

September 10, 2015

Streetwise Professor posts on the Bergdahl indictment. Says the Pentagon has flipped a well deserved bird to the president.

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FU, in other words. ...

Nice essay on unintended consequences by Kevin Williamson.

News item: There is a new cholesterol-control drug on the market, Repatha, which is enormously beneficial to people who suffer serious side effects from the statins commonly used to control cholesterol or who derive no benefit from statins. Some 17 million Britons are potential beneficiaries of the drug, but they will not be able to use it, because the United Kingdom’s version of Sarah Palin’s death panel — which bears the pleasingly Orwellian name NICE, the National Institute for Health and Care Excellence — says it is too expensive. The United Kingdom’s single-payer health-care system is effectively a monopoly, and not an especially effective one: Cardiovascular-disease mortality rates in the United Kingdom are nearly 40 percent higher than in the United States. That’s not nice. And it isn’t what was supposed to happen. ...

... In the social sciences, the term of art for these developments is “unintended consequences.” Some unintended consequences are unforeseeable, but many are not. They are at least partly foreseeable, even if unintended, and our good intentions do not entitle us to blind ourselves to reality. Demand curves slope downward: When you raise the price of something — a ton of coal, an hour of labor — then the quantity demanded will be lower than it would have been at a lower price. ...

... Some outcomes are positively perverse. In the 1960s, the federal and state governments began imposing more demanding liability standards on businesses in the belief that if a firm faces greater liability, then it will be more responsible when it comes to risky activities. The result wasn’t more corporate responsibility, but more widely dispersed corporate responsibility,

as the economists Al H. Ringleb and Steven N. Wiggins showed. Instead of higher corporate safety standards, there was a proliferation of small corporations, the number of which, they calculated, was about 20 percent higher than it would have been with different liability rules. Why? Because businesses outsourced high-risk tasks to small, specialized firms with relatively little in the way of assets, meaning that they could simply declare bankruptcy and liquidate when faced with a large judgment. ...

... When Paul Krugman welcomed the inflation of a housing bubble to offset a collapsing stock-market bubble in 2002, he didn't understand that he was urging a policy that eventually would kneecap the world's economy. But he's only a Nobel laureate in economics and so cannot be expected to think very much about the big picture. ...

David Harsanyi says environmentalists will lose and that is good for the human race. *... If there were any chance environmentalists could "win," as Chait claims, rolling back hundreds of years of progress rather than waiting for the technological breakthroughs that will organically allow us to "transition" away from fossil fuels, the world would be in trouble. Thankfully, they can't win. Not because Republicans hate science or because anyone Democrats disagree with is bought off by shady oil men, but because, in the end, neither they nor I nor you are giving up our lifestyles in any meaningful way.*

For us, the Chinese, Indians, Nigerians, and everyone else, that's great news. The environmentalist is free to embrace fantasy and then fatalism, or they can start figuring out ways to acclimate to this new reality.

Hillary says she's sorry. **Ron Fournier** asks, "Sorry for what?" And then he says there are nineteen questions she should answer.

"I'm sorry about that," Hillary Rodham Clinton said six years after seizing control of government email and after six months of denying wrongdoing. Just this week, it took three different interviews in four days for her to beg the puniest of pardons: "I do think I could have and should have done a better job answering questions earlier."

You think? By any objective measure, the Democratic presidential front-runner has responded to her email scandal with deflection and deception, shredding her credibility while giving a skeptical public another reason not to trust the institutions of politics and government.

An apology doesn't fix that. An apology also doesn't answer the scandal's most important questions.

1. While apologizing in an ABC interview on Tuesday, you said, "What I had done was allowed, it was above board." You must know by now that while the State Department allowed the use of home computers in 2009, agency rules required that email be secured. Yours was not. Just nine months into your term, new regulations required that your emails be captured on department servers. You stashed yours on a home-brewed system until Congress found out. Why not admit you violated policy? Why do you keep misleading people?

2. If what you did was “above board,” then you wouldn’t object to all executive branch officials at every level of government and from both parties storing their email on private servers – out of the public’s reach. Tell me how that wouldn’t subvert the federal Freedom of Information Act and “sunshine laws” in every state? ...

Shannen Coffin in National Review says there have been a lot of things for Hillary not to think about.

Hillary Clinton told NBC’s Andrea Mitchell in an interview last week that she just didn’t think about things when she set up her private server to use exclusively as her official e-mail while secretary of state. She “was not thinking a lot when [she] got in. There was so much work to be done. We had so many problems around the world.” Understandably, she “didn’t really stop and think what kind of e-mail system will there be.”

So she didn’t think when she paid a former campaign staffer to build the server and set up “Clinton.com” e-mail addresses for herself and close State Department aides, including her deputy chief of staff Huma Abedin.

She didn’t think when she hired that campaign staffer at the State Department, but continued to pay him off the federal books for his services in maintaining her secret server.

She didn’t think when she neglected to report her server to the Department of Homeland Security, as required by law, so DHS could audit the security of her system as part of its mission to protect the government’s Internet security.

She didn’t think, when she ...

Hillary's gonna get a new image. **Jonah Goldberg** reacts.
What if this is as good as it gets?

You have to wonder if that’s what Hillary Clinton’s handlers are saying to each other right about now.

Of course, that’s not what they’re saying in public — or on background to the press.

The New York Times reported this week that Clinton plans to be spontaneous from now on:

“There will be no rope lines to wall off crowds, which added to an impression of aloofness. And there will be new efforts to bring spontaneity to a candidacy that sometimes seems wooden and overly cautious.”

I don’t blame Times reporter Amy Chozick for being so passive in her writing. But just for the record, there was no “impression” of aloofness. There was — and always has been — aloofness. Nor did the candidacy “seem” wooden and overly cautious. It is wooden and overly cautious, because Clinton is wooden and overly cautious.

And that won’t change.

Consider what you just read. The Clinton team is responding to the fact that Clinton is inauthentic and scripted by floating a trial balloon to the New York Times about her plan to be spontaneous.

The Clinton campaign is officially only five months old. But the real campaign is closer to 20 years old. ...

Streetwise Professor

[Dear Mr. President: FU. Sincerely, the Pentagon](#)

by Craig Pirrong

The Bowe Bergdahl case largely disappeared from view, likely because it was overtaken by so many other foreign policy foulups. The Isis explosion. The Syria implosion. The Iran capitulation.

But the story re-emerged yesterday. Well, sort of re-emerged: the coverage has been muted, at best, despite the fact that the charges are sensational.

Not only did the Pentagon charge Bergdahl with desertion: they charged him with “[misbehavior before the enemy](#),” which could result in his incarceration for life. This is about the most serious charge that can be brought. The UCMJ equivalent of the white feather:

Article 99—Misbehavior before the enemy

Text. “Any member of the armed forces who before or in the presence of the enemy—

- (1) runs away;
- (2) shamefully abandons, surrenders, or delivers up any command, unit, place, or military property which it is his duty to defend;
- (3) through disobedience, neglect, or intentional misconduct endangers the safety of any such command, unit, place, or military property;
- (4) casts away his arms or ammunition;
- (5) is guilty of cowardly conduct;
- (6) quits his place of duty to plunder or pillage;
- (7) causes false alarms in any command, unit, or place under control of the armed forces;
- (8) willfully fails to do his utmost to encounter, engage, capture, or destroy any enemy troops, combatants, vessels, aircraft, or any other thing, which it is his duty so to encounter, engage, capture, or destroy; or

(9) does not afford all practicable relief and assistance to any troops, combatants, vessels, or aircraft of the armed forces belonging to the United States or their allies when engaged in battle; shall be punished by death or such other punishment as a court-martial may direct."

Maximum punishment. All offenses under Article 99. Death or such other punishment as a court-martial may direct.

The White House fought tooth and nail to stop the Pentagon from charging Bergdahl: bad optics, dontcha know, to have embraced a deserter's family in the Rose Garden, and to have traded 5 hard core terrorists for him.

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FU, in other words.

I have been writing for some time that I suspect that there is intense conflict between the White House and the Pentagon. This event is clear evidence that those suspicions are true. (The ongoing Gitmo saga is another example.) The Bergdahl swap offended the Pentagon's sense of honor, and this is its way of making that plain.

Unfortunately, this has largely fallen on deaf ears. There has basically been one AP story, which appeared on Labor Day. (My guess is that the administration pressured the Pentagon to bury the story on a holiday weekend.) As usual, the media covers for Obama.

It is a big deal-or it should be-when the Pentagon defies the president so flagrantly, and pugnaciously. That is the sign of a deeply dysfunctional civilian-military relationship. This is particularly disturbing when the nation faces so many security challenges simultaneously: under these circumstances, it is dangerous to have a military at odds with its commander in chief, and *vice versa*. This story is about much more than Bergdahl. But it is getting no coverage whatsoever. Instead, we get wall-to-wall coverage of the Trump Circus. Both are symptoms of a troubled Republic.

National Review

[Why Walmart Is Reducing Worker Hours, After Raising the Minimum Wage — and Other Lessons in Reality](#)

In economic policy, good outcomes matter more than good intentions.

by Kevin D. Williamson

News item: There is a new cholesterol-control drug on the market, Repatha, which is enormously beneficial to people who suffer serious side effects from the statins commonly used to control cholesterol or who derive no benefit from statins. Some 17 million Britons are potential beneficiaries of the drug, but they will not be able to use it, because the United Kingdom's version of Sarah Palin's death panel — which bears the pleasingly Orwellian name NICE, the National Institute for Health and Care Excellence — says it is too expensive. The United Kingdom's single-payer health-care system is effectively a monopoly, and not an especially

effective one: Cardiovascular-disease mortality rates in the United Kingdom are nearly 40 percent higher than in the United States. That's not nice. And it isn't what was supposed to happen.

News item: Between raising its in-house minimum wage to \$9 an hour and increasing its spending on training, Walmart took on an extra \$1 billion in expenses and subsequently failed to meet its earnings expectations. As the back-to-school rush gives way to the buildup to Christmas, Walmart employees around the country are seeing their hours trimmed as the company tries to recoup some of the losses it imposed on itself. Employees say they are being sent home early from their shifts or told to take extra-long unpaid lunch breaks, and they say that individual stores have been ordered to cuts hundreds or even thousands of man-hours. That's not what was supposed to happen.

News item: "An unprecedented number of Californians left for other states during the last decade, according to new tax-return data from the Internal Revenue Service," the *Sacramento Bee* reports. "About 5 million Californians left between 2004 and 2013. Roughly 3.9 million people came here from other states during that period, for a net population loss of more than 1 million people." A quarter of that net loss was to Texas, where a state income-tax rate of 0.00 percent and low cost of housing stand in contrast with California. That's not what was supposed to happen.

The news repeats itself until the bits that lodge in our brains like splinters become history, which also repeats itself. But neither the repetitious news nor repetitious history endures quite so immovably as our gift for shielding our brains against learning from either of them.

Politicians tell us what a policy is supposed to do, what it is intended to do, and they ask to be judged by their intentions. The so-called Affordable Care Act, we were assured, was intended to make health insurance a better value and to make health-care institutions give their customers better service at better prices. Never mind the unspoken premise that is the law's foundation — "We can radically increase demand for health-care services while reducing costs and improving quality because politicians are magic!" — and its inescapable contradictions. "We meant well," they say, and that is supposed to be enough.

It isn't.

It falls largely to persnickety, unpleasant eat-your-spinach types, and to certain happy souls blessedly liberated from the romance of politics by events and experience, to document that what is supposed to happen and what happens are not the same thing. Britons and Canadians and Americans can go on all they like about their "right" to health care, but calling something a right does not make it any less scarce (indeed, it is absolutely meaningless to proclaim a "right" to any scarce good), and whether you choose an anything-goes free market or an Anglo-Soviet single-payer monopoly model, there is going to be rationing, normally through the instrument of price. The only question is whether you get to make that decision for yourself or whether an Orwellian NICE guy makes it for you. You can raise wages at Walmart in the naïve expectation that there will be no consequences — in much the same way that all manner of bad decisions begin with the exhortation, "Here, hold my beer." But there will be consequences. You can loot California until the only people comfortable living there are too rich to care or too poor to care, but the people between those limits have cars, and they know where the local U-Haul office is.

In the social sciences, the term of art for these developments is "unintended consequences." Some unintended consequences are unforeseeable, but many are not. They are at least partly foreseeable, even if unintended, and our good intentions do not entitle us to blind ourselves to

reality. Demand curves slope downward: When you raise the price of something — a ton of coal, an hour of labor — then the quantity demanded will be lower than it would have been at a lower price. The occasional intellectually honest progressive (an increasingly rare species, unhappily) will admit this, and will frankly accept that certain trade-offs, such as extending the power of labor unions or regulators or other political allies, are worth the price extracted, in this case the misery and privation of poor people denied work and a chance at self-sufficiency. Every schemer fancies himself a chess grandmaster, and if you are wondering which of the chessmen you are in his grand conception of the universe, count on it being one of the little round-headed ones in the front row.

That we can be reasonably sure that there will be unintended consequences does not mean that we know what they will be; these things are unpredictable by nature. Walmart might attempt to recoup some of its higher labor costs through reduced man-hours of labor, but it might as easily seek to shift costs onto vendors and suppliers, especially smaller firms that depend on Walmart for much or most of their distribution. (It is less likely that Walmart will attempt to pass on costs to customers through higher prices; lower prices are fundamental to its business model. The same is broadly true of fast-food companies.) Those firms will, in turn, try to shift costs to their own vendors, suppliers, customers, employees, etc. Taking a checkout clerk in Fontana, Kan., from \$7.25 an hour to \$9 an hour might, through roundabout cost-shifting, reduce the income of a logistics specialist in Fontana, Calif., or that of a hotelier in Fontana, Switzerland. What you can be sure of is that the experimental standard — *ceteris paribus* — will not apply. The world will not sit still while you adjust your favorite variable.

Some outcomes are positively perverse. In the 1960s, the federal and state governments began imposing more demanding liability standards on businesses in the belief that if a firm faces greater liability, then it will be more responsible when it comes to risky activities. The result wasn't more corporate responsibility, but more widely dispersed corporate responsibility, as the economists Al H. Ringleb and Steven N. Wiggins showed. Instead of higher corporate safety standards, there was a proliferation of small corporations, the number of which, they calculated, was about 20 percent higher than it would have been with different liability rules. Why? Because businesses outsourced high-risk tasks to small, specialized firms with relatively little in the way of assets, meaning that they could simply declare bankruptcy and liquidate when faced with a large judgment.

That trend was cited when oil shippers objected to the imposition of much higher liability standards — unlimited liability, in some cases — on the matter of oil spills in the wake of the Exxon *Valdez* disaster. But the higher liability standards were passed, and the Obama administration recently raised them. The oil companies said that the new standards would encourage reliance upon small, one-ship operators, rust-bucket tankers operated by substandard crews willing to gamble their relatively meager assets in a high-liability environment. In reality, something like the opposite happened, with oil companies slightly decreasing their reliance on independent shippers. That's just another example of the fact that the interaction between politics and economics is not predictable, even when you have the better end of the argument. We should not be fooled by simplistic predictions that happen to coincide with our policy preferences.

When Paul Krugman welcomed the inflation of a housing bubble to offset a collapsing stock-market bubble in 2002, he didn't understand that he was urging a policy that eventually would kneecap the world's economy. But he's only a Nobel laureate in economics and so cannot be expected to think very much about the big picture. The rest of us, though, have to ask ourselves: How much economic chaos are we willing to accept in exchange for the small probability that we might get what we want out of economic policy? If your answer is "Not much," then what you

want is stable rules and as little policy uncertainty and regime uncertainty as you can achieve. But that means more or less swallowing something close to the whole of free-market economics like a goldfish and leaving very little room for the politicians to engage in policy entrepreneurship. It is easy to understand why politicians oppose that sort of thing.

But why ordinary functioning adults with a passing understanding of how the world works and without brain damage oppose it — and they do — is a mystery.

The Federalist

Environmentalists Will Lose, And That's Great News For Mankind

Any other outcome would be immoral.

by David Harsanyi

Here is the lede of Jonathan Chait's long but *optimistic* piece on climate change ("This is the year humans finally got serious about saving themselves from themselves" says the subhead) [in New York magazine](#):

Here on planet Earth, things could be going better. The rise in atmospheric temperatures from greenhouse gases poses the most dire threat to humanity, measured on a scale of potential suffering, since Imperial Japan and Nazi Germany launched near-simultaneous wars of conquest. And the problem has turned out to be much harder to solve. It's not the money. The cost of transitioning away from fossil fuels, measured as a share of the economy, may amount to a fraction of the cost of defeating the Axis powers. Rather, it is the politics that have proved so fiendish. Fighting a war is relatively straightforward: You spend all the money you can to build a giant military and send it off to do battle. Climate change is a problem that politics is almost designed not to solve. Its costs lie mostly in the distant future, whereas politics is built to respond to immediate conditions. (And of the wonders the internet has brought us, a lengthening of mental time horizons is not among them.) Its solution requires coordination not of a handful of allies but of scores of countries with wildly disparate economies and political structures. There has not yet been a galvanizing Pearl Harbor moment, when the urgency of action becomes instantly clear and isolationists melt away. Instead, it breeds counterproductive mental reactions: denial, fatalism, and depression.

Although Chait makes a number of fantastical economic claims, it's worth focusing on the moral question: Is global warming really a more ominous threat to mankind than communism was—an ideology that, at best, condemned hundreds of millions to rot in poverty under totalitarianism or, at worst, left them to be massacred or starved to death? According to some sources, Mao's government killed [at least 45 million after 1949](#). An unimaginable number surely suffered. This was an expansionist ideology that fomented war in every part of the world.

Is global warming really a more dire threat to mankind than Islamic radicalism, which has convicted millions of people to be subjects of brutal theocracies, and billions more to be the targets of terror? Those thousands of Muslim refugees aren't risking their lives in the waters of the Mediterranean because there's been one-degree Celsius change in the temperature [over the past century](#).

Is the threat of global warming worse than the threat of global poverty?

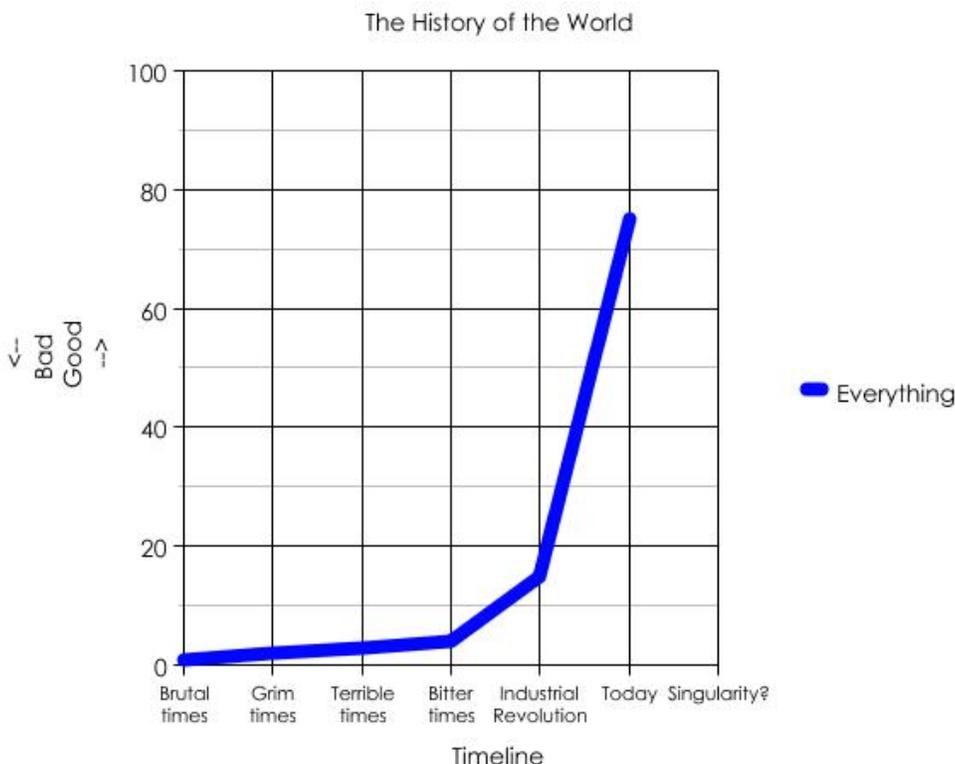
If you're going to fear monger, measuring threats on a "scale of *potential* suffering" is the absolute best kind of fearmongering as it's really no measurement, at all. Here on Earth, on a scale of tangible, real-world suffering, things have gotten considerably better—less [hunger](#), less [poverty](#), longer and freer lives—for a large chunk of humanity. Concurrently (but not coincidentally) most of this has happened when this climate-change crisis was gaining momentum.

Now, unlike coal, oil, gas, and market economics, an environmentalist has never lifted anyone out of poverty. But if you're convinced that every wildfire and tornado is the fault of Koch Brothers, Ayn Rand and a recalcitrant GOP Congress, this moral structure probably makes some sense to you. If you believe the moral magnitude of climate change falls somewhere short of the killing of 70 million people (we don't know the exact number World War II took), but is a more a pressing problem than mass hunger or disease or war, I can understand why you think doing nearly anything to stop it is okay. Like emulating one-party authoritarianism, for instance.

That's where you will find hope. [Our agreement with China](#) has Chait very upbeat. Basically, Obama will issue some diktats through the Environmental Protection Agency, then in 2030, or some year around that time, when China's carbon emissions are expected to peak, it promises it will implement some ambiguous action plan at some vague point in the future. All we need to do is trust them now and act. The agreement contains no binding language requiring any goals to be met. After that, it will be "enforced" by international diplomatic pressure. If we are good role models, however, China will do the right thing, as well.

But wait! Maybe it's the Chicoms who *are* the role models. "China, in fact, has undergone an energy revolution far more rapid than anything under way in the U.S. — the country that supposedly couldn't be shamed into action has, instead, shamed us," writes Chait, who finds it amazing that things become efficient and productive as a nation become wealthier.

Do you feel shame?



China's industrialization and capitalistic reforms have probably done more to alleviate poverty than any other state action. It's one of the great stories of the late twentieth to early twenty-first century. One of the most tragic stories is that the same communist government holds billions hostage to that poverty by denying them access to the same reforms. One Chinese official claims that [82 million people in China live below the poverty line](#). Those people, by the way, live under \$1 a day, so they don't drive cars or abuse their air conditioners and ruin the Earth. But Li Keqiang, premier of China, guessed that [200 million Chinese live on \\$1.25 a day or less](#). If we applied the standards Americans typically use to measure, we would probably be looking at a population of poor far larger than the entire United States. But, hey, communists subsidize the inefficient solar panel industry with more dollars than we do.

Alas, in the United States process gets in the way. When Chait claims that politics are "fiendish," he means Republicans are fiendish for their skepticism that curbing economic growth or signing on to some top-down state-driven plan is useful, doable, or needed. You won't be surprised to learn, I imagine, that state intervention circumventing these Republicans and unilaterally implementing liberal policies is the ideal way to fix this mess and bring the Earth back into balance. Like the Chinese do it. China is not bogged down by "politics."

Now, most Democrats will concede that markets wiped out much destitution around the world, but argue you can keep that wealth under a *worldwide social engineering project that will fix the climate a hundred years from now*. You can't have it both ways. China can help ease climate change, but it will condemn billions to poverty. Or not. It can't do both. To argue it can is economic denialism.

If there were any chance environmentalists could "win," as Chait claims, rolling back hundreds of years of progress rather than waiting for the technological breakthroughs that will organically allow us to "transition" away from fossil fuels, the world would be in trouble. Thankfully, they can't win. Not because Republicans hate science or because anyone Democrats disagree with is bought off by shady oil men, but because, in the end, neither they nor I nor you are giving up our lifestyles in any meaningful way.

For us, the Chinese, Indians, Nigerians, and everyone else, that's great news. The environmentalist is free to embrace fantasy and then fatalism, or they can start figuring out ways to acclimate to this new reality.

National Journal

[Sorry For What, Hillary?](#)

Apologies aren't answers to these 19 questions Clinton must answer.

by Ron Fournier

"I'm sorry about that," Hillary Rodham Clinton said six years after seizing control of government email and after six months of denying wrongdoing. Just this week, it took three different interviews in four days for her to beg the puniest of pardons: "I do think I could have and should have done a better job answering questions earlier."

You *think*? By any objective measure, the Democratic presidential front-runner has responded to her email scandal with [deflection and deception](#), shredding [her credibility](#) while giving a skeptical public another reason not to trust the [institutions of politics and government](#).

An apology doesn't fix that. An apology also doesn't answer the scandal's most important questions.

1. While apologizing in an [ABC interview](#) on Tuesday, you said, "What I had done was allowed, it was above board." You must know by now that while the State Department allowed the use of home computers in 2009, agency rules required that email be secured. Yours was not. Just nine months into your term, new regulations required that your emails be captured on department servers. You stashed yours on a home-brewed system until Congress found out. Why not admit you violated policy? Why do you keep misleading people?
2. If what you did was "above board," then you wouldn't object to *all* executive branch officials at *every* level of government and from *both* parties storing their email on private servers – out of the public's reach. Tell me how that wouldn't subvert the federal Freedom of Information Act and "sunshine laws" in every state?
3. If what you did was "allowed," then you wouldn't object to *all* executive branch officials at *every* level of government and from *both* parties using secret servers to shield themselves from legislative oversight. Wouldn't that undermine the legislative branch's constitutional authority? Wouldn't it lead to more political corruption?
4. If what you did became a nationwide precedent, historians would be left with exponentially less archival material to explain the actions of political leaders. You would have helped to erase the public memory. OK with that?
5. Who authorized the deletion of 31,000 emails from your server? Who carried it out? Were they approved to review and secure classified documents?
6. The public and Congress has no right to see your truly personal email. Do you consider email about your family's foundation to be personal? Can you guarantee that none of the deleted email involved the [Bill, Hillary & Chelsea Clinton Foundation](#) or its donors?
7. You said you didn't have time to think about your email system when you started at State, but it appears you [put a lot of thought into it](#). You said you did it for the convenience of having one device, but we found out later you carried at least two. You also said it was for you and President Clinton to email each other, but we now know he has only emailed once in his life. Why can't we get a straight answer about why you created an unauthorized, unprecedented email infrastructure?
8. You've given the average voter the right – and reporters the responsibility – to ask an ugly question: What were you hiding?
9. Ever hear of Thomas Drake? He's the former senior National Security Agency official indicted under the Espionage Act for keeping an agency email printout at his home that was *not* marked as classified. He pleaded guilty to a misdemeanor. Why do you and your aides keep suggesting that it matters whether or not your emails were marked classified?
10. You emailed your Middle East envoy, George Mitchell, soliciting a "reply" to your "personal email." He responded with what is a now classified summary of his discussion with Italy's Foreign Minister. Did you not know that type of head-of-state communication is instantly classified? What were you expecting to hear from Mr. Mitchell?

11. Remember getting an email about the mapping of North Korea's nuclear program, which has since been marked classified? Why didn't you raise any red flags internally, or do you think this type of information should be legitimately unclassified?
12. You paid a State Department technology official privately to maintain your private system. Huma Abedin was paid by the State Department, your foundation, and a consulting firm. Aren't these conflicts of interest? Is double-dipping appropriate for all federal workers or just your closest aides?
13. When the White House wouldn't let you hire Sidney Blumenthal, you put him on the foundation payroll and [solicited his advice](#). Didn't that violate the spirit of the White House veto? Why did you claim publicly that his advice was unsolicited?
14. Several of Blumenthal's emails were deleted from your server and [recovered later](#) through other sources. Why shouldn't we assume other work-related emails were deleted?
15. How many servers were there? Is the deleted data on any other devices?
16. Did you take any training as first lady, senator or Secretary of State on what is deemed classified and how to handle and store classified material? When was the last time?
17. You're not the target of an FBI investigation at this time. Is it fair to say the FBI would not be investigating the insecurity of classified information absent the actions you took? If not, please explain.
18. If the FBI finds you improperly handled classified information, but does not charge you with a crime, will you maintain that you did nothing wrong? (Yes, ma'am, that is a hypothetical, but so is a presidential candidacy. Please answer.)
19. Is U.S. national security more or less secure as a result of your server's existence?

What did I miss? Tweet #Ask Hillary @Ron_Fournier

National Review

[Hillary Clinton Spent Lots of Time 'Not Thinking' about Her Secret E-mail Server](#)

by Shannen W. Coffin

Hillary Clinton told NBC's Andrea Mitchell in an interview last week that she just didn't think about things when she set up her private server to use exclusively as her official e-mail while secretary of state. She "was not thinking a lot when [she] got in. There was so much work to be done. We had so many problems around the world." Understandably, she "didn't really stop and think what kind of e-mail system will there be."

So she didn't think when she paid a former campaign staffer to build the server and set up "Clinton.com" e-mail addresses for herself and close State Department aides, including her deputy chief of staff Huma Abedin.

She didn't think when she hired that campaign staffer at the State Department, but continued to pay him off the federal books for his services in maintaining her secret server.

She didn't think when she neglected to report her server to the Department of Homeland Security, as required by law, so DHS could audit the security of her system as part of its mission to protect the government's Internet security.

She didn't think, when she instructed all overseas State Department officials not to use private e-mail to conduct official business, that the same rule applied to her. Nor did she think too hard before firing an ambassador, in part, for using private e-mail to conduct official business.

She didn't think when she operated that server and her e-mail addresses for several months without a security certificate, so that her communications were entirely unencrypted for even the least skilled of Chinese, Russian, and Romanian hackers to find.

She didn't think when she gave her e-mail address to foreign diplomats, such as Tony Blair, who communicated with her in confidence about sensitive international matters over unsecure systems.

She didn't think when her own diplomats and staff shared similar foreign communications and even satellite intelligence over unsecure e-mail systems.

She didn't think to classify any of that information under the classification authority granted her by law. She just didn't think that President Obama's executive order on classification and her own State Department's foreign-affairs manual — which presume that the disclosure of confidential "foreign government information" will harm the national security — applied to those e-mails.

She certainly didn't think to handle any such classified information — approaching 200 e-mails now classified by the State Department (and still counting) — under the security procedures required by law. So she definitely didn't think when she told a staffer, "Just e-mail it," when he informed her that a particular document was classified.

She didn't think to search any of her e-mails in response to countless Freedom of Information Act requests. And she surely didn't think that congressional committees wanted her secret e-mails when they demanded State Department records in the days and months after the attack on the U.S. consulate in Benghazi.

She didn't think, when she resigned from the State Department, to return all of her federal records, like every other employee of the department is required to do. As busy as she was, she couldn't be bothered with attesting to the completeness of those records, again like every other employee is required to do.

She didn't think to report a security breach to the State Department when her communications with Sidney Blumenthal — a secret adviser rejected from official State Department service by the Obama White House, but nonetheless paid on the side by Clinton's foundation — were hacked by Romanian hacker Guccifer in 2013 and published online by Gawker.com.

She didn't think about her obligations to protect the classified information on her server when she turned it over wholesale to Platte River Networks, a private Internet company that lacked proper security clearances.

She didn't think when she continued to keep the existence of her server — and thousands of official e-mails — from the State Department and the public for almost two years after leaving office.

She didn't think when she let her lawyers decide which of nearly 60,000 e-mails were federal records required to be preserved by law.

She surely didn't think when she directed her lawyers and aides to delete permanently half of those e-mails (more than 30,000) — so that no one would ever know what was in them.

And she also didn't think to tell the truth in response to the public outcry.

You can hardly blame her. It was a lot not to think about.

Shannen W. Coffin, who served in senior legal positions in the George W. Bush administration, practices law in Washington, D.C.

National Review

Brand New Image, Same Old Hillary

Her advisers are planning spontaneity and carefully rehearsing casualness.

by Jonah Goldberg

What if this is as good as it gets?

You have to wonder if that's what Hillary Clinton's handlers are saying to each other right about now.

Of course, that's not what they're saying in public — or on background to the press.

The *New York Times* reported this week that Clinton plans to be spontaneous from now on:

"There will be no rope lines to wall off crowds, which added to an impression of aloofness. And there will be new efforts to bring spontaneity to a candidacy that sometimes seems wooden and overly cautious."

I don't blame *Times* reporter Amy Chozick for being so passive in her writing. But just for the record, there was no "impression" of aloofness. There was — and always has been — aloofness. Nor did the candidacy "seem" wooden and overly cautious. It *is* wooden and overly cautious, because Clinton is wooden and overly cautious.

And that won't change.

Consider what you just read. The Clinton team is responding to the fact that Clinton is inauthentic and scripted by floating a trial balloon to the *New York Times* about her plan to be spontaneous.

The Clinton campaign is officially only five months old. But the real campaign is closer to 20 years old. People have been talking about — and plotting — her run for president since her

husband said a vote for him was also a vote for her and amounted to getting “two for the price of one.”

In that time, Hillary Clinton has had any number of makeovers. The *Wall Street Journal's* James Taranto recently catalogued many of Clinton's rebranding efforts. In 1999, as she planned her Senate run, her image consultant, Mandy Grunwald, and the rest of the team tried to “humanize” her. “Be real,” Grunwald advised her in a memo. Oh, and “look for opportunities for humor. It's important that people see more sides of you, and they often see you only in very stern situations.”

In February of this year, the *Washington Post* reported that Clinton had assembled an A-team of branding consultants to help “imagine Hillary 5.0.”

“It's exactly the same as selling an iPhone or a soft drink or a cereal,” Peter Sealey, a longtime corporate-marketing strategist, told the *Post*.

“She needs to use everything a brand has: a dominant color, a logo, a symbol. . . . The symbol of a Mercedes is a three-pointed star. . . . The symbol of McDonald's is the golden arches. What is Clinton's symbol?”

How about a downward-trending arrow?

The number of Americans who view her unfavorably has doubled since she was secretary of state. An elderly socialist from Vermont with a Brooklyn accent is beating her in New Hampshire and is poised to overtake her in Iowa. The percentage of Democrats who say they'll vote for Clinton has dropped 18 points since April.

In July, *New York Times* writer Mark Leibovich wrote of the difficult effort to get voters to see the “real” Hillary. In his essay “Re-Re-Re-Reintroducing Hillary Clinton,” he noted how friends of Hillary see a different person from the one who's on the stump. No doubt that's true.

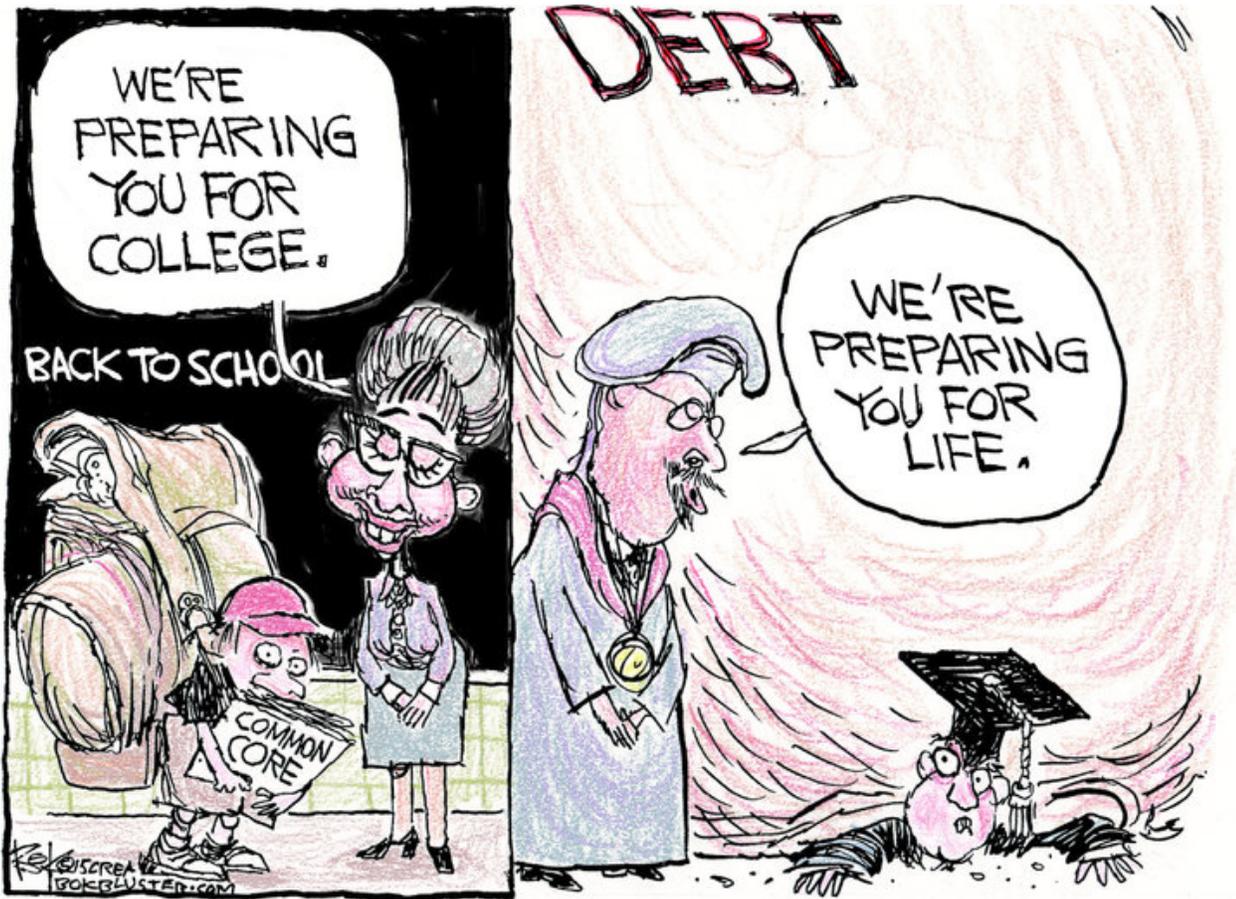
But there's a huge assumption behind such talk. It's a well-known fact that friends and supplicants of very powerful people tend to be biased about how fantastic those people are. No doubt members of Justin Bieber's entourage think he's one of the world's great musical talents.

Consider Lanny Davis, a Washington lawyer/lobbyist and professional Clinton defender. In one of the e-mails released by the State Department, Davis tells Clinton, “I consider you to be the best friend and the best person I have met in my long life. You know that from the dedication and appreciation of you I have always felt and expressed to you over four decades.”

This obsequiousness goes on for three pages, all in an effort to get Clinton to say nice things to a reporter for *American Lawyer* doing a piece about Davis's new firm. Clinton was never quoted in the piece.

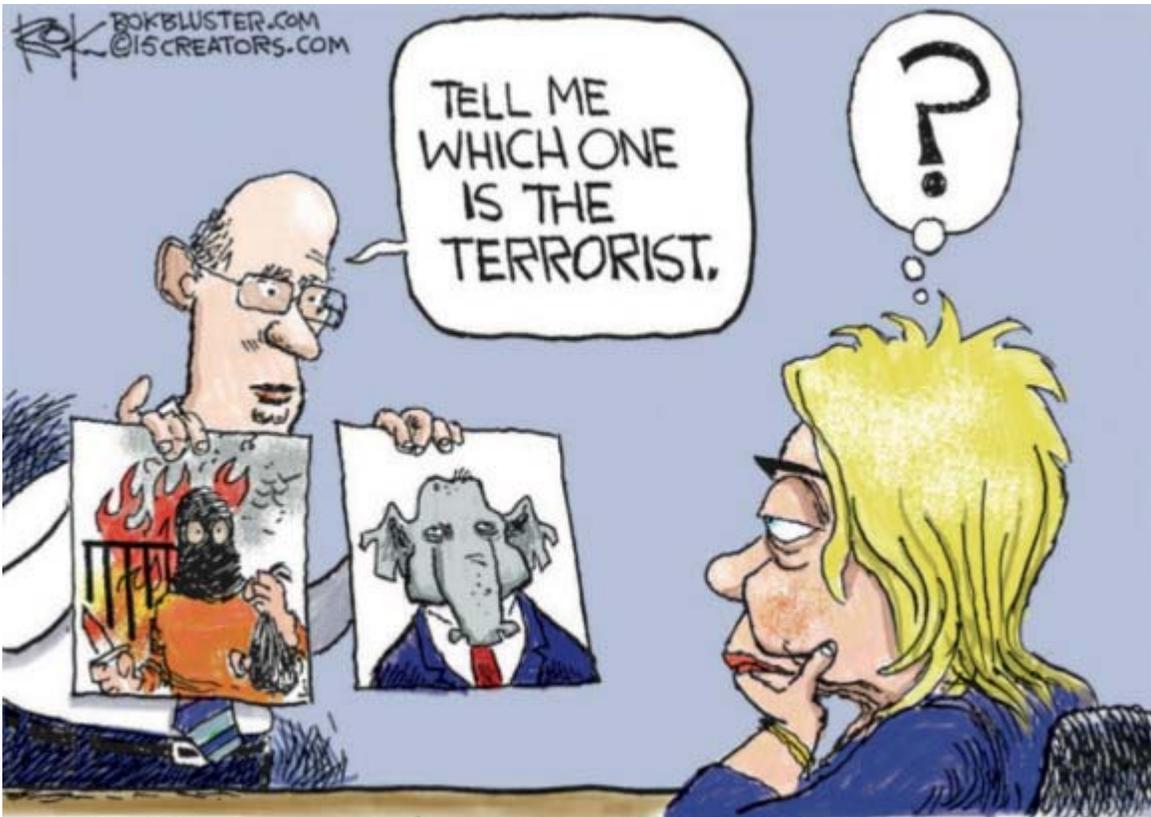
Now, maybe Davis really does think Clinton is the best person and best friend he's ever had. (Take that, mom, dad, wife, et al.) Though I'd like to think my best friend wouldn't need so much sucking up — and would actually deliver. Still, do we really think his view of Clinton is less biased than that of the average informed news consumer?

The simple fact is that the Hillary Clinton you see — controlled, defensive, out of touch — is the only Hillary Clinton there is or ever will be, and no amount of re-re-re-re-branding will change that.





HILLARY'S LIBRARY



WHY HILLARY CAN'T TELL IF HER EMAIL IS CLASSIFIED

HILLARY'S WORLD VIEW

THE PEOPLE TRYING TO **STOP** THIS GUY.....

ARE JUST LIKE THIS GUY

