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Bridging Voices: Stories Across the Generations

Lindsey H.

On Tuesday, January 14, sixteen students from Tara M.'s 20th Century History class at Middlebury Union High School came to EastView and presented oral histories of their interviews with twelve EastView residents. Students had visited EastView twice to interview residents. The focus of the first visit in November was a "get to know you" interview and focused on the resident's upbringing and early years. During the second visit in December, students aimed to learn about the resident's life during two or three specific events from the 20th century. Students had prepared thoughtful questions about historic events and practiced actively listening to and recording responses. For their third visit in January, students showcased their learning to EastView residents and their classmates. They wanted to be sure that the presentation didn't run too long, so they each chose one detail to focus on. They looked at *Humans of New York* for inspiration regarding how the information was shared.

The presentations revealed stories and quotes that touched the students' hearts. Students shared their feelings of being nervous and scared about interviewing an older person, but those concerns quickly went away. They found the interviewees were kind and engaging. EastView residents described this experience as enlightening and enjoyable. It was a positive experience and many of the residents formed a deeper emotional connection with the students.

Some of the takeaways remembered by the students were: feeling grateful for the situation you're in no matter what the situation is; appreciate life and not take it for granted; "Pearl Harbor brought us together"; when a door opens, go through it; the importance of risk taking when opportunities are given; live in the moment and don't take things for granted; before the Cross Street Bridge had been constructed, it used to take a lot longer to get across town.

For Thomas, Helen's quote encapsulated this entire project—"What's the importance of understanding? What about the ability to get along with somebody, to live side-by-side learning to appreciate other people no matter where they're from." He went on to say that the Bridging Voices project brings history to life and emphasizes that our lives are full of stories to tell and lessons to learn.

The inspiration for the Bridging Voices project was to have the opportunity to brighten the days of EastView residents through connection and community. The ultimate goal is to give voice to untold stories within our community, honor the experiences of our elders, and provide first person accounts of historical events for future generations.

Tara has a new class of students this semester and will be continuing the Bridging Voices project. Another teacher, Lea S., who has an afternoon class, will be collaborating with us on the project, as well. Students will be coming to EastView for the first of three interviews on Friday, March 7 from 8:45 am - 10:00 am and from 1:00 pm - 2:15 pm. We are looking for residents who would like to participate in the interviews happening March - June 2025. If you are interested, please sign-up with the Concierge; and please feel free to contact Lindsey H. in Eastview's Community Life department if you have any questions.

Nancy and Bob F.



Bob grew up in New Canaan, CT, and attended the Little Red Schoolhouse through 3rd grade. There was 1 teacher, 5 grades, 25 students, 2 outhouses, and inkwells. His family then moved to NYC so his father could avoid the long train commute. Bob's life was very different in the City, but he went to boarding school in the 7th grade and pursued interests such as woodworking, singing, playing the cello, crew and strong academics. He also made lifelong friendships.

I (Nancy) grew up in Morristown/Mendham, NJ, in a rural area. I went off to boarding school in the 10th grade which expanded my world, introduced me to girls from all parts of the US and exposed me to a challenging academic environment.

Bob and I met at a dance in NYC while we were in college and were married 2 years later in 1959. He was entering the Yale Graduate School of Architecture so we lived outside of New Haven in a studio in the woods which was "loaned" to us in return for Bob restoring it. I worked briefly at the Yale Admissions Office, then with the Gesell Institute of Child Development until our son, Richard (Digger), was born in 1961. I then traded childcare with a friend and did part time jobs to support us. During vacations, Bob worked at Victor Christ-Janer's office, one of five prominent mid-century modern architectural firms in New Canaan. One summer, he worked at Eero Saarinen's office in New Haven designing the interior circulation of the St. Louis Arch and DC's Dulles International Airport.

After Bob's graduation in 1963, we moved to Wilton, CT. Bob continued working for Victor Christ-Janer for 3 years as an "apprentice" prior to completing the Architectural Exams and receiving his license. He worked on numerous projects including a Carthusian Monastery on Mt. Equinox in Southern Vermont, a local church, and a YMCA. He also developed new building material techniques including a precast concrete shingle.

We had 3 more children, Lydia, Peggy, and Marney. I became an active volunteer in the community in the schools, the local library, and with land conservation organizations. We kept bees, had a large vegetable garden, and built a barn for a horse and later two pigs. Bob had a woodworking shop in our garage and made furniture, turned bowls, and used his tractor whenever he could.

When the children were all in school, I returned to college to get a Library Science degree. Since I went evenings after Bob came home from work, it took 10 years—2 courses at a time. Following graduation I set up a library for Save The Children, an international assistance organization in Westport, CT. I was the librarian for 13 years finding materials for staff such as foreign language programs, appropriate technology information (solar ovens, latrines), maps, periodicals and relevant literature. I worked closely with librarians from other agencies including UN agencies. I left in 1989 to focus on land conservation in Wilton and throughout Connecticut.

Bob's practice, Robert F. Architects, opened in Wilton in 1966 and closed 53 years later, in 2019, after completing 1500 projects. The projects included numerous historic preservation and adaptive reuse buildings in the surrounding area. They also designed and built residences throughout New England, modular housing in Vermont, a library, a Veteran's Memorial, residential additions and renovations, a church, municipal buildings, a Town House complex, a museum addition, and even a gazebo.

We moved to Dorset, VT, in 2012 to a house Bob designed in the middle of town on land previously owned by my grandfather. Bob commuted to Wilton for 7 years before retiring. I became involved with the Dorset Energy Committee, the Church Green Team, and was a Dorset Representative to the Bennington County Regional Planning Commission. We enjoyed living in Dorset.

In January 2024, we moved to EastView with Archer, our Golden Retriever. We are closer to two of our married children who live in East Montpelier and Starksboro and two married grandchildren who live in Burlington and Middlesex. EastView is a good place for us—we appreciate the kind atmosphere and the cultural life both at EV and Middlebury.

Liberal Arts Seminar at EastView

Jonathan M-L.

I named our monthly gathering “The Liberal Arts Seminar at EastView” to highlight the notion that we gather for the purpose of engaging ideas central to both the human condition and to life in our fragile, multi-cultural republic. The exact definition of the ‘liberal arts’ continues to be vigorously contested, to be sure, but at the heart of the project is a commitment to explore the meaning of being human. To participate in a liberal arts seminar is to be a student of the human experience. Given the relentless pressure to make all education produce “measurable results,” it is crucial that we affirm the importance of reading, gathering and listening together just because it enlivens us. The liberal arts and a democratic republic can support each other. The latter provides a political framework to ensure the freedom to engage in the former. But, the framework and relationship is fragile and needs our constant attention.

I also wanted the title of our gathering to suggest that we will build community by engaging our chosen text with care and diligence—taking the time to dig deeply into a word or a sentence or the mood of a passage. Each person’s contribution matters because each person has a unique experience that informs our collective understanding. Put more simply, I love reading a whole range of good books and talking about them in community with people *who have also done the reading*. The opportunity to engage in rich, honest, vigorous, heart-warming conversations with the residents of EastView, allows me to absorb wisdom and insights that do not always emerge from the undergraduates who fill my regular courses! Our gatherings represent a highlight of the month.

Our seminar began in the summer of 2020. The first book that we read was in direct response to the killing of George Floyd in Minneapolis, Minnesota on May 25 of that year and the national dialogue around race and violence that followed. I chose Kendi’s *How To Be An Anti-Racist* because his book is honest, direct, accessible and challenging. Kendi’s earlier book, *Stamped From the Beginning*, is an important work of scholarship that recounts the brutal history of racism in the USA and explains how the terms “white” and “black” came to refer to humans. After Kendi, we then read two essays by the Nigerian author, Bayo Akomolafe, who I believe is among the world’s most important thinkers and writers. Akomolafe’s essays stretch our understanding of the world we think we are living in.

Since that beginning we have roamed far and wide, engaging a variety of authors and even wandered *Underland* with Robert McFarlane—a book that still gives me the heebie-jeebies when I recall his descriptions of crawling through the tunnels beneath Paris. Sometimes, the books are chosen because I heard that one was a very good story, such as *Fellowship Point* by Alice Elliot Dark. Sometimes, I choose our texts to explore the world of spirit, such as *Consolations* by David Whyte, the *Jataka Tales* by Rafe Martin or the *Gospel of Mary Magdalene* by Cynthia Bourgeault. Other books we have read examined our national history in important ways such as *Dear America* by Jose Antonio Vargas, *Mean Spirit* by Linda Hogan, *The Song of Solomon* by Toni Morrison and our most recent, *James* by Percival Everett.

For March, we are returning to Niall Williams. This time we are reading *Four Letters of Love*, the third novel of his that we have soaked ourselves in. I return to Williams primarily because the way his old soul illuminates his prose is just beautiful and every so often one needs to soar on his Irish wing. I am also feeling the need to get to the third novel of the Malaysian writer, Tan Twan Eng, *The House of Doors*. We read his earlier novel, *The Garden of Evening Mists*, and I am still living with the characters, the garden and the history he evoked so powerfully in that novel. I am also wondering if we need to get to some authors from Greenland...

The only educational goal of a seminar is to deepen our understanding of the ideas, issues and values under discussion. We come together to share our experience of the text and, thereby, deepen our experience of being humans. We allow the conversation to flow in and out of the text while welcoming everyone’s contribution as crucial to our process. I am deeply grateful for the opportunity to engage in these wonderful wanderings with you.

An Unforgettable Valentine’s Day

Angelika B.

I bought a sexy card of a voluptuous lady, inside which were burned through the paper lips and the words: sending you hot kisses. Unfortunately, the friend I had asked to send it anonymously to Buz at his office did not write a Jr. after his name. So it got to father-in-law. It took weeks of careful probing to straighten this out.

Tour of the *USS Intrepid*

Peter B.



This past November, my two sons, their families and I were invited as guests of the US Navy to join Diane M. for a tour of the *Intrepid's* captain's cabin and state room. Diane's uncle, Captain Paul M., had been the commanding officer of the *Intrepid* from October 1958 to September 1959 and went on to command the Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean and retired as a three star admiral.

The aircraft carrier *USS Intrepid* is an *Essex-class* carrier weighing 27,000 tons and manned by a crew of about 3,000 and is now berthed at Pier 86 on 46th Street in New York City. She was commissioned in 1943, served in the Pacific Theater, survived five kamikaze attacks and one torpedo strike. She went on to serve in the Korean War, did three tours in Vietnam

and became a NASA recovery vessel. The *Intrepid* is now a World War II museum with numerous exhibits, including a vast collection of historic aircraft, the space shuttle *Enterprise*, the *Aurora 7* Mercury capsule and even a British Airways *Concorde*.


Great Decisions

EastView's signature Great Decisions lecture series will kick off with a talk on Climate Change by Bill McK., Wednesday, February 19 at 7:00 pm. EV's series is based on the Foreign Policy Association's Great Decisions program; however, we put our own spin on the FPA's series by inviting speakers to EastView to speak on the topics that are proposed by the FPA each year. The Great Decisions series was first brought to EastView twelve years ago by the late George L. It has been going strong ever since. Following George's death, the series was coordinated by Nick C., and then by George. Since George's death in 2021, Cari B. has coordinated the series, in consultation with a small group of residents. This year, the speakers will be Bill McK. on Climate Change; EV resident and Middlebury College Professor Emeritus Russell L. on both "American Foreign Policy at a Crossroads" and "The Future of NATO and European Security"; Middlebury College professor Emeritus David R. on "U.S. Changing Leadership of the World Economy"; Middlebury College Professor Ajay V. on "India: Between China, the West, and the Global South"; Senior Policy Director at Dartmouth College's Dickey Center for International Understanding, Foreign Affairs columnist for the Chicago Tribune, and former career diplomat, Elizabeth S., on "After Gaza: American Policy in the Middle East"; and Middlebury College Professor Emeritus, John B., on "U.S.-China Relations." We will hold a community discussion on "AI and American National Security" again this year; and we have invited Middlebury College Professor Sarah S. to speak on a subject not proposed by FPA "Human Rights and Democracy Promotion." Check your calendars for the dates!

On the Move

Dave D.

Hello EastView Community! Recently, there was a series of moves in the Inn and we wanted to share information about who moved where and why. The initial goal was to get our Health Services Administrative Assistant, Molly F., out of the hallway and into a real office space. This goal resulted in a bit of a domino effect. To free up space for Molly, we decided to move the housekeeping office and storage space from its location near GardenSong to MeadowSweet next to the "Tech Guru" office (aka Shawn's office). This freed up the housekeeping office and storage space near the nurse's office. This space was actually bigger than the current nurse's office, so we moved the nurse's office into that space. And that allowed us to move Molly into the old nurse's office and out of the hallway. We are hopeful that this will make for a win/win/win and better use of space overall. And we appreciate everyone's flexibility while things were "on the move".



February Birthdays

Jane S.	2/5
Hanni H.	2/7
Joan C.	2/7
Bob G.	2/9
Cilla L.	2/13
Mimi R.	2/13
Judy L.	2/14
Russell K.	2/18
Eleanor I.	2/20
Jean H.	2/21

Welcome to EastView!

Welcome to new staff members and residents who have joined the EastView Community in the past month! Staff: Emily A., Taylor B., Brianna B., and Madison T. (RCAs); and CJ B., Haylo S., and Bailey W. (Servers). Resident: Carol W. (GardenSong).

It's a Small World

Angelika B.

Holly S.'s father Professor Howard S. was Buz' electronics professor at Williams College in the late 40s. Holly and Buz realized this during a conversation here at EastView.

Betsy L. and Helen C. went to grade school (American Community School) in Beirut, Lebanon together. Years later they met again by chance on the street in Manchester, MA. Their decision to come to EastView was prompted for Betsy by a son here and for Helen by a daughter in Middlebury. They still speak Arabic together sometimes.

Helen C. has another EV connection: her late brother Dan was Cari B.'s uncle by marriage, and was one of the officiants at Cari and Brad's wedding.

Thank you

Zita N.

It's never too late to say thank you, and also never too much to compliment people when they show kindness and caring in interactions with one another.

As I write this I think specifically of the kitchen staff who during David's difficult year here at EastView were so accommodating with our needs. There were times when they left our meals in the fridge for me to pick up after a visit with David in the hospital or healthcare later that night. There were times when I picked up our tray that had been prepared, and took it upstairs to our apartment. There were times when I asked to leave our meals at the apartment door. There were times when I canceled our meal at the last minute.

But most of all, this was done with a friendly and caring attitude which made me feel that none of this was a problem. So thank you kitchen staff for your kindness, caring, and thoughtfulness—each of you in your own special way.

Residents' Council

In a very broad sense, the responsibilities of the EastView Residents' Council include: 1) promoting and fostering social, cultural and recreational activities; 2) furthering the common good of the entire EastView community; 3) communicating and cooperating with the EastView Board of Directors, management, and staff.

The Residents' Council is the conduit for making known your ideas, concerns, and recommendations! After all, we are a "resident centered retirement community" and the vitality of our community rests in the communication between the residents and the Residents' Council.



Front Row (L to R): Linda K., Uli H., Fred G. (chair), Jan W.; Second Row (L to R): Russ L., Larry R., Bill R. (vice chair), Betsy E., Nancy F., Russ K. Missing: Nancy Lee R.

Navigating Through the Panama Canal

Nica W.

The Panama Canal is currently in the news as one of Trump's intended takeover targets. It's currently in our much smaller scope news, too, as we recently transited that 40 mile stretch of water on our 28' Bristol Channel Cutter sailboat. From the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific in just two days. Wow.

Calypso looked like a circus. Huge round fenders hung off the bow. Massive coils of blue lines took up foredeck and side deck space. Five people, three more than usual because our daughter, son and his wife joined us on this epic adventure, spilled over everywhere else. Down below was no less chaotic, with dishes piled in the sink and travel bags strewn everywhere. But a lasagna was in the oven, bottled water in an iced cooler bag in the cockpit, and all systems were go.

Our transit was scheduled to be a 2 day version. We'd pick up our advisor at 3pm and head into the Gatun Locks, go through 3 lock chambers to rise the approximately 100 feet to Lake Gatun, and pick up a mooring for the night. The second day would consist of motoring across Lake Gatun and through the fabled Culebra Cut before locking down the 100 feet to the Pacific.

We motored into the approaches to the Gatun Locks. *Vision*, a sailboat twice our size, waited for us to come alongside so we could tie together. Our 2-boat raft got positioned in the lock behind our commercial "dance partner" (Jeremy's term) and tied off with some of those huge blue lines. Line handlers on *Vision* and *Calypso* were responsible for keeping lines tensioned properly as the water rose. The huge gates closed soundlessly behind us. Bracing ourselves for a turbulent upwelling of water that would violently buffet our boats, we were all pleasantly surprised by how smooth it was. The rise in water level was almost imperceptible unless you looked at the lock walls. Soon enough, we were level with tops of the lock walls, and our first Panama Canal lock chamber was done. We followed our dance partner into the second lock chamber, and then the third. "The Gatun Locks, 1913" sign on the side of the building at the third lock chamber was a concrete reminder of the historic nature of this waterway.

Locks work by normalizing water levels for vessels. A vessel enters a lock chamber and gates close behind. Water is either introduced to that chamber, to cause the level to rise, or removed, to cause the level to drop. Once the chamber has been equalized to the next level, the forward gate opens, and the vessel moves ahead.

Our journey through the Gatun Locks ended after sunset, and we motored into Lake Gatun with the bright lights on the locks escorting us along. We tied to a large mooring ball, thankfully made of rubber and foam and not the steel that it looked like. Our advisor was picked up, we ate the lasagna that was still warm from the oven, and all of us tumbled into bed.

At 7:30 the next morning, our second advisor was dropped off, and the race to the Pacific locks was on. We motored past huge tankers and car carriers going the other way. Channel markers indicating the edges of sufficient depth bobbed in the current, some right at the edges of the cutaway sides. Green lush hillsides, dotted with old light range marks and modern range markers, surrounded us. The fabled Culebra Cut, a narrow twisty section about 5 miles long, is so narrow that traffic control (and assisting tugboats) are required so that huge ships aren't trying to occupy corners at the same time. Together with *Vision*, we needed to wait for a couple of those behemoths to clear the Cut before we started our journey through. Unfortunately, *Vision* had engine trouble and had to fall behind. We'd be on our own in the Pacific locks.



A large ship in the Culebra Cut and the Centennial Bridge is in the background.

The Pacific Locks, 1 chamber at Pedro Miguel and 2 at Miraflores, take boats down to sea level in a reversal of the Gatun Locks experience. This time we were the vessel in the front of the lock. The Canal authority has cameras at these docks that provide freeze-frame stills. A number of people sent us screenshots of

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our presence The screenshots provide a pretty good perspective on size and water level drop.

We paused for what seemed like forever at the front of the last lock chamber at Miraflores. The gates closed behind our dance partner, the water level dropped. The solid lock door ahead of us grew taller and taller, then a crack appeared. Larger. Larger.

There it was. The Pacific Ocean. We'd done it.

On to new adventures!

By the numbers:

Canal fees for a > 65' pleasure vessel: \$2885

Lock chambers navigated: 6

Total height rise and fall from Atlantic to Lake Gatun to Pacific: 187'

Total distance navigated: 51 miles

Amount of water drunk by *Calypso's* crew: approximately 30 liters over 2 days

(Linda and Phil C.'s daughter, Nica, and her husband Jeremy have owned *Calypso* since 1992. Their plan is to cruise the Pacific waters for as long as it's fun. Nica blogs about the lifestyle at fit2sail.com .)



Calypso is in the top lock. Note the water level and sizes of the vessels in the lower lock. Anik, Jeremy's mother, captured this photo.



It Happened at EastView

Lois and Max K.

Have you had E 5 today? Don't know what I'm talking about? You are so lucky!

It started last fall when, for no good reason, we had no heat. So, of course we called Chuck W., the fixer of all things mechanical. He came down, disappeared into the utility closet in the garage, and shortly we had heat. No problem until a few days later we had no hot water. Chuck again to the rescue! And so it went; no heat when we woke up, no hot water in the middle of Lois' shower and more calls to Chuck.

It didn't take Chuck long to show us that the remedy was to look at the display panel on the boiler and, if instead of showing numbers, it just said "E 5", the fix was to press the second button from the right and E 5 changed to numbers and the heat/hot water went on. We duly notified Chuck after each incident, (skipping weekend and night incidents) and he became a regular visitor, bringing new parts which he installed with a smile and the comment that, "Maybe we got it this time". When the dreaded notice and lack of heat continued, Chuck called in Control Technologies, EV's heating contractor. They changed other parts and consulted with the factory as E 5 became a regular visitor.

Fast forward to this December, January and February: colder and colder weather, more and more mornings, afternoons and evenings visiting the garage, until on February 3rd, mark the day, a three-man team from Control Technologies arrived at 8 AM, turned off the boiler, worked to install a NEW one and kept us company until 3 PM, (no heat or hot water of course) until just now they proclaimed "all done". Nice guys but we never want to see them again

Has E 5 been permanently vanquished? Stay tuned, we'll report next month, hopefully from Deer Meadow Drive. However, if you don't see us around, you'll know that E 5 won and we're visiting the Rings in Arizona until spring.

A Look Abroad: Is This Any Way to Treat Friends?

Russ L.

President Trump has begun his second term with a flurry of foreign policy moves consistent with his promise to put American interests first in relations with friends as well as adversaries. He has begun with threats of punitive actions against Panama, Mexico, Canada, possibly Denmark, and the European Union.

There are three overriding foreign policy issues of concern to the President: 1) the U.S.'s trade deficit; 2) illegal border-crossings by migrants along with drug trafficking, most notably in fentanyl; 3) competition with China. But there also are issues specific to each state.

The U.S. built and then maintained control of the Panama Canal until it was ceded to Panama in 1999. The president says, "We're going to take it back", and he has not ruled out the use of force against tiny Panama, which has no army. He points to two issues: 1) Panama is "severely overcharging American shipping"; 2) The Chinese are "taking over" operation of the canal. Neither claim is accurate. Ships from all nations, including the U.S., are charged according to the same scale. A private Hong Kong company manages two ports, but the Chinese are not operating the canal. If the U.S. were to invade Panama, it would send a welcome signal to other states engaged in, or considering, military expansion, such as Russia in Ukraine, or China against Taiwan.

Since World War II the U.S. has held rights to defend Greenland, which is a province of Denmark. A 1951 treaty also grants the U.S. the right to have a base on Greenland. Trump, nevertheless, sees ownership as an "absolute necessity", for "economic security". He is referring to Greenland's deposits of rare earth metals, which are used in high tech products. Again, it is about competition with China.

The Danes have made it clear that Greenland is not for sale. Denmark is willing to make some concessions, perhaps additional bases, but Trump wants more. When there were hints that Trump might lend U.S. support to a Greenlanders' independence movement, Denmark quickly passed a law forbidding political organizations from accepting foreign donations.

Trump also has taken aim at the U.S.'s four largest trading partners: Canada, Mexico, China, and the E.U. The U.S. has trade deficits with each of them. There are reasons specific to each pairing, but in the cases of China and the E.U., he blames the deficits on unfair trading practices, and he intends to use punitive tariffs to change the imbalances. Tariffs on Chinese imports have been raised by 10%, with China responding in kind. Trump says that the 27 nations of the E.U. are next.

Most economists believe that tariffs hurt all parties. They raise inflation and consumer prices, disrupt key industries, and reduce consumer spending. Moreover, they promote retaliation, which could lead to a trade war. A trade war between the U.S. and the E.U. would create a global economic crisis. For a simple explanation of how the process unfolds, see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-eHOSq3oqI>

The president's issues with Canada and Mexico are more political than economic. The issues are border crossings by illegal migrants, and drug trafficking, namely in fentanyl. Trump has begun by announcing 25% general tariffs on both countries. The tariffs on Mexico are curious as the Mexican government recently took significant steps to improve border controls, and to go after drug cartels. As for Canada, there are far fewer illegal crossings on the northern border, and the proportion of fentanyl flowing into the U.S. from Canada is estimated at 1%. When both countries offered to consider concessions, Trump postponed implementing the tariffs for a month. Some observers see Trump's actions more as "performance politics" to impress his nativist base, than as efforts to obtain significant changes.

What are we to make of all this? Some observers describe Trump's approach as "transactional politics," a foreign policy that favors bilateral transactions over multilateral efforts, and short-term gains over long-term goals. It also views international politics as fundamentally competitive, with each state concerned only with its immediate interests. From that cold-eyed perspective, bullying friends and allies makes realpolitik sense. But it comes with "opportunity costs". Spurning cooperative action to deal with global problems such as climate change, global health, migration, and the world economy makes little sense in our highly interdependent world. A purely transactional approach also ignores the distinction between liberal democracies, which observe international norms, and expansionist autocracies. If it makes sense for America to join with other democracies in defending and promoting American values, Trump's transactional politics could do lasting harm.