

VALUES

1. Willingness to change Washington.



The advantage here, for all his gaucherie, goes to Donald Trump. He would be able to address the inside

dealing and corruption in that city. Mr. Trump's political and intellectual independence gives him the freedom to question assumptions and to sunset some of Washington's corrupt folkways as well as some of its outdated laws.

2. Protecting natural resources.



Here, Mrs. Clinton is better. She understands environmental issues, including preserving

the Great Lakes (Lake Erie, in particular). The Humane Society says she is manifestly better on animal rights issues. Protecting and preserving the Earth is the most vital issue of our time. The health of Lake Erie is the most important issue — along with jobs — in northwest Ohio.

But Mrs. Clinton also lacks balance. Fracking, for example, if done safely means energy independence and jobs. Gov. Jerry Brown of California is on record as saying that anyone who denies the existence of man-made global warming (as Mr. Trump does) has automatically disqualified himself to be president. Mr. Brown also favors selective fracking.

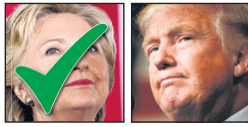
3. Right to life.



Mrs. Clinton is essentially an abortion-on-demand person. Mr. Trump seems genuinely

appalled by partial-birth abortion. If you are a right-to-life person, Mr. Trump is likely to be your choice.

4. A woman's right to choose.

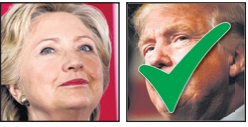


If this is the paramount issue for you, it would be very hard to vote for Mr. Trump, who has said

that there should be some penalty, or punishment, for women who have abortions.

ISSUES

1. NAFTA and trade.



For many in greater Toledo, this is *the* premier issue of this election. For trade goes to the heart of the Rust

Belt's and America's deindustrialization. NAFTA took our jobs, our economic clout in the nation, and it took away most of our local captains of industry. Really, NAFTA took our way of life.

But this remains: We can at least name the reality. The elites have failed the American people on trade.

It is to Donald Trump's enormous credit that he made trade — and therefore lost jobs — a vital issue this year. If trade and manufacturing are your chief concerns, Donald Trump is your man.

2. Economic growth.



Given our anemic rate of economic growth, it stands to reason that the federal government needs to try something

new. Here, too, the nod must go to Mr. Trump, not only because *he* is new, and not just because he has committed to tax cuts for small business, for estates, and for the middle class, but because he is a businessman and a total pragmatist. He understands money, he understands power, and he is impatient with inaction. He is dynamic — a builder and dealmaker. Being the ultimate political outsider, Mr. Trump, again, has the freedom to experiment. And we need something of the New Deal spirit now — willingness to try new things and throw out what has clearly failed.

3. Fixing Obamacare.

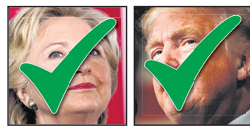


Mrs. Clinton understands that millions of Americans would be damaged physically and

financially, perhaps irreparably, if the program is abolished. Clearly we need to repair, not repeal Obamacare. Repeal would be a disaster. Mrs. Clinton gets that.

But Mr. Trump understands that it actually is broken and is willing to say so. Arguably, they both get a check here.

4. A strong national defense.

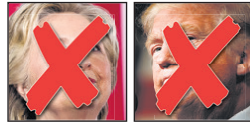


Many will argue that Mrs. Clinton wins this category because she has trod the world stage and knows its contours and its leaders. That's a fair point.

But the Obama/Clinton record in Syria and Libya is an unmitigated disaster. And Mrs. Clinton would make matters worse in Syria by expanding the air war. Further, she would escalate the Cold War with Russia, which could turn into a hot war. Mr. Trump wants to try détente with Vladimir Putin. We should try, but with eyes wide open. Mr. Trump is rather naive about Mr. Putin — a diabolical gangster by any reckoning.

With a good team, a Trump administration might be able to find a balance between intervention and paralysis by applying a simple principle: Where do the interests and security of the American people lie?

5. The Supreme Court and respect for law.



Both major candidates have promised to appoint Supreme Court justices after applying "litmus tests." For

Mrs. Clinton, the test is abortion. For Mr. Trump, the Second Amendment. Both present themselves as absolutists on their respective issues. If you, as a voter, are an absolutist either way, your choice is clear. But there are no absolute rights under our system of government, and litmus tests are a terrible way to pick jurists or apply the law.

LEADERSHIP TRAITS

1. Understanding the presidency.



Having been first lady and secretary of state, Mrs. Clinton has seen the presidency, for 12 years, in a way that almost no modern politician has. That unique experience is without parallel. She knows the job.

2. Ability to work with Congress and foreign leaders.



This is the flip side of willingness to change. A president has to be willing to "play well with others." And

here Mrs. Clinton is also the superior candidate. She would almost certainly work better with Republican leaders, as well as Democratic ones, than Mr. Trump. The ability to engage in diplomacy, to compromise, and to move the ball down the field in matters of legislation, treaties, or budgets should be a prerequisite for the presidency.

3. Character.



There is no winner here.

Mr. Trump is a vulgarian who never seems to

study, to apologize, or to learn. He is also a sexist and a cad (as is Bill Clinton, whose return to 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue might require an extracurricular babysitter).

Mrs. Clinton would begin her presidential term under criminal investigation. Impeachment is a very real possibility from Day One. How would she function? Like Richard Nixon, who won in a landslide in 1972, she might not serve out her term. But her dishonesty is more than legal — it is deeply embedded in her every word and gesture. The WikiLeaks documents provide us with many smoking guns, not least of which is this: Nothing about her is genuine.

Mrs. Clinton understands the office she seeks, but might well lose it. Mr. Trump understands something profound about the country — about what we have lost and the people we have left behind, but little about politics, policy, or the presidency. And he profoundly lacks discipline. For some Americans the choice is between a crook and a nut. What a conundrum.

Neither candidate has "a first-class temperament," like Franklin D. Roosevelt, or for that matter Dwight Eisenhower or Ronald Reagan.

All we can do, as citizens, is set aside the very real personal limitations of these two deeply flawed leaders and try to decide which issues are fundamental, and on which this election should turn. Let us hope that, no matter who wins the presidency on Nov. 8, many Americans will, in time, be pleasantly surprised. We need the next president to surprise us.