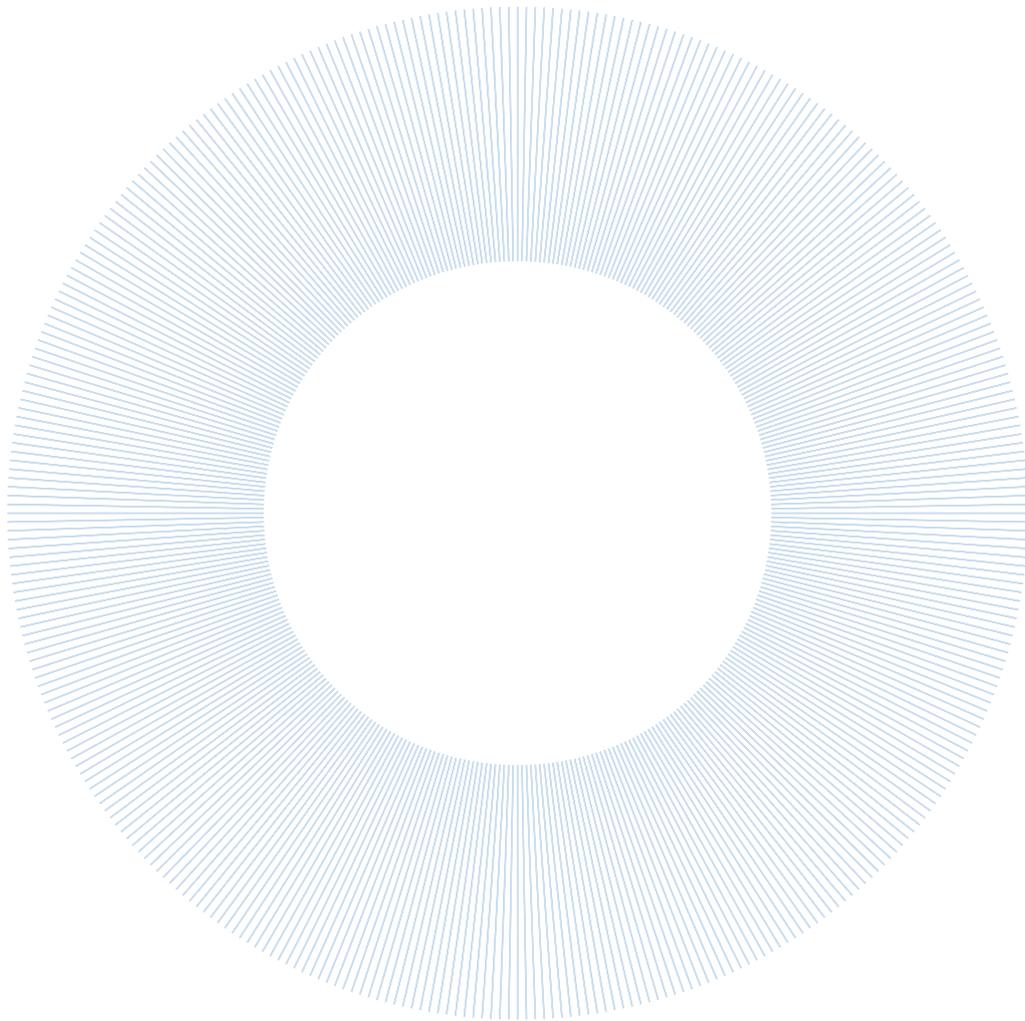


America and the Death of Facts:  
‘Politics and the War on  
Rationalism’



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## *About Insights*

*Insights* captures the ideas and work-in-progress of the Fellows of the Institute of Advanced Study at Durham University. Up to twenty distinguished and ‘fast-track’ Fellows reside at the IAS in any academic year. They are world-class scholars who come to Durham to participate in a variety of events around a core inter-disciplinary theme, which changes from year to year. Each theme inspires a new series of *Insights*, and these are listed in the inside back cover of each issue. These short papers take the form of thought experiments, summaries of research findings, theoretical statements, original reviews, and occasionally more fully worked treatises. Every fellow who visits the IAS is asked to write for this series. The Directors of the IAS – Veronica Strang, Rob Barton, Nicholas Saul and Martin Ward – also invite submissions from others involved in the themes, events and activities of the IAS. *Insights* is edited for the IAS by Nicholas Saul. Previous editors of *Insights* were Professor Susan Smith (2006–2009), Professor Michael O’Neill (2009–2012) and Professor Barbara Graziosi (2012–2015).

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## *AMERICA AND THE DEATH OF FACTS: 'POLITICS AND THE WAR ON RATIONALISM'*

*Increasingly, society is moving away from the notion of readily identifiable and agreed-upon facts to one in which all information is reduced to (or elevated to) the status of evidence in support of agendas – be they political, scientific, theological, economic, academic or historical. The Information Age, which was hailed for its potential to unify society, is proving to be a profoundly divisive period, fragmenting society and providing each sector and sect with access to its own set of 'facts' that support their views. The pool of accepted facts shrinks and the polarization of society increases – the fault lines fed by a continual flow of purposeful information designed to bolster positions and discredit the opposition. The integrating effects of the legacy media, though much disparaged these days, were designed to address an undifferentiated mass audience with aspirations of objectivity. Facts were the food of a democracy, the nutrients upon which all decisions were to be made. In the absence of some discrete set of undisputed facts, opportunities for compromise, reconciliation and basic governance become rare, demagoguery rises and the bonds of civil society become increasingly strained.*



**A**s the 2016 election approaches, it is difficult for many Americans to understand the political maelstrom, the polarization and demonization of opponents, the rise of demagogues, the disdain for evidence and the seeming contempt for moderation – particularly on the Right. For observers across the pond, it must seem as if we have gone crackers – and perhaps we have. I have no easy answers, but I do have a sense that something fundamental has changed about the character of our political discourse.

For four decades I have been a journalist, more than half of those years in our nation's capital with such organizations as *The Washington Post* and *Time* magazine. I have reported on Congress, the White House and federal agencies as diverse as the Environmental Protection Agency and the Central Intelligence Agency. So when I say that the landscape is utterly unrecognizable, I have some frame of reference. What I am seeing now is unprecedented – a sea change in the political culture, a shift from one that might be described as 'fact-based' to one that is exclusively rooted in ideology and argument.

I am not talking about the time-honored political lie, the garden-variety distortion of truth in the name of political expediency. The politician who utters a falsehood and knows it is untrue has always been with us. Washington famously claimed he could not tell a lie, but as the historian Richard Norton Smith observed, 'He not only told lies, he lived them'. Two centuries later, that most brazen of liars, Senator Joseph McCarthy, fomenter of anti-Communist hysteria in the early 1950s, declared he had in his hand a list of 200 known Communists in the State Department. He knew no such list existed. In 1958, the genteel Senator John F. Kennedy, then a presidential candidate, spoke of 'The Missile Gap' – the Soviet's superior nuclear arsenal, knowing that the claim was dubious at best. (He also knew that President Dwight Eisenhower was in no position

to refute the claim without compromising the U-2 spy plane program.) The list is as long as history itself.

But such candidates' lies are not what afflicts America's political soul today. It is something deeper, more insidious and more damaging to the body politic. The cynical calculations of a candidate compromising the truth seem almost quaint by comparison. They are so familiar to citizens that they are baked into the electoral equation, discounted by experience. What is afoot today is a creature of a different sort, not a simple lie but a mass delusion, a kind of collective cognitive bias that is incapable of recognizing facts that do not conform to a larger ideology. Writ large, it borders on a full-scale repudiation of rationalism.

The nearest thing I can think of is the period in which the Church dictated not merely the parameters of faith but of fact as well. What contradicted Church edicts was branded heresy, which was at once both a finding of apostasy and a declaration of falsehood. So it is in much of American politics today. That which contradicts the conservative faith is not allowed to stand. In its place has been raised an altered reality to which adherents must pledge allegiance. In such a scheme, the acceptability of science, medicine, economics, indeed all empirical knowledge, is weighed upon an ideological scale. Like a kind of Counter-Reformation, it represents a determined effort to regain power by suppressing all evidence that would challenge the infallibility of conservative ideology. Among the ranks of committed conservatives, skepticism is dead and cynicism rampant. (The Tea Party reflects nothing so much as disillusionment, championing candidates who boast their lack of government experience and promote dogma over facts.)

Belief trumps (pun intended) reason every time. Nothing new there. The King James Version of the Bible contains nearly 800,000 words – 'faith' appears some 224 times. The word 'fact' does not appear once. What we are witnessing in American politics today is a reflection of a complex popular reaction to modernity, to globalism, to diversity, to technology, to science, to dwindling resources, to economic disruption, to a post-industrial society, to secularization at home and Islamic fundamentalism abroad, to a world in which resort to military might diminishes, not enhances, national standing. In short, it is a reaction to the sort of fundamental change that threatens individual and national identity.

Where once the facts helped inform political values and shape agendas, ultimately molding ideology, today it is reversed – belief defines facts and the tenets of faith look askance at all that undermines itself. The Tea Party is not a political entity, but a social movement, the vanguard of those who have lost all faith in government, who equate Washington with corruption, social programs with individual weakness and governmental experience as a stain on character. It is not about governance but about dismantling the engine that produced government. As such, it views all official pronouncements as self-serving falsehoods, be they rooted in science, medicine, economics, national security, etc. Empirical evidence is seen as nothing more than the partisan instrument of a discredited and morally bankrupt regime. The path to political righteousness and national redemption, it believes, is to be found in starving government into submission until it relinquishes all power and returns it to the people. It is a brand of political atavism as passionate as it is indiscriminate.

The Republican field of candidates – particularly the front runners – reflects a culture in which increasingly the very existence of facts seems to be in question. The polarization that

has paralyzed legislatures, that has riven our country into ideologically warring regions, that has pitted the evangelical against the secular, offers little or no opportunity for compromise or negotiation – concepts that are now viewed as tantamount to capitulation and betrayal. It was long axiomatic that problem-solving depended upon a common identification of what problems exist. No longer. Statecraft, as the Right sees it, calls for the sledgehammer, not the scalpel.

It has long been an article of faith (if you will excuse the pun) that our political beliefs reflect our responses to a certain set of facts – like poverty, global warming, the number of insured, immigration, deteriorating infrastructure, etc. But today, that model has been turned on its head and it is beliefs, not facts, that dictate the terms of what we see in our nation and what we choose to acknowledge or deny.

Ideological orthodoxies and partisan purity are the standard by which many a candidate and their highly-motivated bases determine what exists and what does not. In America today, the parties do not meet on a common field to compromise and reconcile, but rather inhabit ‘parallel universes’ – a term President Obama used in his final ‘State of the Union Address’, an overt reference to the two distinct realities that divide the parties. Those who disagree are not merely cast as political opponents but infidels. Each side believes the other has been co-opted, blinded to reality. These are not ideological disagreements, but collisions between opposing universes, each with its own distinct physics and mutually-exclusive observations. Each side is convinced the other is delusional.

Let me offer some examples. Republicans speak passionately of the growing problem of immigration, of the porous border across which an endless stream of Mexicans and others – many undesirable, even criminal – come to prey upon American society, take American jobs, feed from the public trough, traffic in drugs and plot terrorism. The image is one of a swarm of locusts plaguing America. To stem the ever-increasing flow of illegals, they call for an increase in the number of border police and a wall to be built along the southern border. But the problem they describe bears no resemblance to reality on the ground. Today, there is no great flood of immigrants coming across the border and has not been for years. Indeed, immigration figures document quite the opposite – that the net flow is zero or negative.

In 2014, there were 5.6 million Mexican immigrants living in the US illegally – one million fewer than 2007. Instead of the tidal wave of Mexican illegals pouring across the border as described by candidates Donald Trump, Ted Cruz and others, the exact opposite is the case – more Mexicans are returning from the US to Mexico than entering the US: between 2009 and 2014, a million left the US for Mexico, and only 870,000 Mexican nationals entered the US. And why do they return to Mexico? In large measure, to be reunited with their families – a humanistic narrative never mentioned in describing the hordes of illegals.

It is most certainly not only Mexican immigrants who have been targeted by the Right and who have been the object of nativist fantasies and fears. The leading conservative candidate, Donald Trump, has said repeatedly that he would not allow Muslims into the country, feeding Islamophobia and bolstering it with claims that he saw thousands and thousands of Muslims in New Jersey cheer the terrorist attacks of 9/11 and the fall of the twin towers. That claim endures even though there is no evidence of any such celebrations. When Trump claimed President Obama planned to admit 250,000 Syrian refugees, he stoked fears of the many terrorists who might be among them. That the actual number was 10,000 never seemed to take hold among his supporters.

The disparity between the facts and the conservatives' description is irreconcilable in the extreme. So why the resistance to reality? Because America is in fact changing. The demographics are decidedly different than those of a generation or two earlier. White Christians are now said to be in the minority in 19 states. Whites will indeed soon be in the minority nationwide – they already are in California, Texas, New Mexico and Hawaii. Such change brings with it an inevitable surrender of political power, as well as social and cultural upheaval.

It is indeed a fact that the face of America has changed and will continue to change in ways that threaten the identity of those Americans who are unwilling to share, much less cede power. The number of illegal immigrants streaming across the US border is slowing, but the 'Browning of America' is accelerating and the fusion of false facts and real fear, stoked by political ambitions, has produced what is for many Americans a gnawing fear. It is but one piece of a broader vision that the America they knew is slipping away. The nativist impulse that conjures up images of wave upon wave of dark-skinned illegals crossing the border is the nightmare of those who cling to an America that is no more. For them, the future is ominous in the extreme and figures and statistics about declining border crossings contradict what they see all around them in their daily lives. They, as much as any of the new arrivals, now feel as if they are the strangers who have been marginalized and displaced.

Those fears and the clinging to a false reality have very real consequences, not only for the US election but for the world at large. An America that threatens to close its doors to Muslims and demonizes them, hands ISIS a perfect recruiting tool and serves to confirm the alter-reality of the Jihadists that this is indeed a war between the world's two most dominant religions, an apocalyptic vision of East versus West. Over time such paranoia can turn unsubstantiated fears and fabrications into reality.



I have suggested that there are parallels between the current political discourse in the US and the Church's efforts to retain power and influence centuries earlier. One of the outward manifestations was the control exerted over science and the persecution of those who challenged the edicts of the Church. Galileo's assault on a geocentric worldview was among the most visible. Evidence counted for little when it contradicted Church doctrine. There are many scientists in America today who feel that they too are under attack from the Right for challenging the orthodoxies of conservatism.

The debate over global warming persists, long after the debate has been largely settled by scientists around the world. Each time there is a cold snap, those who deny the existence of climate change point to the thermometer as proof that global warming is a government ruse to assert itself with ever more job-killing regulation. In February 2015, US Senator James Inhofe, a Republican from Oklahoma, brought a snowball onto the Senate floor to show that it was cold outside and to refute a wealth of science with a single image. Inhofe is the author of a book titled *The Greatest Hoax: How the Global Warming Conspiracy Threatens Your Future* (2012) and is also the powerful chairman of the Senate's Environment and Public Works Committee. The more science documents climate change, the more Inhofe and others are convinced it is a conspiracy.

Never mind that the pattern of warming has produced the two warmest years back-to-back since records were kept. In Florida, the state most vulnerable to global warming and rising sea levels,

state officials in the Department of Environmental Protection have been banned from using such terms as 'climate change' or 'global warming'. It is not simply an act of denial but part of a determined campaign not to lend credence to an issue that many of the state's conservatives simply do not believe is a problem. Were they to concede, it might open the door to a whole host of other issues that would invite additional government scrutiny and regulation – ranging from threats to the Everglades to greater protection for endangered species. 'The climate is always changing', says Florida's Senator Marco Rubio and a candidate for president who doubts human activity is altering the environment.

'History is replete with record-breaking weather events', says David Kreutzer. The science is fatally flawed, Kreutzer argues, pointing to the proximity of weather stations to buildings that might drive up temperature readings and the failure to distribute the monitoring stations in a 'regular comprehensive geological pattern'. Kreutzer challenges the science but is no scientist himself. He is an economist with the conservative Heritage Foundation, which has continually challenged the notion of climate change and has exerted an outsized influence on both public debate and legislation.

Indeed, beneath the refusal to believe in climate change lies the deeper orthodoxy that capitalism is being smothered by regulation, that the free market will create its own solutions and that scientists are in league with liberals to create near-hysteria about global warming – a pretext for greater government intrusion. Creating the illusion that global warming remains unsettled and still subject to debate is not merely a strategy to stave off regulation, but an expression of a profound distrust for science itself, especially when linked to government research centers or agencies.

And the conservatives' efforts to create doubt about climate change have been successful. While a Pew study found that 94% of scientists say the problem is serious, only 65% of the US population agrees. Some 87% of the scientists say human activity is to blame, but only 50% of the American public agrees.

Attacking science has provided a field of conservative demagogues with ready targets. Presidential candidate and billionaire real estate tycoon Donald Trump was one of many who slyly attacked vaccinations, inferentially linking them to a rise in autism. That there is no scientific basis for drawing a connection between vaccinations and autism did not stop Trump or his followers from raising doubts about the safety of childhood vaccines. The public health implications of their position has been made clear as frightened parents have chosen not to vaccinate their children, creating a potential public health disaster. Parents have chosen not to immunize their children against such childhood diseases as polio, measles, mumps, rubella, diphtheria, whooping cough, tetanus, hepatitis B and chicken pox. Such decisions affect not only the children who opt out of the vaccines but those who attend schools with them as the critical 'herd immunity' is compromised and carriers of disease are introduced into the general population. Tweeted candidate Donald Trump, 'I am being proven right about massive vaccinations—the doctors lied. Save our children & their future'.

Lest you think that Trump is an outlier on the issue or part of some radical fringe, consider this: while 86% of scientists believe vaccinations should be required, only 68% of the American public shares that view. What does that mean? That the remaining 32% believe it should be voluntary. That may be a minority position, but 32% of the US population is 100 million people – far more than is needed to create a calamitous national health problem if they exercise their right not to be vaccinated.

Like global warming, there is no legitimate scientific debate about a link between vaccines and autism. But it is emblematic of a broader conservative perception that government is at best incompetent and at worse sinister. The idea that Washington and the medical establishment with which it colludes would inject children with substances that would later make them sick or impaired fits squarely into that broader narrative of government as an evil actor that must be relieved of power and authority over the lives of citizens. Indeed, the absence of a scientific link is twisted by those on the far right as evidence of a government conspiracy of silence. Any government requirement, regulation or standard is instantly suspect and taken as a mark of encroachment upon the ground of individual freedom.

The conservatives' assault on science is not limited to climate change or vaccinations. It has become embedded in the American psyche, fueled by an anti-government ardor and an evangelical view of the world. Consider for example the matter of evolution. There are many in America today who believe that the 1925 Scopes trial settled nothing, that Darwin's theory of evolution was just that – a theory and nothing more. The evidence from fossil records matters not at all.

A Gallup poll taken in 2014 found that a full 42% of Americans believed in Creationism. That means that more than twice the population of England believes that God created humans in their present form some 10,000 years ago. The implications of this are staggering for the teaching of history, anthropology, the natural sciences and, of course, education. Once again, facts are subordinate to faith and ideology. The curriculum taught in the schools of Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama and elsewhere is widely divergent from that offered to students in New York, Massachusetts, Maine, Vermont and California. The divide between these regional cohorts of students as they mature will only increase and the recognition of what constitutes a fact will decrease proportionately. Each will be earnest in their embrace of the material offered them, convinced it is fact, but have less and less in common with each other.



Those who are determined to find conspiracies in government are rarely disappointed. Consider for example the reaction to Barak Obama as presidential candidate. An entire movement took shape around the argument that he was not eligible to be president because he was born overseas. They became known as 'birthers'. No amount of documentation, not even a birth certificate issued by the state of Hawaii, could dissuade them. Indeed, one of the most stalwart champions of this position is now the Republican presidential front runner – Donald Trump. What lies behind this position is more than simple political expediency, disinformation or chicanery. It is an expression of a deeper and unshakeable belief that Obama is not one of 'us' but rather is 'The Other'. He is black (true, though never mind that he is half-white), he is Muslim (false, never mind that the same groups who pilloried him for being a Muslim, also bashed him for attending sermons by a Christian minister they viewed as radical), he was a socialist (false, never mind that he was a centrist who alienated those on the left in his own party).

No amount of documentation could persuade the birthers that Obama was born in the US. Every effort to settle the matter was seen as an attempt to pull one over on the American people. Trump, the billionaire populist, understands that his support rests in no small measure on his willingness to offend, to alienate, to discriminate. He is the outspoken spokesman for all those whose identity is now threatened by a changing America and who draw comfort from

delegitimizing Obama. Denying that Obama is native-born is a way to reaffirm who is a true American and who is not. It is a toxic mix of racism, xenophobia and nativism, all of it designed to reassert the moral authority and birthright of a segment of the population that now feels under siege. Trump suffers from a kind of political Tourette's Syndrome, where he blurts out the forbidden and repressed sentiments of all who are seeing a new nation emerge from the old. His blunt and uncivil tongue reflects the manner of one confronting a trespasser, which is exactly how his followers view the new Americans. It is not Obama's birthplace that the birthers implicitly question, but his pedigree and that of all those who are part of the 'Browning of America'.

Once again, it is not a simple act of denial that characterizes this new politics but an outright hostility to the very existence of facts. These same conservatives have refused to acknowledge the perils of a nation in which guns are everywhere and claim some 30,000 lives annually. For years those same people in Congress have said guns are not the problem – the favored line is 'Guns do not kill people, people kill people' – and argued that the Second Amendment protection of the right to bear arms is sacrosanct. Their defense of that right carries with it a religious ferocity that transcends their concern for nearly all the other amendments, and their ranking with the National Rifle Association (NRA) is touted as a sign that they are true believers. Their hostility to facts has shown itself for years as Congress has banned the Centers for Disease Control from conducting research into the issue of gun violence and its impact on public health. That research would doubtless produce findings that challenge not only the NRA but the basic tenets upon which the conservative movement has staked their all.

Smothering or defunding research and rejecting outright studies that contradict conservative doctrine is now accepted practice. In November 2012, conservative Senate Republicans forced the respected and non-partisan Congressional Research Service to withdraw a study which concluded – directly contradicting conservative ideology – that there was no correlation between the top tax rates and economic prosperity. No doctrine is more sacred than that of low taxes being the panacea for all the nation's economic ills. Inconvenient facts are not facts at all, but simply dismissed as errors or liberal plots.

Emboldened by a culture that no longer holds them accountable, the candidates have invented realities that have gained a firm foothold on the American consciousness. As recently as 6 February, front runner Donald Trump declared 'Right now we're the highest taxed country in the world'. Actually, as the Organization for Economic Cooperation documents, America is either 27<sup>th</sup> out of 30 industrialized countries or 17<sup>th</sup>, depending on whether one measures taxation as a percentage of GDP or on a revenue-per-capita basis. But again, the belief is that America is beset by extraordinarily high taxes and that high taxes are the origin of many of our problems. All the while, the powerful conservative Grover Norquist, head of Americans for Tax Reform, extracts a pledge from all incoming Republicans that they will not raise taxes – it is tantamount to the taking of the sacraments for conservatives. (And violating it is seen as a mortal sin punishable by excommunication from the conservative movement, and usually from power come the next election.)

Obama's signature piece of legislation, the Affordable Care Act (ACA), now commonly referred to as 'Obama Care', has been blamed for every manner of failure and catastrophe. It has been repeatedly called the nation's largest job-killer, costing millions their jobs – a claim by many Republican candidates, not least of them those leading in the polls. There is no evidence that the ACA has had any significant impact on employment. Indeed, since its passage unemployment in the US has fallen. Conservatives have also routinely accused

the ACA of having driven up health care costs astronomically. They declare it an abject failure. In fact, the increase in health care costs has slowed since passage of the act.

So why attack it? Because those who hate big government believe that any act of such ambitious dimensions is a threat to liberty and misguided. To date, Republicans in the House of Representatives have voted to repeal the act in whole or in part some 62 times, knowing full well each time that Obama will never sign such a bill. But it is more than political theater. It is an expression of their steadfast belief that the bill cannot be allowed to stand because of the harm it has done. In fact, given its breadth and scope, it has enjoyed remarkable success by almost all objective accounts. But opposing the law is not an empty gesture, and the vain efforts to repeal it have taken on a ritualistic air – a kind of catechism for those in the conservative movement. It is a renewing of their vows and a demonstration of their fidelity to principle. That such acts are doomed before they start is beside the point.



The UK and America share much in common in terms of both culture and political legacy. They also share a common historical view of facts. In 1727 Abel Boyer, in his work *The Political State of Great Britain*, noted 'Facts and Figures are the most stubborn Evidences; they neither yield to the most persuasive Eloquence, nor bend to the most imperious Authority'. Across the Atlantic, one of America's founding fathers, John Adams, noted 'Facts are stubborn things. And whatever may be our wishes, our inclinations, or the dictates of our passion, they cannot alter the state of facts and evidence'. Both men noted the hallmark of facts, that they are 'stubborn', meaning that they transcend self-interest and ideology and have an independent existence. That that was the very essence of facts, at least as perceived in the abstract, long endured. No more. Facts are now seen as pliable and bending to political belief. They are mere instrumentalities in service to beliefs.

But facts have always been more than mere recognitions of reality. They have also performed a quintessential role in political discourse, for they are units of agreement that are seen to rise above the fray. They represent elements of broad consensus, testaments to the rationality of man and building blocks essential to governance. They provide the common ground that allows for negotiation, for reconciliation, for compromise and, in the end, for governance itself. In their absence there is only paralysis, polarization and acrimony.

That is what is all around us today. When I covered Congress and the federal government, there were many heated disputes that were part of the culture wars and there were early signs of a widening divide. The battle over abortion funding comes to mind. But the battles were rarely personal and the zealots were few in number. There were certain facts to which all could agree. Yes, there was passionate disagreement and sharp ideological division, but still there were facts at the centre of those arguments that tethered them to a common reality. To be sure, the methodology behind the facts was often questioned, and rightly so, but the debate was less over the existence of such facts than their proper interpretation, context and significance. The findings of empirical science were not always welcomed, but most self-respecting members of Congress would have been reluctant to disdain or dismiss science outright.

What allowed for the dilution of facts and the rise of a parallel reality is a complex matter. In part it may have been the diminution of the press. Ravaged by economic and technological disruption, fragmented by partisan interests and ownership and reduced to skeletal size, its role

in providing and identifying facts is not what it was. And with the decline in readership, even those publications that hold candidates to account do not have the influence they once did.

*The New York Times* routinely calls candidates out when they invent facts or present a non-existent reality. So too does *The Washington Post*, even awarding a 'Pinocchio' award to the grandest fabrications. And Politifact, an online site, has done yeoman work in setting the record straight and exposing candidates whose declarations bear little or no resemblance to that of reality. It was even awarded the Pulitzer Prize in 2009 in an effort to elevate its presence and emphasize the importance of such work. However, collectively such isolated but noble efforts do not reach the broad national audience they once did and partisans largely tune in only to that which confirms their bias.

The role of legacy media and its gatekeepers is now much diminished. Which brings us to the Internet, where fact, fiction, misinformation and disinformation circulate with equal speed and scope. Citizens can readily contain and control the information to which they are exposed, limiting it to that which reaffirms their beliefs and they can scrupulously avoid challenge to those beliefs from the much-disparaged 'mainstream media'.

Perhaps, too, it is the best of liberalism that has allowed the worst of conservatism to take hold. The open mind that is tolerant of all beliefs and viewpoints may have inadvertently helped usher in this age in which facts themselves are held in low regard and seen as mere extensions of beliefs and personal values. Perhaps the late Daniel Patrick Moynihan, one of the smarter individuals ever to hold a Senate seat, saw this coming when he warned: 'Everyone is entitled to his own opinion, but not his own facts'.

Whatever the causes, this election season is about much more than individual candidates, their parties or their politics. The real questions have to do with the fundamentals of governability and identity, whether America will continue down a path of ever-increasing fragmentation, confrontation and paralysis or find its way back to some common ground – which is to say a recognition that facts are indeed stubborn.



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*Backlist of Papers Published in Insights*

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*Insights*

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