

RHETORIC

MEETS

REALITY

After a divisive election in which one candidate won the presidency and another won the popular vote, it's tempting to turn away from the news, log out of social media, and check out of politics for a while. The rhetoric flies so fast it can be hard to keep up.

But Carleton trained us to be informed, thoughtful, and engaged citizens, so by nature we seek straight answers. To that end, we turn to the faculty and staff members who encouraged us and helped us tackle tough topics when we were undergraduates. They're here to help us analyze rapidly shifting public policy in such areas as health care, energy and the environment, and foreign policy.

To synthesize the never-ending deluge of news and opinion pieces about American politics, we need to think like Carls: broadly and deeply. Therefore, these experts advise us not on the latest policy developments, but rather on the social and historical contexts, analytical approaches, and academic insights that can help us better understand them. Their conversations are excerpted here. Read more of the conversation about these topics and immigration at go.carleton.edu/rhetoric.

BY KAYLA McGRADY '05



energy & the environment

What are the KEY ENERGY ISSUES right now?

KANAZAWA: We've been hearing a lot recently about energy independence: weaning ourselves from dependence on foreign energy sources. This seems increasingly possible, as we have ramped up domestic oil and natural gas production lately. A lot depends upon what happens to world oil prices—if they increase, this will make foreign oil less attractive and encourage production of domestic sources. Keep in mind that the energy economy is global. For example, when China's economy was booming, that bid up oil prices and was part of the reason we saw gas above \$3.50 a gallon. The Chinese economy has slowed in recent years, and that's a contributing factor to our relatively low gas prices right now.

VRTIS: A lot of people assume coal is a dying industry because cleaner and cheaper fuels are available, and they're puzzled that we aren't making a quicker transition to those other fuels. But the modern United States grew up with coal, and people like to cling to vestiges of the past. We're not just talking about the relatively small number of coal jobs left in the United States—a whole way of life has grown up around coal in places like Appalachia, and it's woven into the fabric of their cultures. Those people are going to need help from the government to transition their communities.

SMITH: Miners are operating complex machinery, not swinging pickaxes. They have transferable skills, so we need to figure out how to introduce industry to replace coal mining for those skilled laborers.

KANAZAWA: Natural gas has become more affordable than coal because hydraulic fracturing—fracking—has been able to recover a lot of gas from shale deposits. So market forces suggest [power plants] will move from coal to natural gas, unless fracking turns out to be a mirage. The headlines claim we have 100 years' worth of natural gas in some of these deposits, but these are not proven reserves. It's so deep underground that measuring is difficult, so there's a big difference between the projected reserves and the proven reserves, which is more like 20 years' worth.

PATTANAYAK: We will eventually run out of fossil fuels, so the question isn't whether we'll move to sustainable energy but rather whether we'll do it before we've cooked the planet. Right now there are some things renewable energy can't do. Technologically speaking, jet fuel won't be replaced in my lifetime. So why don't we concentrate our use of fossil fuels—and the resulting carbon emissions—on things we need it for, like jet fuel? Why spend carbon on electricity or heat production when we don't need it for that? It's about the clock and how fast we want to run it.

KANAZAWA: Even oil companies are investing in other types of energy because they believe the transition from fossil fuels is inevitable. Their bottom line, based on their projections for the future, demands a mix of different energy sources.

PATTANAYAK: One thing that makes me optimistic is that in 2016 the single cheapest form of electricity—without subsidy—was solar. Now we need innovation in energy storage. That technology is where solar was 10 years ago. Once that's cracked, the price will drop even more for both solar and wind.

Part of the breakthrough in solar came from Germany's policy of feed-in tariffs that pushed utilities to drop coal and use a higher percentage of wind and solar power. For about five years Germans paid considerably more than their French neighbors paid for electricity, but during that time China raced to build solar panels to meet the German demand, and

manufacturing went crazy. So as a result, the price of solar collapsed. By sucking it up for five years, Germany forced worldwide change.



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SMITH: A market-based solution could be the best way to handle the transition from fossil fuels to renewable energy, and it's something Republicans and President Trump might support. The most efficient way to take the matter out of the Environmental Protection Agency's hands—which they want to do—is to put a signal into the economy by imposing a carbon tax. It's a bipartisan policy promoted by the Citizens' Climate Lobby that uses administrative machinery that's already in place. And it's revenue-neutral, which conservatives tend to like—essentially the government collects fees on carbon and then redistributes the money to everyone equally, so no one gets special treatment.

VRTIS: If you're worried about our energy future, remember that Americans have made significant and abrupt energy changes before—from wood to coal, from coal to petroleum and then to natural gas. We need lessons from the past to inspire us and give us hope for the future. We've done this before, and we can do it again, but we'll need leadership, technological innovation, cultural adaptation, and social and political policies that can rally people to new ideas. The transition to renewables—and to a more sustainable cultural format—is not going to be easy, but the time is now and we need to get to work.

What will become of any progress
we've made toward abating

CLIMATE CHANGE?

SMITH: Some Republicans have committed to dealing with climate change. The Climate Solutions Caucus [in the U.S. House of Representatives], for example, has 12 Republicans and 12 Democrats.

PATTANAYAK: Sustainable energy can complement a very conservative ideology. Some right-wing—even authoritarian—governments have embraced solar energy as a business opportunity. So I don't think it's an ideological issue so much as who's funding the ideology.

SMITH: Why isn't this same backlash against sustainable energy happening in Europe? The corporate structure there is very different. Corporations and labor organizations are included in policymaking in an expectation that they will all work together for the common good in a way that is not the case in the United States.

HOLLINGSWORTH: I was teaching during the ozone depletion debate, and some of the same people who fought ozone science switched over—when that argument was clearly lost—to the greenhouse gas debate.

ENERGY AND ENVIRONMENT PANEL

Deborah Gross, professor of chemistry, studies atmospheric chemistry and pollution and also oversees Carleton's FOCUS program, which teaches students to address real-world issues with scientific principles

Will Hollingsworth, professor of chemistry, specializes in environmental chemistry and climate change science

Mark Kanazawa, Wadsworth A. Williams Professor of Economics, teaches the economics of natural resources and water policy

Arjendu Pattanayak, professor of physics, teaches about renewable energy and sustainability

Janell Rothenberg, visiting assistant professor of anthropology, teaches environmental anthropology

Kimberly Smith, professor of environmental studies and political science, teaches environmental policy and ethics

George Vrtis, associate professor of environmental studies and history, teaches American environmental history and policy



But I do have some optimism because opponents of climate science will say things like, "We agree climate change is happening, but we don't know how much of it is caused by human activity." We're gaining a little ground.

ROTHENBERG: Anthropologists have found that it's useful to talk about visible effects (instead of arguing the logic behind the causes of those effects) when discussing climate change with people who don't believe in it. If we ask people about the environmental changes they're seeing and how they deal with them—regardless of what they think is causing those changes—we can learn from local and indigenous knowledge and work with people at a ground level. We can work with small communities to make changes that address the effects they're seeing without having to argue about broad, sweeping policy.

PATTANAYAK: I described the concept of a global warming "tipping point" to a group of fifth graders by asking them to picture a huge rock sitting at the top of a hill. It's hard to move, but you could rock it back and forth and eventually budge it just enough to start it rolling. Once it

“Regulation can’t be entirely local because the problems don’t stay neatly within borders.”



starts rolling down the hill, the effort required to put the rock back is not equal to the effort it took to get it moving. So climate change is reversible, but it will take enormously more effort after a certain point.

HOLLINGSWORTH: But nobody knows yet exactly how close we are to that tipping point. That’s why we need to be funding more climate research, not cutting it.

GROSS: If we cut funding, we won’t just lose progress on complex modeling and data gathering that’s currently happening in government labs. If those projects shut down and there’s a gap in training graduate students to do good, robust climate work, we’ll lose a generation in terms of being able to move forward.

PATTANAYAK: There’s a broader economic argument in support of science research: you can’t predict what will come of it, but you can predict that there will be some industrial spin-off. Quantum mechanics—which seems bizarre—gave us lasers, which gave us CD players. The Web was invented at a particle accelerator lab. There’s a reason Silicon Valley is clustered around Stanford and Berkeley. If you want to fund things that are good for business, you need to think more broadly about what that means.

SMITH: The assault on academic freedom is what bothers me most [about defunding federal support for climate science]. When scientists worry that their research might be defunded for political reasons and that they themselves might also be harassed or fired—things that are actually happening to climate scientists right now—there’s a terrible impact on the broader culture of inquiry.

Why did
REGULATIONS
become such a dirty word?

VRTIS: Historically, the United States has had highly liberal land use policies and a comparatively lax regulatory environment that have combined to encourage efforts to bring resources to market. Americans like you and me have benefited from these policies in the sense that resources have been made available for us to use, but the profits all went to corporations and their shareholders.

Norway, by contrast, took a royalty return from their tremendously rich oil revenues and invested it to provide for the state in perpetuity. So now all Norwegian citizens are effectively millionaires because of that wealthy endowment, which they use to fund their strong and generous social programs.

SMITH: When people oppose federal environmental regulations, it’s generally not because they think we don’t have an obligation to take care of the planet. Rather, they believe they’re responsible enough to use natural resources in an environmentally sensitive way. There’s a lot to be said for empowering state and local governments to take responsibility for their environment, but they typically can’t do it on their own. They want federal resources, including expertise as well as money. So in practice we need a cooperative federalism in which federal and state governments work together to accomplish common goals because they have different resources and capacities.

GROSS: Regulation can’t be entirely local because the problems don’t stay neatly within borders. Neighboring towns or states want a say.

PATTANAYAK: Problems aren’t isolated in time, either. Right now we’re suffering the consequences of the past 30 years. When candidate Trump said he would ask whether a regulation “is good for the American worker” to decide whether to adopt it, that test depends entirely on your definition of the word *good*. What’s good for my job tomorrow may or may not be good for my job in 30 years.

GROSS: The word *worker* is a problem, too. The government’s job is to protect residents and citizens, not just workers. What about children, visitors, and retirees?

SMITH: No matter what happens to President Obama’s Clean Power Plan [currently embroiled in a court challenge], many states are already on track to meet its targets. They will keep progressing toward those goals—which many environmentalists thought were actually quite generous—if the public continues to press for it. But progress will take people with a certain vision and imagination.

foreign policy

What should the
United States do about

ISIS

and conflicts in the
Middle East?



OLSON: ISIS does not pose an existential threat to the United States. The bigger issue, to me, is the Syrian civil war and the destabilization of the region.

BOU NASSIF: Defeating ISIS militarily will not stop the ideology that produces terrorism and instability. If ISIS loses its territory, it will go back to being an underground terrorist movement, but it will still be able to affect the region. We cannot rely solely on a security solution for what is, above anything else, a political problem.

ISIS's goal is to emerge as champion of the Sunni cause in the Middle East. Over the past 20 years, Sunnis have faced disempowerment and marginalization. The Syrian Alawite regime is an offshoot of Shia Islam, so Sunnis have been pushed out of Syrian politics since the 1970s. The current president's father unleashed repression that resulted in the deaths of 20,000 Sunni people in just two days. If you look at the Israel-Palestine conflict, the Palestinians are mainly Sunni. And in Lebanon, the most important Sunni politician in the past 30 to 40 years, prime minister Rafic Hariri, was assassinated in 2005 by Hezbollah. But ISIS really started with Iraq, which was under Sunni hegemony since it became a country in the 1920s, up until the American invasion in 2003.

MARFLEET: We lit that fire, in a lot of ways, by invading Iraq and replacing an autocratic Sunni regime with a quasi-democratic Shia regime.

FOREIGN POLICY PANEL

Stacy Beckwith, professor of Hebrew and Judaic studies, specializes in Israeli, Palestinian, and Spanish collective memory and senses of national identity

Hicham Bou Nassif, assistant professor of political science, specializes in the Middle East and political uses of violence and terrorism

Greg Marfleet, professor of political science, specializes in foreign policy

Jon Olson, visiting instructor in political science and a retired Navy intelligence officer, teaches a course on intelligence, policy, and conflict

Stephen Strand, Raymond Plank Professor of Incentive Economics, emeritus, specializes in regulatory economics and the European Union

Joel Weisberg, Herman and Gertrude Mosier Stark Professor of Physics and Astronomy and the Natural Sciences, teaches a course on science and public policy

BOU NASSIF: It was still a hierarchical society, and when you become an underdog in the Middle East, you don't just lose political power. You are outside the state completely. You don't get access to jobs in the police, military, or public sector—and historically the public sector was the main source of jobs in Iraq. You suffer economically, the police and military can be unleashed on you, and your symbols can be targeted.

OLSON: Terrorist movements and insurgencies start when people feel they have no other options, and now they've wired those feelings into a religious identity. How many people are willing to compromise on religious beliefs? It's an absolute.

BOU NASSIF: In essence, ISIS wants to provoke their enemies into a blunder. When Western countries respond to terrorism by marginalizing Sunni or Muslim communities in the West, those communities are more primed for ISIS's recruitment propaganda.

I think candidate Trump was right when he said we need to wage an ideological war to defeat ISIS, but he's wrong about what kind of ideology we need. Instead of further isolating Muslims, we need to promote a more liberal understanding of Islam. Increased polarization between Muslims and non-Muslims in the United States will not serve our long-term strategic interest.

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THE WORD NATIONALISM

has been in the news a lot lately. What do we need to know about it and its effects on U.S. foreign policy?

BECKWITH: Nationalism, in cultural terms, is often about national identity, how you might imagine others in your society as having an outlook more or less like yours, within a recognizable collective. You can see indicators of such a national community in what I call “the language of the lapel pins” that started after 9/11, when more and more leading politicians began wearing American flag lapel pins. These pins have gone from being a partisan statement to being an almost expected external sign of being one of the American people.

MARFLEET: Ideological shifts bring changes in policy strategy. President Obama’s foreign policy came from a neoliberal position that promotes international trade because it presumes a growing global economy will benefit everyone. It’s a positive-sum game. Trump’s nationalist view is much more of a relative gains position, a zero-sum game, where there will be winners and losers. So as long as we’re the winner, it’s not a big problem if everyone else loses.

BECKWITH: Ideas about “winners and losers” aren’t limited to financial transactions. When we think in terms of being better or more advanced than others, we become unable to see how enriching our interactions with them might be. You can see this in some attitudes toward refugees—we act like we’re doing them a huge favor by potentially admitting them to the United States, often without considering the skills and cultural richness they might bring in that can benefit our country.

MARFLEET: The irony of “Make America Great Again” is that while President Trump focuses on that, he’s simultaneously undermining institutions that have made the United States a global leader. The international financial system has been U.S.–centric since World War II, and by backing away from things like the Trans-Pacific Trade Partnership [TPP] and the North American Free Trade Agreement [NAFTA], he’d essentially be ceding some of that.

STRAND: Renegotiating NAFTA presents some opportunities for improvement. There’s kind of an agreement [among politicians and economists] that we screwed up a little bit with NAFTA, not just with unemployment but also with the environment, because there are different sets of rules that apply to different countries.

Renegotiation is better than rejecting trade deals. Pulling out of TPP means that instead of trying to control the way in which trade grows with China and other very important trading nations in Asia, we’re essentially creating a vacuum.

OLSON: China wasn’t even initially included [in TPP], but now it could step in and replace us as the new pole for trade in the Pacific.

STRAND: The jobs we’ve lost to China and other countries aren’t coming back. Over the past 250 years of international trade, countries that can support higher-skilled jobs have made advances and then lost jobs when the technology caught on elsewhere. Back in the Industrial Revolution, England made massive improvements in textiles, but that industry rapidly moved to other places, like the United States, and England had to adjust to that change. Now our textile mills are closing up because of increased manufacturing in Asia.

You can’t reverse these changes, which are inevitable in an interconnected world. Instead you adjust to them through international agreements that try to limit the ability of certain nations to exploit those changes. That means engaging in more trade deals like TPP, not abandoning them.

MARFLEET: Meanwhile Russia is getting what it wanted. Because NATO has expanded into the Baltic states, Russia’s sphere of influence in Eastern Europe has diminished. The only way to reassert it is to weaken NATO and other institutions, like the European Union. Increased nationalism gave us Brexit, for example.

OLSON: I think a vacuum is emerging that will allow Russia and China to continue to exercise stronger hegemony in their particular areas of interest. For example, China can also step up as leaders to fill the vacancy we leave by pulling out of the Paris Climate Agreement. They are leading the world on investment in renewable energy because it’s a geostrategic investment for their future, so they’re poised to take world leadership in that area, especially if we step back.

MARFLEET: Although the Cold War was often typified as a bipolar system with the Soviets and the United States, it was actually multipolar, with China. We played the Soviets and China off against each other to our advantage. So one model of our future is a multipolar system where we continue to play them against each other in some form.

Or we could choose a negotiation model, where we consider each polar power responsible for its respective area of influence—we don’t interfere with China’s influence over the Pacific or Russia’s influence over Central Asia and the former Soviet



states. That might give us a stable world, but not necessarily a democratic one. In fact, if we think about rising regional powers, we need to think about Iran. Who's the stable power that could take charge of the Middle East? At this point it would be the Iranians.

Those choices have moral implications.

BOU NASSIF: We've already created a void in the Middle East that Iran is filling. We moved from one extreme—invading Iraq under President Bush—to President Obama withdrawing from the region, allowing Iran to step in. The Shia government of Iraq is essentially an Iranian agent, so even though thousands of Americans died and we spent billions, it was Iran that really won the war in Iraq. Clients of Iran (and Russia) have killed more than 400,000 Syrians—mostly Sunnis—in the past five years, playing directly into the hands of organizations like ISIS that have destabilized the region. Neither extreme—war or withdrawal—has worked. We need to find some kind of middle ground, with a mixture of military and diplomacy.

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given the horrifying consequences. But in reality, U.S. nuclear weapons policy goes beyond deterrence. We have been unwilling to forswear first use of nuclear weapons for decades.

OLSON: The upgrade to the nuclear triad—proposed under President Obama—would cost \$1 trillion over the next 30 years. Do we want to spend all that money on a triad, or should we perhaps get rid of the bombers and silos and focus on submarines, which are a tremendously effective deterrent on their own?

WEISBERG: Eliminating the silos would get rid of what is, in my view, the biggest risk of an accidental nuclear war. Because the land-based missiles are stationary and therefore could be destroyed in a surprise attack, they are held in hair-trigger readiness to avoid destruction on the ground. Unfortunately, this means a computer glitch or incorrect information about an attack could result in all 500 of them being launched. Both the United States and Russia have had close calls in the past due to false alarms.

Beyond the cost, part of the proposed triad upgrade includes rendering some existing weapons more capable than they currently are, and that could trigger a new arms race. Historically, the Soviet Union developed its own versions of our new weapons within a few years of us, and we can expect Russia to do the same. I think negotiated, verifiable agreements for arms reductions are a much saner course of action.



Why does the United States spend so much MONEY ON DEFENSE?

MARFLEET: Remember that initially the Bush administration was talking about further cutting the military and intelligence community because they're so expensive. But since 9/11, the pendulum has swung the other way, and we still have a mind-set that we have to have a bigger military than anyone else multiple times over.

WEISBERG: We already account for a third of the world's military spending, and we far outspend both Russia and China.

OLSON: Well, in war, second place is a terminal disease. That's the Weinberger-Powell Doctrine: if you go to war you must have a set of clearly articulated political objectives, go in with overwhelming force, and have an exit plan. To succeed we need force—but we need strategy, too.

WEISBERG: Trump has been criticized for asking why we can't use nuclear weapons if we have them. Actually, I believe that's a reasonable question to ask, even if it's naive. The usual answer is that one of their principal purposes is to deter others from actions we oppose, rather than to actually use them,

health care

Can you put recent debates on

WOMEN'S REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH

into context?

JUSOVA: Controversy over reproductive rights isn't just an American issue. There are also strenuous debates in Europe right now. For example, because Poland used to be part of the Soviet bloc and Marxist ideology focuses on equality between the sexes, abortion was quite accessible there decades before it was available in the United States or Western Europe. But Poland had close ties to Pope John Paul II so, basically as a gift to him, the new leaders enacted strict abortion laws in 1993 shortly after the fall of the communist regimes in 1989. Now, under Catholic influence, they're discussing whether to eliminate the three remaining provisions for abortion: rape, incest, or the health of the mother.

But it's important to remember that when we talk about reproductive rights, abortion is just one of the issues. The Affordable Care Act (ACA) is also intended to improve infant mortality rates, pre- and postnatal care, and access to and affordability of contraceptives.

JOHNSON: The effects of the ACA's increased access to birth control have been statistically significant. We're seeing a reduction in abortions because of a reduction in unintended pregnancies. And access to long-acting, reversible contraception like IUDs makes a big difference in younger populations like ours at Carleton.

LYSNE: Beyond access, Americans also need more education about reproductive health.

JUSOVA: The American religious right is attempting to consolidate evaporating power, but the influence of nonreligious people is increasing [and the number of them, according to Pew Research Center]. The question is by how much and for how long, and that's difficult to predict.

How can other countries'

HEALTH CARE SYSTEMS

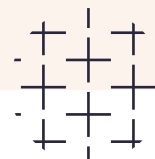
help us analyze America's?

MONTERO: Among the advanced capitalist countries, we have the highest infant mortality rate and some of the worst numbers for childhood mortality and life expectancy. Most of the national health care systems that are outperforming us are heavily public. They guarantee universal access and provide a strong cushion based on taxpayer resources. But despite our worse outcomes, our costs are almost double what the French pay and triple what the Germans and Scandinavians pay.

KEISER: Many of Europe's universal health care systems were created in the midst of postwar crises, when the adherence to norms of democracy, like interest groups having representation and power, were set aside for "the public good." People make concessions during crises that they'd otherwise be unlikely to make.

GROLL: Many Americans are scared by the rhetoric used to describe universal care, especially when it's described as "socialized medicine." For example, people assume we don't have rationing in the United States while places like Canada do, as though there isn't de facto rationing in a system where it's difficult to access anything but emergency care if you don't have money. It's true that the government gets to decide what's covered in Canada, but it's false to think that you, the consumer, get to decide in a private system like ours.

JUSOVA: The socialized health care systems in Europe were born in societies where everyone already used "welfare" at some point in their lives. That's because Eastern Europe has a history of socialism and the liberalism pervasive in Western Europe comes from a different school of economics than the Chicago school that heavily influenced the United States. While American neoliberalism is all about individuals being responsible for themselves, Western European liberalism puts more emphasis on social welfare for everybody, so "welfare" doesn't have the same negative connotations in Europe that it has here.



Should we repeal, replace, or reform the **AFFORDABLE CARE ACT?**

MONTERO: As we think about how to deal with rising premiums, we must remember there are laws of health care economics that we can't ignore any more than we can suspend gravity. In a private system, there must be systems of subsidies to deal with adverse selection [those most likely to need insurance payouts are also the most likely to choose to purchase insurance]. To those who say the notion of paying in for other people's health care is un-American, I say, "You do not understand how insurance works."

KEISER: Insurance works by bringing young, healthy people into the system to offset the costs of people using more care. So younger people who don't have a preexisting condition are primed to complain about paying too much, but if they drop out, the price goes up for everyone—as long as we continue to cover people with preexisting conditions.

It's redistributive, too, which irks people who are privileged because of their jobs and therefore believe they don't need the Affordable Care Act and yet are being taxed for it. Plus, the ACA is expensive, so people want a better solution. But it's important to note that in recent years Congress only allotted about 20 percent of the total allowances they'd promised for the ACA. Because insurance companies came up short in the subsidies they expected to receive, they raised premiums and many bailed on the exchange system. They would arguably get back in if there were some guarantee that promised money would be paid in the future.

MONTERO: Congress could try to shield people from rising premiums by creating high-risk pools, made up of the 10 percent of potential insurance clients who account for two-thirds of our medical spending on people under age 65. Before ACA, there were high-risk pools, but they were mostly terminal cases. If you take away lifetime limits for high-risk pools and the limits on discriminating against people with preexisting conditions, there will be a lot more people who stay in those pools much longer. Who's going to cover that increased risk, if not other policyholders [as is happening now]? Insurance companies? Their stockholders would dump them and the system would crash. Uncle Sam? That's a huge tax liability.

KEISER: Now that Republicans have gotten their mileage out of opposing ACA, maybe they'll end up making a few minor changes, replacing the individual mandate with Trump's health care savings account subsidy idea—which similarly motivates healthy people to participate by giving them money they can only take

HEALTH CARE PANEL

Daniel Groll, associate professor of philosophy, teaches medical ethics

Natalee Johnson, advanced practice nurse, coordinates medical services at Student Health and Counseling

Iveta Jusova, professor of women's and gender studies, leads an off-campus program in Europe on women's issues, including health care policy

Richard Keiser, professor of political science, teaches about the politics of the American medical system

Marit Lysne, director of Student Health and Counseling, oversees Carleton's efforts to ensure that all students have access to medical care and counseling

Alfred Montero, Frank B. Kellogg Professor of Political Science, teaches about comparative international health care systems

if they contribute their share—and give it a major rechristening with a lot of political theater. People would make a show of burning Obamacare, but the new law wouldn't be all that different.

MONTERO: They might try to use elements of Representative Tom Price's plan, "A Better Way," which would pass the costs on to the states. The federal government would distribute tax rebates and incentives for the states to individually reform their health care systems. What would that mean in a state like Minnesota where Republicans have a one-seat majority in the Senate and Democrats have the governorship? Chaos. It's like watching a slow-motion train wreck. We'd have to bail out the insurance companies and the hospitals, all of us would end up paying a lot more for health care, and millions of people would be priced out of coverage. ♡

"In recent years Congress only allotted about 20 percent of the total allowances they'd promised for the ACA."

