhat better than in previous contests (keep in mind that the Scots Nats fielded candidates only in the 59 Scottish seats and not in the 591 English, Welsh and Northern Irish seats).

The following table shows the percentages, rounded off into integers for clarity's sake for each party over these elections. In addition there are figures for the other (mainly Northern Irish) parties. Also shown is the percentage for the Social Democrats, made up of members who left the Labour party, in 1983; in 1987 the Lib Dems and Soc Dems fielded a joint slate.

U.K. Election History

Year	Conservatives	Labour	Liberal Democrats	Social Democrats	UK Inds	Scottish National	others
2015	37	30	9		13	5	5
2010	36	29	23		3	2	5
2005	32	35	22		2	2	7
2001	32	41	18		1	2	6
1997	31	43	17			2	7
1992	42	34	18			2	3
1987	42	31	23			1	3
1983	42	28	14	11		1	3
1979	44	37	14			2	4

Obviously participating in the coalition government dominated by the Conservatives was fatal for the Lib Dems: most of their votes melted away. The party's voters tend to be pro-European Union, culturally liberal and dovish, and many would have preferred a coalition with Labour.

But Labour plus Lib Dems didn't have a majority of seats in 2010, and Conservatives worked in advance to be prepared to emphasize policies on which they and the Lib Dem members of Parliament could reach agreement with them. Lib Dem candidates on election night said they had chosen the interest of the country over the interest of the party: a defensible argument.

It looks like most Lib Dem votes went to Ukip, despite the incompatibility of the parties' platforms. But it appears that many Lib Dems went over the Labour, while Labour lost votes to Ukip, particularly in safe Labour constituencies, while other Lib Dems went over to Conservatives, who in turn lost previous voters to Ukip.

The fact that Ukip's voters are spread over wide parts of England means they won only one seat in the Commons, while the much smaller number of Scot Nats votes were confined to Scotland, where they won 56 of 59 seats. I suspect there's a pretty strong resemblance in various

constituencies to the percentage voting yes on the Independence referendum in September 2014.

Another way to look at the trends in comparative strength of the two major parties is the combine the Conservative and Ukip vote on one hand and Labour and the SNP on the other. The following table shows those numbers from 1979 to 2015.

Comparing the two major parties

Year	Conservatives + Independence	Labour + Scottish
2015	50	35
2010	40	31
2005	35	37
2001	33	42
1997	31	45
1992	42	36
1987	42	32
1983	42	29
1979	44	39

The Conservative/Ukip margin in the Thatcher-Major elections was very large, as was the Labor/SNP margin in the first two Blair elections. The Labour margin dropped in 2005, in part I think because anti-Iraq war moved to Lib Dems, whose share rose four points between 2001 and 2005.

The 2015 Conservative/Ukip margin is, I think, misleadingly large, since a look at the election returns as they came in has convinced me (though I am open to persuasion based on a closer review of the numbers) that Ukip numbers held up well in safe Labour and perhaps safe Conservative districts, but tended to go over to Conservatives in marginal seats.

As I mentioned in my election night column, Britons are accomplished tactical voters: in the Blair elections tactical voting was anti-Conservative, resulting in the lion's share of anti-Conservative votes going either to Labour or Lib Dems, whichever was perceived to be stronger in the constituency; this helped to elect many of the Lib Dem MPs who were defeated or replaced by other parties this year, and there was some anti-Iraq war tactical voting against Labour in 2005. Which gets me to my second point:

2. Why were Conservatives able to get a majority in 2015 when they weren't able to do so in 2010 with a similar popular vote margin over Labour?

The first answer is that this year they had more incumbents, who had been able to perform constituency services over the past five years: that can be good for 1 or 2 percent and occasionally more: the difference between victory and defeat in a target seat. I noticed this tendency in the Watford constituency, where the hard-working Conservative Richard Harrington was re-elected by a wide margin in a seat which was close in 2010 and in which Conservatives finished third in 2005.

The second and more important reason — though here I am speculating — is that the Conservative campaign, run by the Australian campaign guru Lynton Crosby, seems to have targeted districts shrewdly and bombarded them with messaging emphasizing especially the dangers posed by the possible Scots Nats dominance of a Labour government.

Perhaps in some places this included a high-minded appeal not to break up a Union which has existed since 1707 and under whose Union Jack flag Scots and Englishmen fought and died in battles that saved the world from tyranny. The more typical message would be similar to the Conservative billboard showing former SNP leader Alex Salmond picking a man's pocket and urging voters not to let the Scots Nats steal their cash.

The appeal might be aimed particularly at Ukip sympathizers and supporters: the only way to stop the Scots stealing your money is to vote Conservative. My hypothesis — I need to see more evidence on this — is that prompting Ukipers to vote Tory is the best explanation of why Labour won so few of the Conservative seats it targeted in England and Wales, and why Conservatives managed to take Labour seats there in significant numbers. If you compare the district projections, based on the pre-election polls, in this [Telegraph graphic](#) with the results in this [Guardian graphic](#), I think you will see what I mean.

I will reserve more observations, on the polls and on the election of the youngest member of Parliament since 1667, for a later blog post.

WSJ

[The Workingest Boys](#)

The Wright brothers worked together, ate their meals together, kept a joint bank account and even, according to Wilbur, 'thought together.'

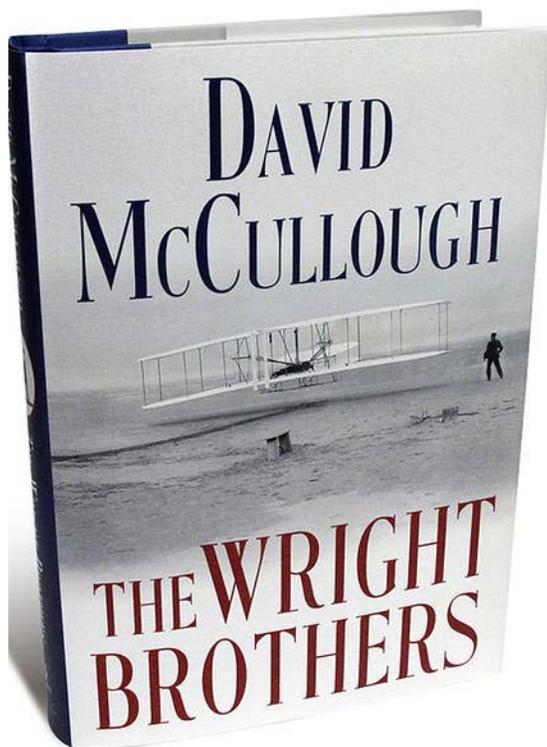
by Roger Lowenstein

In "The Wright Brothers," David McCullough has etched a brisk, admiring portrait of the modest, hardworking Ohioans who designed an airplane in their bicycle shop and solved the mystery of flight on the sands of Kitty Hawk, N.C. He captures the marvel of what the Wrights accomplished and, just as important, the wonder felt by their contemporaries. John T. Daniels,

who witnessed the first flight in 1903, wrote: "It was one of the grandest sights, if not the grandest sight, of my life."

Aviation was an improvement that people did not expect to see. The Washington Post had stated plainly that "it is a fact that man can't fly." There had been many attempts in the 19th century, mostly leading to humiliation. "The difficulty," Mr. McCullough observes, "was not to get into the air but to stay there." The predecessor who seems to have gotten furthest, at least conceptually, was a German, Otto Lilienthal, who disparaged the popular air balloons and, hoping to mimic the technique of birds, built more than a dozen gliders before fatally plunging from an altitude of 50 feet in 1896.

Lilienthal inspired Wilbur, then 29 and the proprietor with Orville, 25, of a thriving bicycle business in their hometown of Dayton, Ohio. Nothing in their prior lives hinted at epoch-making greatness; they were talented mechanics, unusually well-read (books were among their few possessions) and a bit eccentric. The brothers, Mr. McCullough observes, "worked together six days a week, ate their meals together, kept their money in a joint bank account" and even, according to Wilbur, "thought together." Wilbur was the more serious: inner-driven, the sort who could leave the house without remembering his hat. Orville was more lighthearted but given to moody "peculiar spells." He ruled out marrying before his older brother did, and Wilbur was "woman-shy," so their bachelorhood was settled. Mr. McCullough wisely refrains from analyzing their characters; we see them as folks did then.



The Wright Brothers

By David McCullough
Simon & Schuster, 320 pages, \$30

Aviation had been a childhood interest of Wilbur's. After Lilienthal crashed, he began reading all he could about it. "I have been interested in the problem of mechanical and human flight," he gamely wrote to the Smithsonian Institution, requesting books and pamphlets, which were duly received. The brothers studied birds and noted, as Mr. McCullough says, "that a bird adjusted the tips of its wings" to present one at a raised angle, the other at a lowered one. It was a question, the author adds, less of equipment than of skill. Maintaining equilibrium was the key—not much different than riding a bike.

Other would-be aviation pioneers were gentlemen enthusiasts (i.e., they were rich). Not the Wrights. "In no way," Mr. McCullough writes in one of his utterly affecting sentences, "did any of this discourage or deter Wilbur and Orville Wright, any more than the fact that they had no college education, no formal technical training, no experience working with anyone other than themselves, no friends in high places, no financial backers, no government subsidies, and little money of their own."

Mr. McCullough is in his element writing about seemingly ordinary folk steeped in the cardinal American virtues—self-reliance and can-do resourcefulness. As in his books on the building of the Brooklyn Bridge and the Panama Canal, he rhapsodizes America's nascent mechanical genius. "The times were alive with invention"—recent wonders included the Kodak box camera, the Singer electric sewing machine and the safety razor. The author celebrates Dayton as "a city in which inventing and making things were central to the way of life." It was bustling with shops like the Wrights', equipped with drill press, metal lathe, band saw and engine.

The Wrights built their first aircraft from split bamboo and paper. In 1899, Wilbur wrote to the U.S. Weather Bureau; the reply led the brothers, who hadn't traveled further than Chicago, to Kitty Hawk, which had open space and an ample supply of a precious commodity: wind. The idea was to master gliding, after which Wilbur reckoned it would be easy to add a motor.

The Outer Banks were not the popular resort of today but a sparsely peopled stretch of barrier islands. The Wrights slept in a tent, cooked their food on an open fire, survived hurricanes, scorching heat and plagues of mosquitoes. They had frequent mishaps and crashes, forcing them to suspend experiments and rebuild. Daniels, the Kitty Hawk observer, at first reckoned that the brothers were a pair of "poor nuts" staring at seagulls; he would conclude that they were the "workingest boys" he had ever seen. The Wrights would make several trips, staying for months at a time, all funded from their bicycle business. In 1900, Wilbur glided 300 feet. On Dec. 17, 1903, Orville flew 12 seconds in a powered machine, launching the age of air travel. Soon they were flying for miles. The press at first ignored them; reporters didn't believe the stories were true.

Wilbur was to spend much time in France, where interest and commercial prospects for aviation, initially, were greater. He and Orville had competitors aplenty, but none so mastered the art of controlled flight. A French pilot admitted, "We are children compared to the Wrights." Wilbur became the toast of France, where he dazzled crowds with aerial exhibitions; in 1908 he flew a distance of 77 miles to win the first Michelin Cup. The French embraced and yet were perplexed by this implacable Yank who neither smoked nor drank nor showed interest in women.

The brothers monetized their invention by selling aircraft, but business was less fun than flying. Much of their time was consumed with litigation to protect their patents. Wilbur summarized his feelings about commercial life when he wrote to a friend, "It is always easier to deal with things than with men." He died in 1912, barely a decade after liftoff. Orville survived him by 36 anticlimactic years, a postscript to their glory that Mr. McCullough dispatches of quickly. He lived

to see Lindbergh and jet propulsion and the destructive fury of bombers—revolutionary changes that he and his brother had made possible.

ESPN

Inconsistent Woods searches for answers

by Bob Harig

PONTE VEDRA BEACH, Fla. -- Tiger Woods gingerly made his way from the 18th green Sunday, fans screaming his name as he headed toward the scoring area, about to sign for his worst 72-hole score ever at the Players Championship.

Sweat continued to pour from his face as he took questions afterward, summing up a week he described as "a mixed bag," probably something all should have expected given his lack of play both recently and in general.

Perhaps that might explain why Woods walked a bit carefully, maybe it was fatigue, possibly stiffness setting in after a rare 72-hole tournament of late. The Players marked the first time since December of 2013 that Woods played a fourth round in consecutive tournaments, and that really says everything about his game at the moment.

A nine-week break starting in February was a necessary step to get numerous issues in his game back in working order. Then came the Masters, where he surprised many by not only making the cut, but by finishing 17th. A month later brought a tie for 69th at the Players Championship on a TPC Sawgrass course that doesn't allow for the inconsistency Woods is fighting now.

A healthy dose of perspective is again in order, and Woods typically is the one lacking it. So many times he stubbornly pushes forward, looking for results now instead of patiently looking toward the future. And yet it was Woods who took the long view on Sunday.

"It's a matter of putting the pieces together first," he said. "Look where it was at on the West Coast to where I'm at now. So let's just keep progressing, keep putting the pieces together, keep chipping away at it. And I'm very pleased at the way we're just chipping away at it.

"We had some glaring weaknesses at the beginning of the year, those are now gone, and now we can start cleaning up some other stuff, too."

There's plenty of that, to be sure. It seems when one area gets fixed, another goes astray. Woods hit his driver well for most of the week, but struggled with that club on Sunday. (He hit only four fairways during the final round where that number was eight, nine and seven in Rounds 1-3, albeit he didn't use driver on every hole.)

The short game that was so solid at the Masters was not as sharp at TPC Sawgrass. Woods admitted his iron play, normally a strength, was poor. He hit just 44 of 72 greens, which ranked him in the bottom half of players who made the cut.

Woods made 18 birdies at TPC Sawgrass, a great sign. But he finished over par because of the big mistakes -- four doubles and a triple, matching the most double bogeys or worse of his career, something he had done just four times previously.

And none of it is going to change until Woods gets in the habit of playing tournament golf, the next step in his development. Another month break until the Memorial is not ideal, and even playing the Colonial in two weeks -- an event he has not teed it up at since 1997 -- would be welcome.

Woods has a conflict this week due to a fundraiser for his foundation. (And politics make playing the Byron Nelson tournament, sponsored now by AT&T, which formerly endorsed Woods, a bad fit the week prior to the Memorial.) Although he last played Colonial when he was 21, Woods did tie for fourth that year. It would also get him on a schedule of one tournament on, one tournament off through the PGA Championship in August if his schedule holds to form.

While Colonial is not among his favorite courses, it would be a good place to work on his iron play, his short game, his competitive mindset, even his golf conditioning.

How much does Woods walk when he plays golf at home? How is he able to simulate the intensity of tournament golf? What about course management, and all the little things that not only go into playing tournament golf, but being competitive?

"It's the pressure of a having to hit shots," he said. "Now we've got water, trees, bunkers, wind, different flights, different trajectories, different shapes, different lies. All these different things start coming into play now."

Exactly. And yet Woods won't get between the ropes again until June, giving him one start a month for three months heading into the U.S. Open at Chambers Bay. He said Sunday he'd go to the Seattle-area course prior to U.S. Open week on a scouting mission, a necessary step in order to get familiar with the course.

But that's not the same as competing, which is the big aspect missing right now. And it makes it difficult to judge these performances. The tie for 17th at the Masters was a welcome return after so much negativity concerning his game, a tie for 69th not such a surprise given the difficulty of the venue and a month between starts.

Muirfield Village has been a good course for Woods over the years -- he has won the Memorial five times -- but none of that means much when your game is not ready. Two years ago, in the midst of a five-win season, Woods tied for 65th in the Jack Nicklaus-hosted event. And that was three weeks after winning the Players.

Even Woods must have to keep reminding himself of the big picture, not to mention all of those who keep wondering if his career is done, the winning in the past.

The Players was just his fourth tournament of 2015. Rory McIlroy and Jordan Spieth, for example, are in the midst of playing at least five tournaments between the Masters and U.S. Open each. It is difficult to compete with that kind of disparity, no matter how many balls Woods pounds on the range at home.

"It feels a lot closer," Woods said on Sunday. "We added a couple new pieces and they were really good. I'm very pleased. I didn't have one bad warm-up session this week, which was

great. That's a sign that we're heading in the right direction. I reverted back a couple times. It happens. But I also did some really good stuff out there, too."

As Woods is fond of saying, it's a process, one that will still take some time to assess.



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