



User Name: amengel07

Date and Time: Thursday, April 9, 2020 12:13:00 PM EDT

Job Number: 114285767

Documents (74)

1. The Fighter or the Healer?

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

2. Bernie Sanders on the Issues: Where He Stands and What Could Derail Him

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

3. Bernie Sanders on the Issues: Where He Stands and What Could Derail Him

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

4. Beto O'Rourke Is 46. Bernie Sanders Is 77. Does Age Matter Anymore for Democrats?

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

5. Candidates Range From 37 to 77. Does Age Matter to Democrats?

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

6. In 2020 Southern Primaries, Victory for Democrats Begins With Black Women

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

7. Democrats Court Crucial Demographic in the South: Black Women

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

8. Warren Proposal Would Erase Student Loan Debt for Many

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

9. Morning Edition

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

10. On Politics: Pelosi Cautions on Impeachment

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

11. Can He Win? Answer May Be in 5 Questions

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

12. Student Debt Facts: The Average College Senior Owes \$29,000

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

13. Student Debt: Who Owes, and How Much?

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

14. Warren on the Trail: Crunching Numbers

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

15. Warren's Plans Recast Meaning Of Free Market

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

16. Elizabeth Warren Is Completely Serious

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

17. Inside Our 2020 Candidate Video Project;On Politics With Lisa Lerer

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

18. Elizabeth Warren Has an Answer for Everything. Is That Enough?

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

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News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

19. Bernie Sanders Unveils Education Plan to Eliminate Student Loan Debt

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

20. Sanders Introduces a Bill To Forgive Student Debt

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

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News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

21. Tiffany Cabán and the New Democrats

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

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News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

22. Tiffany Cabán and the New Democrats

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

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News

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Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

23. Full Transcript: Democratic Presidential Debates, Night 2

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

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News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

24. Summer Reading Contest, Week 3: What Interested You Most in The Times This Week?;Student Opinion

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

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Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

25. Jessica Cisneros on Challenging an Incumbent Democrat: 'There's a Lot He Has Never Had to Justify'

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

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News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

26. She Used to Be His Intern. Now She Wants His Job.

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

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News

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Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01,

27. 'Trump's Going to Get Re-elected, Isn't He?'

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

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News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

28. 'Trump Will Be Re-elected, Won't He?'

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

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News

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Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

29. At Tonight's Democratic Debate, Black Voters Will Be the Focus

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

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News

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Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

30. New Mexico Announces Plan for Free College for State Residents

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

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Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

31. New Mexico May Provide Free Tuition to Residents

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

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News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

32. Does Elizabeth Warren Have a Critical Vulnerability?

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

33. How Do You Fix ... All of It?

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

34. Finding Solutions

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

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Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

35. Young Black Voters to Their Biden-Supporting Parents: 'Is This Your King?'

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

36. Trying to Get Their Elders To Turn Away From Biden

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

37. How Similar Are Your Political Views to Those of Your Parents?;student opinion

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

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Content Type News	Narrowed by Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News
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38. Warren's Education Plan Promises Billions for Low-Income Schools and Desegregation

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

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Content Type News	Narrowed by Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News
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39. Warren's Education Plan Promises Billions for Low-Income Schools

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

Content Type News	Narrowed by Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News
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40. In Scranton Stop, Biden Says Trump Owes Fit Economy to Obama

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

Content Type News	Narrowed by Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News
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41. Joe Biden, in Scranton, Says Trump Owes Current Economy to Obama Years

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

Content Type News	Narrowed by Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News
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42. The Danger of Elizabeth Warren

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

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Content Type News	Narrowed by Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News
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43. State of the Race

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

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Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

44. Debate 5, and a Push for Black Voters: This Week in the 2020 Race

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

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News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

45. Afghanistan, Black Friday, Pete Buttigieg: Your Friday Briefing

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

46. Cory Booker Bets \$100 Billion on Historically Black Colleges and Universities

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

47. Booker Bets \$100 Billion In Bid to Aid Black Colleges

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

48. Our Future Depends on Communities;Turning Points

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

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Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

49. Democratic Candidates Go on the Attack, and Buttigieg Is the Target

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

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Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

50. House Impeachment Vote Is Unlikely to Sway Markets

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

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Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

51. Wine, Wealth and Experience: Candidates Bombard Buttigieg

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

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Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

52. The Big Ask of Black Voters: Trust the Government

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

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News

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Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

53. Democratic Candidates Struggle to Win the Trust of Black Voters

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

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News

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Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01,

54. Did You Recently Pay Off Your Student Loans?

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

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Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

55. Everyone's a Winner in Iowa; On Politics With Lisa Lerer

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

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News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

56. One Winner, or Maybe Two or Three

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

57. Coronavirus, New Hampshire, 'Parasite': Your Monday Evening Briefing

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

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News

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Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

58. Coronavirus, New Hampshire, T-Mobile: Your Tuesday Briefing

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

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News

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Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

59. The Winners and Losers From T-Mobile and Sprint's Merger Saga

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

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News

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Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

60. Democrats Plan to Highlight Health Care and Jobs Over Investigating Trump

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

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News

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Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

61. Democrats, Rebuffed on Impeachment, Pivot to Health Care and Jobs

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

62. Michael Bloomberg Leans Left With Plan to Rein In Wall St.

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

63. Bloomberg Tilts To Left in Plan To Curb Wall St.

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

Content Type
News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

64. Where's Joe Biden's Universal Child Care Plan?

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

Content Type

News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

65. Where's Biden's Universal Child-Care Plan?

Client/Matter: -None-**Search Terms:** democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors**Narrowed by:****Content Type**

News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

66. Coronavirus, Mick Mulvaney, Black Hole: Your Weekend Briefing

Client/Matter: -None-**Search Terms:** democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors**Narrowed by:****Content Type**

News

Narrowed by

Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

67. On Politics: A Big Day in Michigan

Client/Matter: -None-**Search Terms:** democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors**Narrowed by:****Content Type**

News

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Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

68. This Might Be Joe Biden's Greatest Challenge

Client/Matter: -None-**Search Terms:** democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors**Narrowed by:****Content Type**

News

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Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

69. Biden vs. Sanders, Issue by Issue

Client/Matter: -None-**Search Terms:** democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors**Narrowed by:****Content Type**

News

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Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

70. 'Joe, What Are You Going to Do?': Biden vs. Sanders, Issue by Issue

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

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News

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Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

71. Young Voters Know What They Want. But They Don't See Anyone Offering It.

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

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Content Type

News

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Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

72. Who Will Speak to America's Young People?

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

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News

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Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

73. The Most Powerful People in American Politics Are Over 65

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

Search Type: Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

Content Type

News

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Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

74. Trump: 73. Biden: 77. Youth: Zero.

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: democrat* w/10 primar* and (colleg* or student* w/10 loan)

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Sources: The New York Times; Timeline: After Jan 01, 2019; All Content Types: News

The Fighter or the Healer?

The New York Times

February 12, 2019 Tuesday, Late Edition - Final

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Section: Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 10

Length: 1614 words

Byline: By ALEXANDER BURNS

Body

MASON CITY, Iowa -- Senator Cory Booker glided into the state first, offering himself as a herald of peace in a northern Iowa church that advertised "radical hospitality" on its marquee. As a rainbow cracked the frozen sky outside, Mr. Booker spoke of restoring "grace and decency" and erasing "the lines that people think divide us -- racial lines, religious lines, geographic lines."

Senator Elizabeth Warren arrived soon after, still thrumming with the energy of a weekend announcement speech in Lawrence, Mass. Having vowed there to "fight my heart out" against government corruption and corporate power, Ms. Warren roused the crowd in Cedar Rapids on Sunday not with bounteous optimism but a call to arms.

"This is the time," she said, "to take on the fight."

In the space of a weekend, the two Democrats mapped the philosophical and temperamental fork their party must navigate as it challenges President Trump. Down one path, Mr. Booker's, lies a mission of healing and hope, with a campaign to bind up social wounds that have deepened in the Trump era. The other path, Ms. Warren's, promises combat and more combat -- a crusade not just to defeat Mr. Trump but to demolish the architecture of his government.

As much as any disputation over policy, this gulf defines the Democratic field, separating candidates of disparate backgrounds and ideologies into two loose groups: fighters and healers.

And the 2020 *primary, Democratic* leaders say, could hinge on whether their voters are more determined to reunite a divided country or to crush Mr. Trump and his party.

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Bonnie Campbell, a Democrat who served as Iowa's attorney general, said Ms. Warren of Massachusetts and Mr. Booker of New Jersey vividly captured the two approaches. Praising Ms. Warren for her forceful economic critique and Mr. Booker for his forward-looking pragmatism, Ms. Campbell said there was thirst for both outlooks among Democrats -- and sometimes within individual Democrats like herself.

"Honestly, I think there's a bit of schizophrenia on what our message should be," Ms. Campbell said. "You can be angry and passionate about what's happened, and also recognize that the task ahead of us is to bring the country together. Either one of those messages will carry the day, or they'll be blended together."

A range of blends is already available in the *Democratic primary*, with Mr. Booker and Ms. Warren representing the purest archetypes and their competitors arrayed on a spectrum between them. Senators Kamala Harris of California and Kirsten Gillibrand of New York entered the race last month on footing closer to Ms. Warren's, with differing policy agendas but overlapping political vocabulary. Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont, a fiery populist, is expected to join the fray soon, and perhaps Senator Sherrod Brown of Ohio.

The Fighter or the Healer?

Mr. Booker's rhetorical space has been less crowded so far, but several Democrats exploring the 2020 race have been wielding similar themes. Joseph R. Biden Jr., the former vice president, and Michael R. Bloomberg, the former New York City mayor, have both extolled bipartisanship. Beto O'Rourke, the former Texas Senate candidate, told Oprah Winfrey last week that he was preoccupied with uniting "a deeply divided country."

[Check out the Democratic field with our candidate tracker.]

It is perhaps not an accident that the most confident Democratic tribunes of good feeling are all men, while the party's sternest warriors are mainly women. In a contest for the presidency, a position traditionally viewed in martial terms, it may be easier for a man of Mr. Biden's backslapping swagger or Mr. Booker's athletic stature to show tenderness or vulnerability without fear of appearing weak.

And it was with enthusiastic physicality, and regular references to having played high school and college football, that Mr. Booker preached love and understanding. He clasped his chest and his face at moments of emotion, usually stirring murmurs of appreciation and sympathy; in one case, he wrapped his arm around a voter for a midspeech selfie. While Mr. Booker said he was ready to spar with Mr. Trump, stating matter-of-factly that "there is nobody in this race tougher than me," his overarching theme was about reconciliation.

At an airy adult learning center in Waterloo, Mr. Booker insisted that the capacity to conquer all manner of hardships was within human reach -- a contrast with Ms. Warren and other populists, who tend to describe ordinary people being stripped of power by big institutions.

"The most common way people give up their power," Mr. Booker said, "is not realizing that they have it."

Forces of darkness appeared in Mr. Booker's political narrative -- the country, he said, has a "cancer on our soul" -- but there were few villains. Where malignant people intruded, Mr. Booker leavened their presence with humor: Strom Thurmond, the South Carolina senator who embodied virulent racism, became the subject of a laughter-inducing vocal impression. Describing how a racist white real estate agent directed a dog to attack his father, Mr. Booker added a punch line: Each time his father told the story, he joked, "that dog got bigger!"

At times, Mr. Booker's calls for conciliation had an ideological subtext. He repeatedly detailed distinctions with the Democratic left, calling on progressives to "reclaim the fiscally responsible label" and denouncing corporate power selectively, focusing chiefly on consolidation in the agricultural sector.

Patti Downs, who went to hear Mr. Booker speak in Waterloo, said she believed he had the leadership abilities to be a good president. Ms. Downs said she was also eyeing Mr. Biden but already admired Mr. Booker for his bipartisan instincts and his attention to "everyday problems," like wages and health care, rather than more abstract debates.

"We need more of that, and I think he might be the person to do it," said Ms. Downs, a retiree who used to run a health care clinic. "I think maybe he can bring about the changes of civility, and bring politics down from that lofty place that most of us have no way to relate to."

If Mr. Booker's remarks projected the jaunty optimism of a marching band -- his announcement video literally featured one -- Ms. Warren's echoed with cannon fire. In a hall at the Veterans Memorial Building in Cedar Rapids and during an afternoon rally at the University of Iowa, she drew roars of applause when pledging to "attack corruption head-on" and wrangle power from a set of named foes: drug companies, oil companies, **student loan** companies, private prison companies, gun companies and the National Rifle Association.

All, Ms. Warren declared, should be tamed through legislation and regulation.

"Rules matter," she said, "and that's why I'm in this fight."

Ms. Warren punctuated her rhetoric with a different set of gestures, pumping a tight fist for emphasis or slicing the air with an open palm; in Cedar Rapids, she closed by raising both hands overhead like a boxer soaking in applause.

The Fighter or the Healer?

Unlike Mr. Booker, Ms. Warren taunted Mr. Trump, urging Democrats not to build their 2020 message around him because he might not be president that long. "In fact," she said, "he might not even be a free person."

On Sunday, Ms. Warren made only a glancing reference to unity, cautioning a voter who raised the idea of impeaching the president that the process would divide Americans and that, if it came to that, Democrats must "help pull this country together."

Cindy Garlock, a leader with the liberal activist group Indivisible Iowa who watched Ms. Warren on Sunday morning, said she had not picked a favorite but believed that Ms. Warren had a winning message. Ms. Garlock said she had also seen Mr. Booker during his visit but found Ms. Warren's presentation -- dotted with plans to raise taxes on the wealthy and crack down on pharmaceutical and student-loan companies -- more convincing.

"She is a fighter, but I think that will also unite the country, if we're fighting for the right purpose," Ms. Garlock said. "Her purpose is to help regular people who are going to work every day, trying to pay their bills, which is the majority of this country."

Both approaches have a rich history in Democratic politics, nationally and in Iowa -- a state that has helped elevate conciliators like Jimmy Carter and Barack Obama to the presidency, while for decades sending prairie populists like Tom Harkin to Congress.

Mr. Booker shares a clear political lineage with Mr. Obama, who captured the Iowa caucuses in 2008 with a message of national unity. But the party has also shifted left since then, and has grown more suspicious of Republicans who harried Mr. Obama and elected Mr. Trump. In 2016, Mr. Sanders nearly upset Hillary Clinton in Iowa as a populist insurgent.

Mr. Trump's slashing style may also weigh on primary voters and caucusgoers, Democrats say, guaranteeing that even a kindhearted nominee would face a blizzard of personal attacks and crude trash-talking.

Still, Representative Dave Loebsack, a veteran Democrat whose district covers Iowa's southeastern quadrant, said he believed that even partisan Iowans yearned for political reconciliation. Though he is neutral in the race, Mr. Loebsack predicted that Mr. Booker's uplifting narrative would resonate.

"I think we have to be careful with anger and outrage and alienation because that can also feed into the worst instincts of folks," Mr. Loebsack said, adding of Mr. Booker: "I love his message of love and redemption and all the rest."

<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/11/us/politics/democrats-2020-healer-fighter.html>

Graphic

PHOTOS: Senators Cory Booker of New Jersey, top, and Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts campaigning in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, in recent days. The two represent divergent paths for Democratic voters in the 2020 primaries. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY TAMIR KALIFA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Load-Date: February 12, 2019

Bernie Sanders on the Issues: Where He Stands and What Could Derail Him

The New York Times

February 19, 2019 Tuesday 10:49 EST

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Section: US; politics

Length: 1093 words

Byline: Matt Stevens

Highlight: He may have been the runner-up in the last ***Democratic primary***, but his progressive ideas have increasingly become part of the Democratic mainstream.

Body

Senator Bernie Sanders may have been the runner-up in the last ***Democratic primary***, but by the time he gave Hillary Clinton his endorsement in July 2016, he had garnered the fervent support of millions. With messages about income inequality and proposals like universal health care, free public college and a higher minimum wage, Mr. Sanders sought what he framed as a transformation of the Democratic Party — a platform that many voters enthusiastically rallied around.

Three years later, many of Mr. Sanders's progressive ideas have increasingly become part of the Democratic mainstream, with other candidates echoing them during the race for the party's 2020 presidential nomination. Now that Mr. Sanders has announced that he will run for it again, here is a refresher on where he stands on key issues and what challenges he faces this time around.

The economy

Perhaps the most indelible message offered by Mr. Sanders has been his continued insistence that Wall Street and billionaires have “rigged” the system such that wealth and income flow to the country’s richest and most powerful people. The result of this rigging, he argues, is a continuing decline of the middle class and a growing gap between the rich and everyone else.

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To combat these forces, Mr. Sanders has introduced legislation that would increase the number of wealthy Americans subject to the estate tax; called for raising the national minimum wage to \$15 an hour (while criticizing companies like Amazon for paying its workers too little); and asked for a \$1 trillion infrastructure investment that would create jobs.

Mr. Sanders has also repeatedly railed against the political campaign finance system, which he contends is controlled by wealthy people and special interest groups that can contribute unlimited amounts of money to campaigns. He rejected corporate political action committee money when he sought the Democratic nomination in 2016 — a practice that caught on among Democrats in the 2018 midterms — and is well positioned to again raise funds via small-donation contributors. The New York Times has reported that he would begin his 2020 presidential bid with 2.1 million online donors, a huge lead on his competitors.

Health care

Mr. Sanders, now in his third term representing Vermont in the Senate, drafted a Medicare-for-all bill in 2017 that has since been endorsed by several other Democratic senators, including the presidential candidates Cory Booker of New Jersey, Kirsten Gillibrand of New York, Kamala Harris of California and Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts.

[Read more on Bernie Sanders' 2020 presidential run.]

Bernie Sanders on the Issues: Where He Stands and What Could Derail Him

“Medicare for all” has become a rallying cry for progressive Democrats, though it means different things to different people, and exactly which version candidates embrace has become something of an early policy test.

Supporters generally agree that it is a way to achieve universal coverage with a system of national health insurance in which a single public program would pay most of the bills, but care would still be delivered by private doctors and hospitals. Such a single-payer, government-run health plan would increase federal spending by at least \$2.5 trillion a year, according to several estimates.

The environment

This month liberal Democrats formally proposed a Green New Deal with a sweeping resolution that addresses climate change by calling for the United States to eliminate additional emissions of carbon by 2030.

The measure, drafted by Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez of New York and Senator Edward J. Markey of Massachusetts, was co-sponsored by Mr. Sanders as well as Ms. Gillibrand and Mr. Booker.

Education

One set of proposals Mr. Sanders presented in 2016 that drew widespread attention was the idea of making public **colleges** and universities tuition-free and significantly lowering **student loan** interest rates. He continued to highlight the cost of higher education in the months after the 2016 campaign.

A victim of his own success

As some of Mr. Sanders’s supporters have pointed out, the 2020 **Democratic primary** landscape looks far different than the one in 2016. This time, Mr. Sanders, an independent, will not be the only progressive opponent facing an establishment-backed frontrunner. Instead, the 2020 **Democratic primary** field is already crowded with candidates, some who are newer to the national political scene than he is, and some who have embraced the very policies he championed in 2016.

[Check out the Democratic field with our candidate tracker.]

As The Times reported in December, Mr. Sanders is struggling to retain the support he garnered two years ago, when he was far less of a political star than he is today. His supporters have conceded that in some ways, Mr. Sanders is a victim of his own success.

“Ironically, Bernie’s agenda for working families will be the Democratic Party’s message in 2020, but he may not be the one leading the parade,” Bill Press, a talk show host who supported Mr. Sanders in 2016, said last year.

Recent turmoil

Mr. Sanders has also had a weak track record with black voters — a vital base in the Democratic Party — which could be a potential threat to his candidacy. On Sunday, The Times reported that interviews with nearly two dozen current and former advisers and staff members revealed an uneven commitment on the part of Mr. Sanders and his top advisers to organize and communicate effectively with black voters and leaders during his 2016 campaign.

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PHOTO: Supporters of Senator Bernie Sanders listened to him speak during a campaign rally at Morehouse College in Atlanta during the 2016 **Democratic primary**. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Kevin D. Liles for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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Bernie Sanders on the Issues: Where He Stands and What Could Derail Him

The New York Times

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Byline: By MATT STEVENS

Body

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And this year, Mr. Sanders is already dealing with another problem involving his 2016 staff: allegations from women who say they were mistreated or harassed during the campaign. Last month, after The Times published an investigation into complaints by female staff members, Mr. Sanders publicly apologized and later met with former staff members in an effort to calm the unrest.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/19/us/politics/bernie-sanders-on-the-issues.html>

Load-Date: February 20, 2019

Beto O'Rourke Is 46. Bernie Sanders Is 77. Does Age Matter Anymore for Democrats?

The New York Times

March 16, 2019 Saturday 12:20 EST

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Section: US; politics

Length: 1962 words

Byline: Matt Flegenheimer and Jonathan Martin

Highlight: Democrats have won the presidency with younger nominees like Obama, Clinton and Kennedy. But age may be relative in 2020, with many younger voters preferring the septuagenarian Mr. Sanders.

Body

KEOKUK, Iowa — Diana Martinez, 70, looked at Beto O'Rourke, 46, and made her choice: It was time for Generation X to fix this country.

“Doesn’t he remind you of Kennedy?” Ms. Martinez said as Mr. O’Rourke offered firm handshakes and music recommendations to a coffeehouse crowd. “He’s young. That’s what it’s going to take to try and beat Trump.”

[Related: Bernie Sanders hospitalized for heart procedure, cancels campaign events.]

Some closer to Mr. O’Rourke’s age were less convinced. Standing near the back, Erin Cruz, 41, sized up Mr. O’Rourke — and then praised the septuagenarian socialist senator, Bernie Sanders.

“I’m looking for someone to be as progressive as Bernie,” Ms. Cruz said, tugging on a Red Hot Chili Peppers shirt.

Actually, she amended, perhaps just Bernie himself.

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Mr. O’Rourke entered the ***Democratic primary*** race this past week with an aspirational pitch and a semi-improvisational tour of Iowa, with a Hawkeyes baseball cap and bilingual profanity on the stump, broadcasting his message of generational uplift and immediately thrusting age into the main currents of the 2020 race.

The contenders leading in initial polls, Mr. Sanders and former Vice President Inauguration Day 2021. President Trump will be 74.

Joseph R. Biden Jr., will be 79 and 78 by

Yet as party activists begin to appraise the field, they are already grappling with whether to once again embrace a younger candidate who reflects the future or shrug off age and elevate a veteran politician who most clearly represents their simultaneous craving for undiluted liberalism and someone who can thwart Mr. Trump.

If history is a guide, Mr. O’Rourke and other Democrats betting on a youthful appeal — like Cory Booker, 49; Julián Castro, 44; or Pete Buttigieg and Tulsi Gabbard, both 37 — should have an advantage. Of the last five Democratic presidents, only Lyndon B. Johnson, who ascended to the job because of the assassination of a 46-year-old president, was older than 52 when he was first elected president. The roster of Democratic losers in modern times is littered with nominees who were neither young nor new to the political scene.

[Check out the Democratic field with our candidate tracker.]

Beto O'Rourke Is 46. Bernie Sanders Is 77. Does Age Matter Anymore for Democrats?

But for many in the party, dedication to this critical component of past success — putting forward a new face — is being tested in the 2020 race by twin impulses: the devotion to Mr. Sanders among voters many decades younger than him, who share his belief that American society is rife with inequities that will not be solved by candidates like Mr. O'Rourke, and an overriding desire among Democrats to defeat a president they believe is a menace to democracy.

Supporters of Mr. Sanders believe he offers transformational change — the promise of not merely ousting President Trump but also remaking the country into a more just place — and brings experience that would help him survive a general election and expand the electorate.

At the same time, moderates in the party are tempted by Mr. Biden, wagering that the political equivalent of comfort food to America may prove the safest recipe.

This combination of a primary electorate that is at once hungry for structural, even radical, reform and deeply nervous about nominating someone too callow to defeat Mr. Trump poses perhaps the most serious challenge to a candidate like Mr. O'Rourke. He shuns ideological labels, even chafing at “progressive” in the past; often avoids being pinned down on policy; and has no experience in the crucible of presidential politics.

“I know Bernie has a laid-out plan for Medicare and free tuition,” said Austin Palmer, a 25-year-old South Carolinian who went to see Mr. Sanders vow political revolution Thursday night in North Charleston. “Beto has made some broad statements so far.”

Mr. Palmer invoked the recent scandal involving parents committing bribery to get their children into elite colleges, shaking his head at what he sees as a rotten society that must be razed, not reformed. Yet he also indicated that he was most enthusiastic about Mr. Sanders because of the polls he recalls showing that the Democrats’ 2016 runner-up would have defeated Mr. Trump.

“I’m really concerned about being able to beat Trump,” he said. “That’s my big worry.”

Mr. O’Rourke has ample time to flesh out his agenda — he spoke fondly, if not always specifically, this past week of “bold, progressive ideas” — and he enjoys considerable assets: a history of record-shattering online fund-raising, the appeal of celebrity in a country besotted by fame and a grip on the imagination of a party that loves to fall in love after his star-making-if-campaign-losing Senate race in Texas.

But he is facing a 2020 campaign and election that differ considerably from when Democrats last rewarded a generational argument in a presidential race by nominating then-Senator Barack Obama.

“There’s still a big part of the party that wants to fall in love, and there’s another part of the party that will settle for anything that will beat Trump,” said Senator Christopher S. Murphy of Connecticut, at 45 the youngest Democratic senator. “I think that’s a real, daily tension in the party that’s going to play out in real time.”

There could ultimately be a best-of-both-worlds solution — “It just happened that in 2008 and 2012 we fell in love with the most electable candidate,” Mr. Murphy recalled — but like many Democrats, he could only guess for now.

“I would generally make the case that the Democratic Party should always be nominating the next-generation candidate,” he said, “except I’m not sure any of the old rules apply.”

The evidence was conflicting at Mr. Sanders’s South Carolina rally on Thursday.

As unfathomable as it may be to the moderate wing of the Democratic Party, many in attendance made the case for Mr. Sanders as much on his electability as his liberal platform.

“I want to support someone who I think really has a chance of winning,” said Brandon Greene, a 27-year-old student and pastor. “We can’t take a gamble on a new candidate.”

And Tasha Horton, a 45-year-old real estate broker with college-age children who “love the Bern,” allowed that her “love is for Kamala but strategically it’s either Bernie or Biden.”

Ms. Horton, who went to the same church gymnasium recently to see Senator Kamala Harris, 54, added: “We have to think that way. You can’t think with your heart.”

Beto O'Rourke Is 46. Bernie Sanders Is 77. Does Age Matter Anymore for Democrats?

Yet even as Mr. Greene and Ms. Horton, who are both African-American, made the case for Mr. Sanders, the bulk of the audience reflected limits in his appeal: In a city where nearly half of the population is black, the rally attendees were overwhelmingly white. As a soloist sang gospel music that doubled as a filibuster for the tardy senator, some in the crowd noodled as if it were a Phish jam rather than an organ-backed hymn about joy coming in the morning.

Many of the voters at the Sanders event said they were open to other candidates; they just wanted to hear “about specifics,” as Mr. Greene put it, and be convinced that a younger alternative could prove viable.

Still, as Mr. Sanders took the stage and thundered against economic inequality, excoriating the compensation packages of individual health care executives, the contrast between his unsparing indictment and comprehensive agenda and Mr. O’Rourke’s frequent generalities could not have been starker.

“I want to do something that very few public figures will do, and I want to tell you exactly what justice means to me and I hope to you,” the senator told his youthful, sign-waving charges.

In Iowa, meanwhile, the newest candidate in the race was casting his political worldview as a kind of high-minded pragmatism, describing bipartisanship as a necessity during his six years in the House minority.

“I made it my mission to ensure that the perfect never becomes the enemy of the good,” Mr. O’Rourke said to cheers in Mount Pleasant, Iowa, boasting of a veterans’ health care measure signed into law by Mr. Trump.

He frames his events as two-sided conversations, at times prodding voters to say how they might solve the challenges they cite. “Thoughts? Ideas? Suggestions? Advice?” he asked high school students in Fort Madison.

When pressed, by voters and reporters, for more details, Mr. O’Rourke has equivocated or vacillated on several policy questions. Asked about health care at the first of eight events on Thursday, Mr. O’Rourke steered clear of “Medicare for all,” the progressive proposal he once endorsed without apparent reservation, calling more generally for a “guaranteed, high-quality” system instead.

“I think that’s one of the ways to ensure that we get to guaranteed, high-quality health care for every single American,” he said of “Medicare for all” in Washington, Iowa. “I’m no longer sure that that’s the fastest way to get there.”

Asked at another event about reparations, a growing issue in the Democratic race, Mr. O’Rourke held forth for four minutes — on John Lewis, Martin Luther King, the arc of systemic racism — without answering the question of where he stood.

But Mr. O’Rourke’s lack of detail does not dissuade his most ardent supporters. As with Mr. Obama’s, the Texan’s admirers are galvanized by a message that, with leadership that can bring people of good will together across party lines, a better day for the country awaits.

“Trump appeals to the worst of America, candidates like Beto appeal to the best of America,” said Representative Hakeem Jeffries of New York, 48, a Democratic leader who may become the first Generation X House speaker someday and has not backed anyone in the race.

Across eastern Iowa, Mr. O’Rourke encountered many young people excited by his candidacy, arriving in T-shirts from his Senate race or, in one case, a customized “Betomania” button featuring the candidate with a guitar.

“Everything about him is an inspiration,” said Angela Scott, 27, after meeting (and high-fiving) Mr. O’Rourke at a sub shop in Burlington, Iowa. “You can’t help but like that man.”

In other moments, though, his audiences included a striking dichotomy: enchanted older voters, convinced that younger voters would flock to Mr. O’Rourke and rescue the party from Mr. Trump, and younger voters excited by someone else.

As Mr. O’Rourke spoke in Mount Pleasant, standing on a cafe counter, a cluster of teenage fans of Mr. Sanders watched in the wings, curious about Mr. O’Rourke but unmoved by any suggestion that Mr. Sanders is not a man for the times.

“That’s ageism,” said Garrick Dodson, a self-described socialist progressive who will turn 18 next month. “I don’t have a problem voting for an old person I agree with more than a young person.”

Beto O'Rourke Is 46. Bernie Sanders Is 77. Does Age Matter Anymore for Democrats?

Mr. Dodson and his friends suggested that their elders underestimated the boiling anger of the teen and 20-something generation, aghast at what they see as their forebears' indifference to climate change and student loan debt.

"Gen Z, baby," Mr. Dodson said.

"Gen Z is coming," warned a peer, Madison Brady, 18. "We're so angry."

Matt Flegenheimer reported from Keokuk, Iowa, and Jonathan Martin from North Charleston, S.C.

PHOTOS: A coffee-shop crowd for Beto O'Rourke in Mount Pleasant, Iowa, on Friday. "He's young," said Diana Martinez. "That's what it's going to take to try and beat Trump." (PHOTOGRAPH BY TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES); Senator Bernie Sanders greeted supporters in North Charleston, S.C., on Thursday. He would be 79 on Inauguration Day 2021. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TRAVIS DOVE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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Candidates Range From 37 to 77. Does Age Matter to Democrats?

The New York Times

March 17, 2019 Sunday, Late Edition - Final

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Byline: By MATT FLEGENHEIMER and JONATHAN MARTIN; Matt Flegenheimer reported from Keokuk, Iowa, and Jonathan Martin from North Charleston, S.C.

Body

KEOKUK, Iowa -- Diana Martinez, 70, looked at Beto O'Rourke, 46, and made her choice: It was time for Generation X to fix this country.

"Doesn't he remind you of Kennedy?" Ms. Martinez said as Mr. O'Rourke offered firm handshakes and music recommendations to a coffeehouse crowd. "He's young. That's what it's going to take to try and beat Trump."

Some closer to Mr. O'Rourke's age were less convinced. Standing near the back, Erin Cruz, 41, sized up Mr. O'Rourke -- and then praised the septuagenarian socialist senator, Bernie Sanders.

"I'm looking for someone to be as progressive as Bernie," Ms. Cruz said, tugging on a Red Hot Chili Peppers shirt.

Actually, she amended, perhaps just Bernie himself.

[Sign up for our politics newsletter and join our conversation about the 2020 campaign.]

Mr. O'Rourke entered the ***Democratic primary*** race this past week with an aspirational pitch and a semi-improvisational tour of Iowa, with a Hawkeyes baseball cap and bilingual profanity on the stump, broadcasting his message of generational uplift and immediately thrusting age into the main currents of the 2020 race.

The contenders leading in initial polls, Mr. Sanders and former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr., will be 79 and 78 by Inauguration Day 2021. President Trump will be 74.

Yet as party activists begin to appraise the field, they are already grappling with whether to once again embrace a younger candidate who reflects the future or shrug off age and elevate a veteran politician who most clearly represents their simultaneous craving for undiluted liberalism and someone who can thwart Mr. Trump.

If history is a guide, Mr. O'Rourke and other Democrats betting on a youthful appeal -- like Cory Booker, 49; Julián Castro, 44; or Pete Buttigieg and Tulsi Gabbard, both 37 -- should have an advantage. Of the last five Democratic presidents, only Lyndon B. Johnson, who ascended to the job because of the assassination of a 46-year-old president, was older than 52 when he was first elected president. The roster of Democratic losers in modern times is littered with nominees who were neither young nor new to the political scene.

[Check out the Democratic field with our candidate tracker.]

But for many in the party, dedication to this critical component of past success -- putting forward a new face -- is being tested in the 2020 race by twin impulses: the devotion to Mr. Sanders among voters many decades younger than him, who share his belief that American society is rife with inequities that will not be solved by candidates like Mr. O'Rourke, and an overriding desire among Democrats to defeat a president they believe is a menace to democracy.

Candidates Range From 37 to 77. Does Age Matter to Democrats?

Supporters of Mr. Sanders believe he offers transformational change -- the promise of not merely ousting President Trump but also remaking the country into a more just place -- and brings experience that would help him survive a general election and expand the electorate.

At the same time, moderates in the party are tempted by Mr. Biden, wagering that the political equivalent of comfort food to America may prove the safest recipe.

This combination of a primary electorate that is at once hungry for structural, even radical, reform and deeply nervous about nominating someone too callow to defeat Mr. Trump poses perhaps the most serious challenge to a candidate like Mr. O'Rourke. He shuns ideological labels, even chafing at "progressive" in the past; often avoids being pinned down on policy; and has no experience in the crucible of presidential politics.

"I know Bernie has a laid-out plan for Medicare and free tuition," said Austin Palmer, a 25-year-old South Carolinian who went to see Mr. Sanders vow political revolution Thursday night in North Charleston. "Beto has made some broad statements so far."

Mr. Palmer invoked the recent scandal involving parents committing bribery to get their children into elite colleges, shaking his head at what he sees as a rotten society that must be razed, not reformed. Yet he also indicated that he was most enthusiastic about Mr. Sanders because of the polls he recalls showing that the Democrats' 2016 runner-up would have defeated Mr. Trump.

"I'm really concerned about being able to beat Trump," he said. "That's my big worry."

Mr. O'Rourke has ample time to flesh out his agenda -- he spoke fondly, if not always specifically, this past week of "bold, progressive ideas" -- and he enjoys considerable assets: a history of record-shattering online fund-raising, the appeal of celebrity in a country besotted by fame and a grip on the imagination of a party that loves to fall in love after his star-making-if-campaign-losing Senate race in Texas.

But he is facing a 2020 campaign and election that differ considerably from when Democrats last rewarded a generational argument in a presidential race by nominating then-Senator Barack Obama.

"There's still a big part of the party that wants to fall in love, and there's another part of the party that will settle for anything that will beat Trump," said Senator Christopher S. Murphy of Connecticut, at 45 the youngest Democratic senator. "I think that's a real, daily tension in the party that's going to play out in real time."

There could ultimately be a best-of-both-worlds solution -- "It just happened that in 2008 and 2012 we fell in love with the most electable candidate," Mr. Murphy recalled -- but like many Democrats, he could only guess for now.

"I would generally make the case that the Democratic Party should always be nominating the next-generation candidate," he said, "except I'm not sure any of the old rules apply."

The evidence was conflicting at Mr. Sanders's South Carolina rally on Thursday.

As unfathomable as it may be to the moderate wing of the Democratic Party, many in attendance made the case for Mr. Sanders as much on his electability as his liberal platform.

"I want to support someone who I think really has a chance of winning," said Brandon Greene, a 27-year-old student and pastor. "We can't take a gamble on a new candidate."

And Tasha Horton, a 45-year-old real estate broker with college-age children who "love the Bern," allowed that her "love is for Kamala but strategically it's either Bernie or Biden."

Ms. Horton, who went to the same church gymnasium recently to see Senator Kamala Harris, 54, added: "We have to think that way. You can't think with your heart."

Yet even as Mr. Greene and Ms. Horton, who are both African-American, made the case for Mr. Sanders, the bulk of the audience reflected limits in his appeal: In a city where nearly half of the population is black, the rally attendees were overwhelmingly white. As

Candidates Range From 37 to 77. Does Age Matter to Democrats?

a soloist sang gospel music that doubled as a filibuster for the tardy senator, some in the crowd noodled as if it were a Phish jam rather than an organ-backed hymn about joy coming in the morning.

Many of the voters at the Sanders event said they were open to other candidates; they just wanted to hear "about specifics," as Mr. Greene put it, and be convinced that a younger alternative could prove viable.

Still, as Mr. Sanders took the stage and thundered against economic inequality, excoriating the compensation packages of individual health care executives, the contrast between his unsparing indictment and comprehensive agenda and Mr. O'Rourke's frequent generalities could not have been starker.

"I want to do something that very few public figures will do, and I want to tell you exactly what justice means to me and I hope to you," the senator told his youthful, sign-waving charges.

In Iowa, meanwhile, the newest candidate in the race was casting his political worldview as a kind of high-minded pragmatism, describing bipartisanship as a necessity during his six years in the House minority.

"I made it my mission to ensure that the perfect never becomes the enemy of the good," Mr. O'Rourke said to cheers in Mount Pleasant, Iowa, boasting of a veterans' health care measure signed into law by Mr. Trump.

He frames his events as two-sided conversations, at times prodding voters to say how they might solve the challenges they cite. "Thoughts? Ideas? Suggestions? Advice?" he asked high school students in Fort Madison.

When pressed, by voters and reporters, for more details, Mr. O'Rourke has equivocated or vacillated on several policy questions. Asked about health care at the first of eight events on Thursday, Mr. O'Rourke steered clear of "Medicare for all," the progressive proposal he once endorsed without apparent reservation, calling more generally for a "guaranteed, high-quality" system instead.

"I think that's one of the ways to ensure that we get to guaranteed, high-quality health care for every single American," he said of "Medicare for all" in Washington, Iowa. "I'm no longer sure that that's the fastest way to get there."

Asked at another event about reparations, a growing issue in the Democratic race, Mr. O'Rourke held forth for four minutes -- on John Lewis, Martin Luther King, the arc of systemic racism -- without answering the question of where he stood.

But Mr. O'Rourke's lack of detail does not dissuade his most ardent supporters. As with Mr. Obama's, the Texan's admirers are galvanized by a message that, with leadership that can bring people of good will together across party lines, a better day for the country awaits.

"Trump appeals to the worst of America, candidates like Beto appeal to the best of America," said Representative Hakeem Jeffries of New York, 48, a Democratic leader who may become the first Generation X House speaker someday and has not backed anyone in the race.

Across eastern Iowa, Mr. O'Rourke encountered many young people excited by his candidacy, arriving in T-shirts from his Senate race or, in one case, a customized "Betomania" button featuring the candidate with a guitar.

"Everything about him is an inspiration," said Angela Scott, 27, after meeting (and high-fiving) Mr. O'Rourke at a sub shop in Burlington, Iowa. "You can't help but like that man."

In other moments, though, his audiences included a striking dichotomy: enchanted older voters, convinced that younger voters would flock to Mr. O'Rourke and rescue the party from Mr. Trump, and younger voters excited by someone else.

As Mr. O'Rourke spoke in Mount Pleasant, standing on a cafe counter, a cluster of teenage fans of Mr. Sanders watched in the wings, curious about Mr. O'Rourke but unmoved by any suggestion that Mr. Sanders is not a man for the times.

"That's ageism," said Garrick Dodson, a self-described socialist progressive who will turn 18 next month. "I don't have a problem voting for an old person I agree with more than a young person."

Mr. Dodson and his friends suggested that their elders underestimated the boiling anger of the teen and 20-something generation, aghast at what they see as their forebears' indifference to climate change and **student loan** debt.

Candidates Range From 37 to 77. Does Age Matter to Democrats?

"Gen Z, baby," Mr. Dodson said.

"Gen Z is coming," warned a peer, Madison Brady, 18. "We're so angry."

<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/16/us/politics/beto-bernie-sanders-age.html>

Graphic

PHOTOS: A coffee-shop crowd for Beto O'Rourke in Mount Pleasant, Iowa, on Friday. "He's young," said Diana Martinez. "That's what it's going to take to try and beat Trump." (PHOTOGRAPH BY TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Senator Bernie Sanders greeted supporters in North Charleston, S.C., on Thursday. He would be 79 on Inauguration Day 2021. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TRAVIS DOVE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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In 2020 Southern Primaries, Victory for Democrats Begins With Black Women

The New York Times

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Section: US; politics

Length: 1449 words

Byline: Richard Fausset

Highlight: Kamala Harris and Beto O'Rourke took different approaches, but they both reached out to black women in campaign swings through the South recently.

Body

ATLANTA — One presidential candidate was a black female senator from California, speaking with subdued precision and being received like distant kin at what used to be the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s church in Atlanta.

The other candidate was a white ex-congressman from Texas, barreling through South Carolina with an improvisational air of empathetic energy, and acknowledging that his whiteness had given him a leg up in life.

For Senator Kamala Harris and former Representative Beto O'Rourke, these recent swings through the South included an overlapping purpose: delivering messages that appeared tailored to black audiences in a region where black women, in particular, will likely be key decision makers in the ***Democratic primaries***.

But the separate appearances by Ms. Harris and Mr. O'Rourke also underscored that no single formula exists for winning over black female voters, who received the two candidates with a mix of enthusiasm and caution.

There are others vying for these voters' attention. Senator Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts was in the Mississippi Delta earlier this month talking about affordable housing. Senator Amy Klobuchar was in Florida, touting how she had been discussing 2020 strategy with Andrew Gillum, the African-American candidate who narrowly lost the Florida governor's race in November. Senator Cory Booker of New Jersey has been a near-constant Southern presence the last couple of years, offering his endorsement and oratorical skills to a range of Democratic candidates.

This activity is a demonstration of the belief among 2020 contenders that the hearts and minds of black female voters are up for grabs in the ***Democratic primaries***. Strong potential suitors are still weighing presidential bids, including former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. and Stacey Abrams, the popular black Democrat from Georgia. For now, Ms. Harris, 54, is one of two major black Democratic candidates — along with Mr. Booker — and many southern black and liberal voters are excited by the idea of the first black woman president.

While Ms. Harris has drawn enthusiastic audiences, she has also faced some criticism that as a former prosecutor and California attorney general, parts of her criminal justice record were insufficiently progressive. And Ms. Harris, whose father is from Jamaica and whose mother is from India, has been the target of offensive online memes about her race that have sparked questions among some voters.

On Sunday, as Ms. Harris prepared to introduce herself at Atlanta's Ebenezer Baptist Church, a former New York state corrections officer named Lamarr Robinson brought up both matters. He criticized Ms. Harris's handling of a highly-publicized case of a black death-row inmate whose case was tainted by racism. And Mr. Robinson added, "She's more east Indian than African-American."

In 2020 Southern Primaries, Victory for Democrats Begins With Black Women

Amid the swelling voices of church's choir and congregation, Ms. Harris emerged from the wings, joined by Keisha Lance Bottoms, Atlanta's second black female mayor.

"Let me show you how far we've come," Ebenezer's pastor, the Rev. Dr. Raphael Warnock, declared from the pulpit. "Atlanta's got a mayor named Keisha." The crowd chuckled and cheered.

He added: "We've got a presidential candidate named Kamala."

Mr. Warnock argued that Ms. Harris's campaign was "the realization of our ancestors' wildest dreams." He spoke of the black trailblazers who had made it possible, from Fannie Lou Hamer, the voting rights activist, to the Rev. Jesse Jackson, who ran for president in 1984 and 1988.

Ms. Harris spoke briefly, telling the congregation that her parents had been civil rights activists in California. She lamented that babies were being "ripped from their parents" at the border and that black parents must still give "the talk" to their children about the racial bias in policing.

The reception at church was warm, but it was closer to ecstatic in the afternoon at the Morehouse College gym, where school officials estimated Ms. Harris drew a crowd of 3,000.

The audience was an energized, multicultural mix. Some, like Deliska Cooley, an elementary schoolteacher from Talladega County, Ala., and her two teenage daughters, had already decided that Ms. Harris was their candidate. Ms. Cooley said online memes questioning Ms. Harris's blackness were ludicrous.

"I'm a teacher. I have a rainbow in my classroom," she said.

Her daughter Skyla Cooley, 17, a high school senior, said that she thought Ms. Harris was unfairly taking heat for simply being a tough prosecutor.

"We don't want people not to be prosecuted — we want it to be fair across the board," she said.

A few seats away, Naquila Gilchrist-Jalajel, 46, a small-business owner, said she had not made up her mind on a candidate; with so many of them, she said, she still had homework to do.

But Ms. Gilchrest-Jalajel, who was worried about health care, education and the shrinking middle class, said that she would definitely get out and canvass once she had chosen a candidate. Ms. Abrams' campaign for governor, she said, had converted her from an observer to a participant.

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Two days earlier, Mr. O'Rourke, 46, was driving himself around South Carolina in a minivan, trying to make the case to black voters that he was a white male politician they could trust.

His first stop Friday was in Rock Hill, S.C., where he toured the site of the 1961 sit-in staged by a group of African-American civil rights protesters known as the Friendship Nine.

In the afternoon, he was speaking to a modest-sized crowd at South Carolina State University, a historically black campus in Orangeburg, S.C. Standing outside of the student center, clutching a microphone and with sleeves of his dress shirt rolled up, Mr. O'Rourke railed against an economy "that works too well for too few," and a "prison industrial complex" that disproportionately affects people of color.

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"As a 63-year-old middle class female, I want to make a note to the Democrats," she said. "It is getting to be too much. We are getting too divided. Divided we will fall. Together we will stand."

Later, Mr. O'Rourke spoke of the historic injustices perpetrated against black people, from slavery to racist "redlining" that denied them home loans.

"I'm a white man who's had a privilege in my life; I'm not enduring any one of those things that I've just described," he said. "But I've listened to those who have."

Watching in the back of the crowd were Kadara and Kaywon Nelson, a black couple in their 30s, who had come out to learn more about Mr. O'Rourke. They were anti-Trump, but otherwise undecided. The biggest issue for Ms. Nelson, the campus safety compliance officer, was the cost of health care.

"And student loan debt," said Mr. Nelson, who works for a pharmaceutical company. "I don't care about the wall."

They both said a candidate who could address the country's issues was more important than finding one who represented their race. Mr. Nelson made reference to the political themes of the first Obama candidacy.

"I think we're past that," he said. "The message has got to be a little stronger, because 'hope' hasn't gotten us much."

After the presentation, Dr. Tamara J. Jackson, the vice president of student affairs at South Carolina State, said she liked what she heard — particularly Mr. O'Rourke's emphasis on gay rights and ensuring H.B.C.U. funding.

She was also impressed, she said, with Mr. Booker and Ms. Harris.

"I'd like to see a black female as president," she said, "But I'm not sure America is ready."

She added: "I pray that I'm wrong about that."

PHOTO: Messages tailored to black women, who are the most reliable ***Democratic*** voters in key Southern ***primaries***, will be critical for presidential candidates in 2020. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Audra Melton for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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Load-Date: March 31, 2019

Democrats Court Crucial Demographic in the South: Black Women

The New York Times

March 29, 2019 Friday, Late Edition - Final

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Byline: By RICHARD FAUSSET

Body

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Democrats Court Crucial Demographic in the South: Black Women

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<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/28/us/politics/black-women-voting-south.html>

Graphic

PHOTOS: Messages tailored to black women, who are the most reliable **Democratic** voters in key Southern **primaries**, will be critical for presidential candidates in 2020. (PHOTOGRAPH BY AUDRA MELTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Senator Kamala Harris, above left, campaigned in Atlanta on Sunday, and Beto O'Rourke in South Carolina last weekend, making their case to black voters. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY AUDRA MELTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

LOGAN R. CYRUS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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Warren Proposal Would Erase Student Loan Debt for Many

The New York Times

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Byline: By ASTEAD W. HERNDON; Matt Stevens contributed reporting.

Body

Senator Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts, who has structured her presidential campaign around a steady unveiling of disruptive policy ideas, on Monday proposed her biggest one yet: a \$1.25 trillion plan to reshape higher education by canceling most student loan debt and eliminating tuition at every public college.

Ms. Warren's sweeping plan has several planks. She would pay for it with revenue generated by her proposed increase in taxes for America's most wealthy families and corporations, which the campaign estimates to be \$2.75 trillion over 10 years. In addition to eliminating undergraduate tuition at public colleges and universities, she would expand federal grants to help students with nontuition expenses and create a \$50 billion fund to support historically black colleges and universities.

She would eliminate up to \$50,000 in student loan debt for every person with a household income of less than \$100,000; borrowers who make between \$100,000 and \$250,000 would have a portion of their debt forgiven.

"This touches people's lives," Ms. Warren said in an interview. "This is a chance to talk about what's broken and how we fix it. This is the American dream."

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Ms. Warren has already offered proposals to provide universal child care and expand affordable housing, paid for by her new taxes on the wealthy. She has called for the elimination of the Electoral College, and promised to expand the role of the federal government in reining in unfettered capitalism, with separate proposals on breaking up technological giants such as Amazon and Facebook, new regulations aimed at protecting public lands, and reversing consolidation in the agriculture sector.

The furious pace of the announcements is partly intended to help Ms. Warren stand out in the Democratic field, which features more than a dozen candidates unique in ideology and identity. She is also hoping to create a progressive legacy that goes beyond electoral politics, pushing the Democratic Party to the left during a pivotal moment.

A Warren aide familiar with her higher education proposal, noting that the vast majority of student loan debt is held by the federal government, said the government would simply cancel the eligible debt on its books. Doing so would affect more than 42 million Americans and eliminate all student loan debt for more than 75 percent of borrowers.

For debt held by private companies, the government would "work with the borrower and the owner of the debt" with the goal of elimination, Ms. Warren said in a Medium post.

"The enormous student debt burden weighing down our economy isn't the result of laziness or irresponsibility," Ms. Warren wrote. "It's the result of a government that has consistently put the interests of the wealthy and well-connected over the interests of working families."

Warren Proposal Would Erase Student Loan Debt for Many

As **student loan** debt continues to rise, the issue has forced itself into the **Democratic** presidential **primary**, with several candidates promising to expand access to federal grants or eliminate tuition at public or community colleges. Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont was credited with thrusting the issue of free college onto the national stage during his 2016 presidential run, but Ms. Warren has pushed the idea further, calling for the government to cancel debt in addition to expanding college affordability.

In statements provided by the campaign Monday, scholars and education advocates said Ms. Warren's policy would improve the financial futures of a debt-burdened generation of young people, and help reduce the racial wealth gap between white people and racial minorities, who have been disproportionately burdened by **student loans**.

"Going to **college** shouldn't result in a lifetime sentence of student debt, but that is exactly what is happening and it's only getting worse," said Randi Weingarten, president of the American Federation of Teachers, the powerful union whose endorsement is often essential for Democrats. "Senator Warren's plan would release Americans from their debt sentence so they can live their lives, care for their families and have a fair shot at the American dream."

Ms. Warren's policy would also prohibit colleges from considering citizenship status and criminal history in admission decisions, cut off federal money from for-profit colleges, and require an "annual equity audit" for public colleges that would identify "shortfalls in enrollment and completion rates for lower-income students and students of color."

The idea has been dismissed by some more moderate candidates seeking the Democratic nomination for president, like Senator Amy Klobuchar of Minnesota and Mayor Pete Buttigieg of South Bend, Ind.

"Americans who have a college degree earn more than Americans who don't," Mr. Buttigieg said while addressing college students in Boston. "As a progressive, I have a hard time getting my head around the idea of a majority who earn less because they didn't go to college subsidizing a minority who earn more because they did."

Education experts from conservative and libertarian think tanks seemed to echo that idea in criticizing Ms. Warren's proposal.

Beth Akers, a senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute, said that many on the left seem "insistent on the notion" that people with college degrees need "a bailout."

"It's hard for me to stomach the idea of billing the masses -- about two thirds of whom don't benefit from the earnings power afforded by a college degree -- so that college graduates can enjoy the fruits of their education without the hindrance of having to pay for it," she said Monday.

Neal P. McCluskey, the director of the Center for Educational Freedom at the Cato Institute, agreed, saying that people who go to college often do so at least in part because they hope to increase their earning potential.

"It is unfair that they should not have to repay the taxpayers who had no choice but to give them that money, on the terms the borrowers voluntarily agreed to," he said.

While Ms. Warren's proposals have made her popular among left-leaning intellectuals, it remains to be seen if that will translate into support from the broader Democratic electorate. She languished in early fund-raising after pledging to sustain her presidential run through grass-roots donations instead of the high-dollar fund-raisers that many of her Democratic rivals have enjoyed.

She has sought to break out through a strategy of endurance, traveling to states atypical for campaigning this early in the primary process, including Mississippi, Tennessee, Utah and Colorado, and through her near-constant stream of detailed proposals.

When asked recently if she could keep up the frenzied pace of policy announcements, Ms. Warren laughed.

"I love this," she responded.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/22/us/politics/elizabeth-warren-student-debt.html>

Graphic

Warren Proposal Would Erase Student Loan Debt for Many

PHOTO: In keeping with her focus on policy, Senator Elizabeth Warren's plan would cancel student loan debt and make public colleges free. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JOSE LUIS MAGANA/ASSOCIATED PRESS)

Load-Date: April 23, 2019

End of Document

Morning Edition

The New York Times

April 23, 2019 Tuesday, The New York Times on the Web

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Section: Section ; Column 0; Politics

Length: 483 words

Body

Good Tuesday morning. Here are some of the stories making news in Washington and politics today.

Even as Speaker Nancy Pelosi denounced the president's "unethical and unscrupulous behavior," she urged Democrats not to prioritize impeachment ahead of a series of congressional hearings following up on the special counsel's report.

Senator Elizabeth Warren unveiled another sweeping policy proposal on Monday, a \$1.25 trillion plan to reshape higher education by canceling most student loan debt and eliminating tuition at every public college.

Senator Kamala Harris pledged to use executive orders to enact gun control measures that have long failed in Congress, including mandatory background checks and regulations on manufacturers.

In her bid for president, Senator Amy Klobuchar is making a rather traditional political bet. As her Democratic rivals promise generational change, Ms. Klobuchar's goal is more prosaic: a win.

Five Democrats took questions from college students as part of a five-hour marathon CNN town hall event on Monday night. Here are highlights from Mayor Pete Buttigieg, Senator Bernie Sanders and more.

The Supreme Court will decide whether a federal law that prohibits employment discrimination based on sex also bans discrimination based on sexual orientation or transgender status.

The Trump administration moved to broaden Iran's economic isolation by announcing it would eliminate sanctions waivers that have allowed five large nations to buy Iranian oil.

Social safety net programs like Medicare and Social Security are fraying as baby boomers age, threatening to diminish retirement payments and increase health care costs for older Americans. A political fix seems far away.

President Trump and his businesses sued the chairman of the House Oversight and Government Reform Committee to quash a subpoena seeking his financial records.

Representative Seth Moulton of Massachusetts, known for attempting to deny Ms. Pelosi the House speaker's gavel, is running for president, becoming the 19th candidate to enter the Democratic primary field. Here's more on his campaign and where he stands on the issues.

Seeking to avoid conflict-of-interest concerns, former Vice President Joe Biden plans to shut down his own personal charity after joining the presidential campaign.

Youth-led movements have often helped define political moments, and Democratic 2020 hopefuls have taken note of the potential power of millennial and Generation Z voters. But effectively reaching them is the hard part.

Today's On Politics briefing was compiled by Isabella Grullón Paz in New York.

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<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/23/us/politics/nancy-pelosi-trump-impeachment.html>

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On Politics: Pelosi Cautions on Impeachment

The New York Times

April 23, 2019 Tuesday 02:14 EST

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Section: US; politics

Length: 477 words

Highlight: Speaker Nancy Pelosi said to colleagues that it was clear President Trump had engaged in behavior “which does not bring honor to the office he holds.”

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Can He Win? Answer May Be in 5 Questions

The New York Times

April 26, 2019 Friday, Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2019 The New York Times Company

Section: Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 17

Length: 1416 words

Byline: By JONATHAN MARTIN and ALEXANDER BURNS

Body

WILMINGTON, Del. -- Former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr.'s entry Thursday into the sprawling ***Democratic primary*** has immediately reshaped the race, giving definition to a contest that has been defined mostly by uncertainty. Mr. Biden offers voters a household name, nearly a half-century of political experience and the implied promise of restoring the country to a less polarized, pre-Trump era.

But perhaps more than any other presidential front-runner in modern history, he begins his bid confronting deep skepticism from friend and foe alike that he can capture his party's nomination.

[Sign up for our politics newsletter and join our conversation about the 2020 presidential race.]

Here are five questions looming over Mr. Biden's candidacy, the answers to which could determine whether he becomes America's 46th president or concludes his career by losing his third bid for the White House.

How will he handle the onslaught?

Most casual voters, even in the primary, know Mr. Biden as President Barack Obama's vice president. But he was a senator from Delaware for 36 years before he entered the West Wing, and his record from a decidedly earlier day in Democratic politics is where his rivals for the nomination will focus their fire. He opposed busing to integrate schools, wrote a hard-line criminal justice bill and supported the Iraq War.

Most immediately, Mr. Biden will have to decide how to respond to new critical comments by Anita Hill, the law professor who in 1991 accused Justice Clarence Thomas of sexual harassment. Mr. Biden recently called her, according to an aide, to express regrets that he did not do more for her when he presided over her appearance before the Senate Judiciary Committee.

But she told The New York Times that the call left her deeply unsatisfied, and that she did not consider it an apology. She said she is not convinced that Mr. Biden truly accepts the harm he caused her and other women.

It remains unclear what his broader strategy will be for handling scrutiny from the press and bombardments from his Democratic opponents along with a legion of left-wing critics who want to defeat his candidacy and ward off any return to a more moderate brand of liberalism.

Mr. Biden's supporters hope Mr. Obama offers him something of a halo. Many in Mr. Biden's orbit hope that rather than litigate every criticism about his Senate record, he restrains himself and focuses on his partnership with the country's first black president.

Can he stay above the fray?

The message from Mr. Biden's announcement video was urgent and unmistakable: President Trump's tenure amounts to a national emergency and defeating him is essential to America's survival. Framing the campaign this way does not just make 2020 a

Can He Win? Answer May Be in 5 Questions

referendum on the president, it also offers Mr. Biden a rationale for why Democrats should put forward a septuagenarian in the winter of his political life. This is not, he is arguing, yet another nomination clash in one more presidential campaign.

[Check out our tracker of the 2020 Democratic candidate field.]

But so far, it has sure seemed that way. Even the candidates who believe that Mr. Trump should be impeached are not eager to discuss the president or why he should be removed from office. The race has mostly focused on their policy ideas, biographies and how to accommodate a party drifting left. Before Mr. Biden's announcement, the campaign was animated this week by a debate over whether prisoners should be allowed to vote.

Many Democratic strategists believe that Mr. Biden should resist tangling with his intraparty rivals and avoid the temptation to prove that he is just as progressive as they are. "Don't let the agenda stray from the argument that he can deliver us from Trump," said Paul Begala, the former Bill Clinton adviser.

But when Mr. Biden appears before reporters and voters upon arriving in Iowa next week, that may prove easier said than done. Never known for his discipline, the former vice president is entering a media environment unlike that in his first two presidential campaigns; now his every misstep will immediately pinball across the internet. And he is stepping into a race filled with 19 other candidates who could lift their profiles by baiting the front-runner into a back-and-forth that would quickly erase memories of Mr. Biden's high-minded call to arms.

What's an 'Obama-Biden Democrat'?

Mr. Biden this month played down his party's leftward turn, pointing out the success of moderates in last year's midterm elections and telling reporters he was a proud "Obama-Biden Democrat." But less clear is what exactly that means in 2019.

Mr. Biden has not sketched out any vision on health care, criminal justice, education or the environment. He has said he has the most progressive record of any candidate, but then amended that to indicate he was alluding to his stances on social issues like L.G.B.T. rights.

[Here's a look at what Mr. Biden has said about some key issues.]

Mr. Biden may be too tenuous a front-runner to alienate any of his party's core constituencies, but he could risk just as much by portraying himself as anything besides a mainstream liberal. He faces few more important tasks than finding that balance: reflecting the party for what it is today without attempting a cringe-inducing reinvention of what he likes to call his "brand."

Does he have ideas for the future?

Mr. Biden's announcement video was about one big promise to voters: He would eject Mr. Trump from office and lead a country that they could be proud of. Asked by a reporter outside a pizzeria in Wilmington, Del., on Thursday afternoon about his message for the rest of the world, he said "America is coming back" and said his administration would be "ethical, straight, telling the truth."

But the traditional American values Mr. Biden extolled may only go so far in inspiring voters, both in a **primary** and a general election. Some of his **Democratic** competitors already have well-developed signature proposals that have helped to define their candidacies, like Senator Bernie Sanders's Medicare for All Act, Senator Elizabeth Warren's plan to forgive **student loans** and Senator Cory Booker's "baby bonds" program. Mr. Biden has nothing comparable, at least so far.

Mr. Biden may start to fill in this blank space on Monday, when he is to visit a Pittsburgh union hall and speak about the middle class and the economy. But it is unclear whether he will be inclined to develop sweeping policy plans, or whether he will stay close to his roots as a moderate who favors political compromise and incremental change.

The risk to Mr. Biden, if he takes too long to define his vision for the future, is that he might come to be seen mainly as a figure of nostalgia -- a candidate of the past.

Can he raise money, without being defined by it?

Can He Win? Answer May Be in 5 Questions

So far, the most important fund-raising in the Democratic race has happened online. And several of the most prominent candidates, including Mr. Sanders and Ms. Warren, are fueling their campaigns almost exclusively that way.

Mr. Biden's approach will be different, and far more reliant on the largess of the wealthiest benefactors of the Democratic Party. His aides have already spent more than a week encouraging donors to send \$2,800 checks -- the maximum sum allowed -- to his primary-campaign-in-waiting, and a Comcast executive who oversees the company's lobbying division was hosting a major fund-raiser for Mr. Biden in Philadelphia on Thursday night.

The financial challenges for Mr. Biden are twofold. He must raise an immense amount of money rapidly, without the benefit of a robust online fund-raising machine of the kind some of his rivals possess. And Mr. Biden must raise that amount without stoking suspicions among ***Democratic primary*** voters that he is compromised by his dependency on big money.

[Mr. Biden started his campaign with \$0, when other candidates had already collected millions.]

The latter danger -- that "Middle-Class Joe," as he styles himself, could come to be seen as a candidate of rich people and corporations -- may be especially vexing to Mr. Biden because his record on banking and corporate regulation has already drawn sharp criticism from the left. Yet, without having spent years cultivating an online donor base, and lacking the novelty factor that has helped other candidates soak the internet, Mr. Biden appears to see little alternative to seeking out the biggest checks possible.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/25/us/politics/joe-biden-president-2020.html>

Graphic

PHOTO: Joseph R. Biden Jr. is perhaps best known as Barack Obama's vice president, but he served in the U.S. Senate for 36 years. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CHIP SOMODEVILLA/GETTY IMAGES)

Load-Date: April 27, 2019

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Student Debt Facts: The Average College Senior Owes \$29,000

The New York Times

May 20, 2019 Monday 23:51 EST

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Section: US

Length: 775 words

Byline: Dana Goldstein

Highlight: Tens of millions of Americans are in student debt. Here's what you need to know.

Body

On Sunday, Robert F. Smith, a billionaire investor, shocked and delighted the 396 graduates of Morehouse *College* when he pledged to repay their *student loans*. The gift, which was praised for its potential to transform the life of each recipient, is also focusing attention on a systemic problem that one donor's generosity cannot solve: the large student debt burdens shouldered by tens of millions of Americans.

Here are some answers to your questions about student debt, and a look at how the issue is increasingly a topic of debate in national politics.

How many *college students* hold *student loan* debt? And how much debt do they have?

About two-thirds of seniors at four-year *colleges* hold *student loan* debt — an average of \$28,650 per person in 2017, according to an analysis of federal data from the Institute for College Access and Success, a nonprofit that advocates affordable higher education.

How have those numbers changed over time?

Student debt has risen significantly. The average debt burden for a senior at a four-year college was \$12,750 in 1996, adjusted for inflation. At that time, only 58 percent of graduates held student debt.

Where does the money come from?

The vast majority of the loans come from the federal government. Private loans, which account for 14 percent of the market, are riskier and more expensive for borrowers.

What are the interest rates for federal *student loans*?

Currently, between 5 and 7.6 percent.

Are there racial disparities in student debt loads?

Yes, and that makes the Morehouse gift especially significant. Recent black graduates of four-year colleges owe, on average, \$7,400 more than their white peers, according to research from the Brookings Institution. Four years after graduation, they still owe an average of \$53,000, almost twice as much as whites.

Students at historically black *colleges*, like Morehouse, are also more likely to take out *loans* than other *students*, in part because black parents have less wealth to help pay for their children's educations.

Student Debt Facts: The Average College Senior Owes \$29,000

Which students are most likely to default?

Not the Morehouse graduates. Some of the biggest default risk is on those who attend certificate programs at for-profit colleges — like in cosmetology or health — and to those who drop out of such programs.

About half of undergraduates who entered for-profit colleges during 2003-2004 defaulted 12 years later, compared with 12 percent at public colleges and 14 percent at private, nonprofit colleges.

In that same group of students, regardless of the type of college they attended, 11 percent of those who completed their certificate or degree defaulted, compared with 23 percent of those who dropped out.

Does bankruptcy discharge student loan debt?

Not always. The borrower must file a separate motion in court called an “adversary proceeding” and demonstrate that repaying the loan would cause “undue hardship.” The court makes the final determination.

What are Democratic presidential candidates saying about student debt?

Have you heard of Wayne Messam? He’s the mayor of Miramar, Fla., and he entered the **Democratic** presidential **primary** in March with a promise to wipe out every cent of the more than \$1 trillion of student debt in the nation — whether the borrower is a wealthy surgeon or a working-class nursing assistant.

Among the better-known candidates, Elizabeth Warren has the furthest-reaching plan. It offers up to \$50,000 of debt relief to those earning under \$100,000, and would repay a percentage of that, on a sliding scale, for those earning between \$100,000 and \$250,000. The plan would also increase federal funding for historically black colleges. Ms. Warren would finance her plan with higher taxes on corporations and the wealthy.

A major criticism of such a plan is that it would benefit the wealthy along with the middle class and the poor. During a CNN town hall last month, Senator Amy Klobuchar of Minnesota, who is also running for president, argued that the Warren approach was unrealistic. Her plan would allow students to refinance their loans at lower interest rates.

What is President Trump’s record on student debt?

The Trump administration has rolled back Obama-era regulations that were meant to protect student borrowers, particularly those who attended for-profit colleges. Last year, President Trump proposed a budget that would have eliminated a student loan forgiveness program for those in public service careers, but Congress did not pass the measure.

PHOTO: The campus of the University of Washington in Seattle. About two-thirds of seniors at four-year colleges hold student loan debt. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Kyle Johnson for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Load-Date: May 22, 2019

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Student Debt: Who Owes, and How Much?

The New York Times

May 21, 2019 Tuesday, Late Edition - Final

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Section: Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 17

Length: 749 words

Byline: By DANA GOLDSTEIN

Body

On Sunday, Robert F. Smith, a billionaire investor, shocked and delighted the 396 graduates of Morehouse *College* when he pledged to repay their *student loans*. The gift, which was praised for its potential to transform the life of each recipient, is also focusing attention on a systemic problem that one donor's generosity cannot solve: the large student debt burdens shouldered by tens of millions of Americans.

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<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/20/us/student-debt-america.html>

Graphic

PHOTO: Graduating seniors at Morehouse College after the billionaire Robert F. Smith vowed to eliminate student debt for this year's class. (PHOTOGRAPH BY STEVE SCHAEFER/ATLANTA JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS)

Load-Date: May 21, 2019

Warren on the Trail: Crunching Numbers

The New York Times

June 2, 2019 Sunday, Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2019 The New York Times Company

Section: Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 23

Length: 1390 words

Byline: By LINDA QIU

Body

Senator Elizabeth Warren has climbed in recent polls as she churns out a stream of ambitious policy proposals and renews calls for President Trump's impeachment.

In public remarks, Ms. Warren weaves personal anecdotes with explanations of her many plans, interspersing statistics and critiques of wealth inequality and corruption in Washington. Her focus on her own past and broad outlines for the future have helped her avoid making factual inaccuracies, though she has, on occasion, slightly overstated both.

Her proposed wealth tax

What Ms. Warren Said

"If we put that 2-cent wealth tax in place on the 75,000 largest fortunes in this country, 2 cents, we can do universal child care for every baby 0 to 5, universal pre-K, universal college and knock back the student loan debt burden for 95 percent of our students and still have nearly a trillion dollars left over."-- CNN town-hall-style meeting in April

Maybe.

Ms. Warren's plan imposes a 2 percent annual tax on fortunes over \$50 million, with an additional surcharge of 1 percent on wealth over \$1 billion. This would generate about \$2.75 trillion over 10 years, estimated Emmanuel Saez and Gabriel Zucman, two respected economists at the University of California, Berkeley.

Analysts asked by Ms. Warren to evaluate her proposals estimated that universal child care would cost \$707 billion over a decade and student debt forgiveness \$640 billion. A campaign spokesman said her college plan also included \$100 billion in additional Pell grants, \$50 billion for historically black colleges and universities and \$470 billion over 10 years for the federal government to pay two-thirds of the cost of free college tuition. That's a total cost of just under \$2 trillion, with \$783 billion left unspent.

But any number of factors could throw Ms. Warren's plan off course and into the red.

"The challenge is twofold: Measuring behavioral responses to the tax and accurately calculating the value of privately held businesses that account for much of the wealth of the very rich," said Howard Gleckman, a senior fellow at the Tax Policy Center.

For example, multimillionaires and billionaires could conceivably give away some of their wealth before the tax lands on them, said Marc Goldwein, the senior policy director for the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget.

A separate analysis of Ms. Warren's wealth tax found that it would generate just 40 percent of the revenue estimated by Mr. Saez and Mr. Zucman. The analysis, by Lawrence H. Summers, a Treasury secretary under President Bill Clinton, and Natasha Sarin, a law and finance professor at the University of Pennsylvania, contends that the two Berkeley economists underestimated the ways rich people could seek to minimize or avoid paying the tax.

Warren on the Trail: Crunching Numbers

Mr. Gleckman said that the Tax Policy Center had not yet completed its own analysis of Ms. Warren's tax, but that he believed the estimate by Mr. Summers and Ms. Sarin was "closer to the mark" than the \$2.75 trillion figure.

Mr. Goldwein agreed that Ms. Warren's plan could potentially fall short of expected revenue targets, but praised her campaign for providing details on funding sources and noted that the tax could always be adjusted to make up for any deficits.

The other side of the ledger could be off as well. For example, the \$707 billion figure for universal child care factors in economic growth generated by the plan, but under "static" scoring -- without assuming any changes in growth -- the cost is closer to \$1.1 trillion. Similarly, the \$470 billion estimate for free college tuition assumes that states would be willing to contribute the remaining one-third that the federal government does not fund.

What Ms. Warren Said

"My 2-cent wealth tax on the top one-tenth of 1 percent of the fortunes in this country, if we use just a piece of that money to forgive student loan debt for about 95 percent of those who have student loan debt, that has huge support among Democrats, independents and Republicans."-- Fairfax, Va., in May

True.

Several polls have found that Ms. Warren's wealth tax plan has broad support, though "huge" is a slight overstatement.

Of the respondents, 61 percent supported the proposal in a January survey commissioned by Data for Progress, a left-leaning think tank. More Republicans supported the wealth tax than opposed it, 44 percent to 37 percent, while 61 percent of independents and 76 percent of Democrats also endorsed it.

In a Morning Consult/Politico poll in February, 61 percent of all respondents were in favor of the wealth tax, including 74 percent of Democrats and 50 percent of Republicans.

Polling that month from Survey Monkey for The New York Times produced similar results: 61 percent approval among all respondents, 75 percent among Democrats, 57 percent among independents and 51 percent among Republicans.

An April poll from Quinnipiac University found similar or higher levels of support among all respondents (60 percent), Democrats (82 percent) and independents (63 percent) but notably lower approval from Republicans (32 percent in support and 60 percent in opposition).

Past stance on pot

What Ms. Warren Said

"So, actually, I supported Massachusetts changing its laws on marijuana. Massachusetts had decriminalized at that point and I thought it made a lot more sense for Massachusetts to go ahead and legalize marijuana, and I now support the legalization of marijuana."-- CNN town-hall-style meeting in April

This is exaggerated.

When a student asked about her evolving position on marijuana legalization, Ms. Warren overstated her past support.

Massachusetts decriminalized possession of small amounts of marijuana in 2008. But Ms. Warren, who first ran for the Senate in 2012, vacillated on a ballot initiative to legalize medical marijuana and opposed legalization in general.

"No, I don't think it should be legalized," she said in a Senate Democratic primary debate in October 2011. "Medical marijuana is one thing, but not generally, no."

In April 2012, Ms. Warren then declined to take a position on the ballot initiative, before supporting legalized medical use in a radio interview that September. The measure ultimately passed.

Warren on the Trail: Crunching Numbers

A few years later, Massachusetts considered another ballot initiative to approve recreational use. Asked in 2015 about her previous opposition to legalization, Ms. Warren did not deny the premise of the question and said she was "open" to it after learning from other states that had done so. A year later, she repeated that stance, saying she was receptive, but deflected when asked whether she would vote yes on the initiative.

Activists told Marijuana Moment, a website that reports on cannabis-related news, that Ms. Warren never formally endorsed that initiative. But they said that they appreciated her evolution on the issue and leadership on the topic in Congress.

The declining value of the minimum wage

What Ms. Warren Said

"When I was a girl, a full-time minimum-wage job in America would support a family of three. It would put food on the table, pay the utilities and cover a mortgage. Today a full-time minimum-wage job in America will not keep a mama and a baby out of poverty."-- Fairfax, Va., in May

True.

Ms. Warren often cites this statistic after recounting a story about her mother, who at 50 years old got a minimum-wage job at Sears after her father had a heart attack.

That year was most likely 1961 or 1962 -- Ms. Warren's mother was born in 1912 -- when the minimum wage was \$1.15 (about \$9.80 today) for an annual paycheck of \$2,392, assuming a 40-hour workweek. That would have been just above the official poverty line for a female-led, three-person household in 1961 or 1962 (\$2,164 and \$2,167).

In the early 1960s, median mortgage payments ranged from \$98 to \$106 per month on average, while food costs for minimum-wage workers ranged from \$600 to \$800 per year and utilities another \$120 to \$170, according to data compiled by the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Bureau of Labor Statistics. That's a total annual cost of just under \$1,900 to about \$2,200.

Today, a federal minimum wage of \$7.25 equates to annual earnings of about \$15,080, assuming a 40-hour workweek. That's well below the federal poverty line for a three-person household of \$20,212.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/01/us/politics/fact-check-elizabeth-warren-campaign.html>

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Warren's Plans Recast Meaning Of Free Market

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Body

WASHINGTON -- As the 23 candidates seeking the Democratic nomination struggle to distinguish themselves, Senator Elizabeth Warren has set herself apart with a series of sweeping proposals that would significantly remake the American economy, covering everything from tax policy to student debt relief and offering a detailed portrait of what her presidency might look like.

Many of the proposals from Ms. Warren, a former Harvard law professor and hawk on financial regulation, could face a difficult path to winning over moderates in a general election, and to gaining approval in Congress if she did take the White House. But the sheer volume of her plans, and their detail and variety, is forcing her rivals to play catch-up and stake out their own positions.

Her proposals would tip power from executives and investors to workers and allow the federal government to more aggressively steer the development of industries. She has called for splintering technology companies, like Amazon, that millions of consumers rely on in their daily lives. She would reduce the rewards for entrepreneurs to build billionaire fortunes and for companies to create global supply chains, scrambling the incentives for work, investment and economic growth.

Ms. Warren would seek big tax increases on the wealthiest individuals and corporations, creating a new tax on household assets that exceed \$50 million as well as a new tax on corporate profits. From those two steps alone, she says she would raise at least \$3.8 trillion over a decade -- money that would go toward her plans on student debt cancellation, free college, child care, the opioid crisis and green manufacturing.

[Read more: Ms. Warren is picking up support in Iowa, according to a new poll.]

A review of the policy rollouts the 2020 Democrats have made since entering the race shows that Ms. Warren has issued the largest number of detailed plans among the major candidates -- roughly 20 in all, on subjects as varied as Big Tech regulation, housing costs and Pentagon contracting. Most of her rivals have released fewer than half a dozen; former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr., who leads in early polling, has issued only two.

But Ms. Warren has already drawn criticism from centrists and conservatives who say her plans -- many calling for new regulations -- would hurt business and the economy, stifle innovation and potentially harm the very workers they were intended to help. "Were they to get done, they would cause significant problems," said Tony Fratto, a former Treasury official in the George W. Bush administration who is a partner at Hamilton Place Strategies in Washington.

By pushing out so many proposals so early, Ms. Warren has framed much of the debate in the ***Democratic primary*** race, aiding her own rise in the polls.

"It's rare, at this stage of a presidential campaign, somebody distinguishes themselves by the boldness and detail of their policies," said Robert B. Reich, who served as labor secretary under President Bill Clinton. "She is asking the biggest questions that exist, and that is: How do you make a free market work? How do you make capitalism actually work for the many rather than the few?"

Warren's Plans Recast Meaning Of Free Market

Ms. Warren is hoping that her ambitious agenda will win over ***Democratic primary*** voters, and that her emphasis on protecting American workers will have crossover appeal in a general election. But President Trump and his Republican allies would almost certainly use her proposals to portray her as too extreme.

Like other Democrats running for president, she would need her party to not only keep the House next year but also take control of the Senate, a difficult feat, to have any chance of pushing the bulk of her agenda through Congress. Even then, her transformative policies would surely face fierce resistance. In the House, she would face overwhelming opposition from Republican lawmakers as well as misgivings from the sort of centrist Democrats who helped deliver the majority last year. And Senate Republicans would be positioned to block many of her proposals using the filibuster, a tactic that Ms. Warren has said should end but that still enjoys bipartisan support.

Some of the policy ideas Ms. Warren has promoted in recent months have been hallmarks of her political career. A bankruptcy expert who helped create the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, she has long pushed Democrats to embrace more structural changes to the economy, even at the risk of putting off wealthy donors.

But Ms. Warren's advisers have also seen the policy rollouts as an opportunity to put pressure on other campaigns and steer the party's center of gravity leftward. They were keen to announce her student debt cancellation proposal before any other rival's, partly to claim that turf as their own.

They have also carefully structured the order of her policy announcements, beginning with the "Ultramillionaire Tax" that provided a built-in answer to the question, "How will you pay for it?"

Now, other Democratic campaigns are being measured against Ms. Warren's policy benchmarks. In a night of back-to-back CNN town-hall events in April, every candidate faced a question that related to a proposal from Ms. Warren.

[Make sense of the people, issues and ideas shaping American politics with our newsletter.]

Ms. Warren's agenda includes a plan to cancel up to \$50,000 in ***student loan*** debt, depending on a borrower's income, and to eliminate tuition at public colleges. She has proposed a universal child care system that would be free for low-income families and limit other families' costs to 7 percent of their income. And last week, she offered a broad economic program to promote American exports and spur job creation.

As part of that program, Ms. Warren called for a \$2 trillion federal investment in climate-friendly industries and suggested other steps like more actively managing the value of the dollar.

Her ideas resonate with a growing group of liberal economists who see evidence that free markets need more forceful government intervention in order to function properly and not just deliver spoils to the very wealthy.

Fans of Ms. Warren's proposals say they would help the economy by attacking income inequality: New taxes on the rich would fund investments in workers and encourage companies to spend more on wages and strategic investments than on executive pay.

They say that her aggressive use of antitrust regulation would unleash more competition and dynamism in an economy increasingly dominated by incumbent businesses, that her industrial policies would help the United States capture global market share in emerging industries like clean energy and that her spending on child care would encourage more Americans, particularly women, to work.

"You're going to change norms, you're going to change the way people act and the things they do with that money," said Heather Boushey, the executive director at the Washington Center for Equitable Growth and a former top adviser to Hillary Clinton's 2016 presidential campaign. "I can only imagine the kind of innovation and productivity it would unleash in our economy."

Critics say Ms. Warren -- with her proposals for new business regulation and focus on encouraging companies to locate production in the United States, rather than seeking the lowest-cost and most efficient production hubs around the world -- will hinder American companies as they attempt to sell into India, China and other developing nations.

"To me that is the biggest risk in this, that you hobble American corporations so they cannot be globally competitive," Mr. Fratto said. "We want these companies to compete globally. Because sooner or later, they have to."

Warren's Plans Recast Meaning Of Free Market

Ms. Warren would also risk hurting consumers by breaking up technology companies, particularly Amazon, said Natasha Sarin, a University of Pennsylvania economist who favors many of Ms. Warren's goals but has written skeptically about her proposed wealth tax. She said taxing wealth could discourage innovation and risk-taking by entrepreneurs who invest time in their ideas hoping for a large payoff down the road.

"It's a really important shift in how tax policy works in the U.S." she said, "and it's not obvious to me that it's a shift for the better."

Ms. Warren would impose a 2 percent annual tax on a household's assets, including stocks and real estate, that exceed \$50 million. She would add another 1 percent tax on assets above \$1 billion. Some other advanced countries, like Spain, impose similar taxes. But the United States never has, and some experts question whether Ms. Warren's plan is constitutional. Some economists, including Ms. Sarin, say the tax would struggle to raise the revenues Ms. Warren forecasts, because it is relatively easy for the ultrawealthy to hide or shield assets from taxing authorities.

Ms. Warren's campaign has amplified the impact of her policy rollouts by timing many of them to campaign trips. She unveiled her broad economic program and her green manufacturing plan ahead of a visit to Michigan and Indiana. She issued a proposal on public lands before visiting Colorado and Utah. Her opioid plan came before a visit to West Virginia and Ohio.

Policy makes up a large part of Ms. Warren's pitch to voters on the campaign trail, where, from school gyms to house parties, she guides audiences through one proposal after another. She explains her wealth tax by likening it to the property tax paid by homeowners, only broadened to include the "diamonds, the stock portfolio, the Rembrandts and the yachts" of the super-rich.

"Right now in America, there is a real hunger," Ms. Warren said at a Democratic Party event in Iowa on Sunday. "There are people who are ready for big, structural change in this country. They're ready for change, and I got a plan for that."

"I got a plan" has become a personal trademark for Ms. Warren, drawing cheers from crowds and inspiring T-shirts and tote bags. And her policy announcements serve as fund-raising opportunities, too, helping to drive news coverage and give her supporters more reasons to donate.

Though Ms. Warren has far outpaced her major rivals in issuing detailed policy plans, some are working to make up ground.

In just one day last week, Senator Cory Booker of New Jersey offered a housing plan that would provide a tax credit to renters, former Representative Beto O'Rourke of Texas introduced a voting rights plan and Senator Kirsten Gillibrand of New York issued a plan to legalize marijuana.

Mr. Biden -- who entered the race in late April, four months after Ms. Warren -- introduced a climate plan last week and an education plan the week before. Senator Kamala Harris of California has put forth plans on teacher pay, gun control, equal pay and abortion. Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont has issued plans about education, rural America and banking.

Mr. Sanders, like other senators in the presidential race, is also drawing on legislation he has proposed in Congress, most notably his "Medicare for all" bill, the latest version of which he introduced in April. Ms. Harris has a bill to create a big tax credit for low- and middle-income Americans. Ms. Warren likes to talk about the anticorruption package that she proposed last year.

[Keep tabs on all 23 Democrats running for president with our candidate tracker.]

Mayor Pete Buttigieg of South Bend, Ind., has not released any detailed policy plans, though he has talked about overhauling the Supreme Court and plans to deliver a speech on foreign policy on Tuesday.

For sheer variety, no candidate can match Andrew Yang, a businessman and political newcomer. His website lays out his ideas on roughly 100 topics, including widely shared goals like fighting climate change as well as less common ones like abolishing the penny and supporting the unionization of mixed martial arts fighters. Most of his proposals, though, are described only briefly.

One subject Ms. Warren has not broadly addressed in her policy plans is health care, which is a top concern of voters. Ms. Warren supports a Medicare for all system in which the government would provide health insurance to everyone, but she has been less specific on the role she foresees for private insurers.

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And Ms. Warren and most of the other Democratic candidates have yet to issue detailed plans on immigration -- a central issue for Mr. Trump.

Jared Bernstein, a former White House economic adviser to President Barack Obama and top economist for Mr. Biden when he was vice president, said he applauded Ms. Warren's ideas but wondered whether the federal government -- particularly after several years of management by Mr. Trump -- was up to the task of implementing them.

"It's probably important to be appropriately humble about our ability to see the implications of big interventions," he said. "But I love the aspirations. I love thinking big."

Isabella Grullón Paz and Astead W. Herndon contributed reporting from New York.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/10/us/politics/elizabeth-warren-2020-policies-platform.html>

Graphic

PHOTOS: People want change, Senator Elizabeth Warren said in Iowa last month. "I got a plan for that." (PHOTOGRAPH BY TAMIR KALIFA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A1)

Senator Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts has released plans to address issues like student debt cancellation, free college, child care and the opioid crisis. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CRAIG HUDSON/CHARLESTON GAZETTE-MAIL, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS)

Ms. Warren, with Carl Fisher, a conservation activist, in Utah, where she wants to restore broader public lands protections. (PHOTOGRAPH BY RICK BOWMER/ASSOCIATED PRESS) (A15)

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Elizabeth Warren Is Completely Serious

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Body

The first time I met Elizabeth Warren, she had just come home from a walk with her husband and her dog at Fresh Pond, the reservoir near her house in Cambridge, Mass. It was a sunny day in February, a couple of weeks after Warren announced her candidacy for president, and she was wearing a navy North Face jacket and black sneakers with, as usual, rimless glasses and small gold earrings. Her hair had drifted a bit out of place.

The dog, Bailey, is a golden retriever who had already been deployed by her presidential campaign in a tweet a week earlier, a pink-tongued snapshot with the caption “Bailey will be your Valentine.” Warren started toweling off his paws and fur, which were coated in mud and ice from the reservoir, when she seemed to realize that it made more sense to hand this task over to her husband, Bruce Mann.

In the kitchen, Warren opened a cupboard to reveal an array of boxes and canisters of tea. She drinks many cups a day (her favorite morning blend is English breakfast). Pouring us each a mug, she said, “This is a fantasy.” She was talking about the enormous platform she has, now that she’s running for president, to propagate policy proposals that she has been thinking about for decades. “It’s this moment of being able to talk about these ideas, and everybody says, ‘Oh, wait, I better pay attention to this.’” She went on: “It’s not about me; it’s about those ideas. We’ve moved the Overton window” — the range of ideas deemed to merit serious consideration — “on how we think about taxes. And I think, I think we’re about to move it on child care.”

Her plan, announced in January, would raise \$2.75 trillion in revenue over 10 years through a 2 percent tax on assets over \$50 million and a higher rate for billionaires. Warren wants to use some of that money to pay for universal child care on a sliding scale. As she talked, she shifted around in her chair — her hands, her arms, her whole body leaning forward and moving back. Onstage, including at TV town halls, she prefers to stand and pace rather than sit (she tries to record six miles a day on her Fitbit), and sometimes she comes across as a little frenetic, like a darting bird. One on one, though, she seemed relaxed, intent.

Warren moved to Cambridge in 1995 when she took a tenured job at Harvard Law School, and 11 years later, Mann, who is a legal historian, got a job there, too. By then they had bought their house; Warren’s two children from a previous marriage, her daughter, Amelia, and son, Alexander, were already grown. The first floor is impeccable, with a formal living room — elegant decorative boxes arranged on a handsome coffee table — a cozy sunroom and a gleaming kitchen with green tile countertops. When Warren taught classes at Harvard, she would invite her students over for barbecue and peach cobbler during the semester. Some of them marveled at the polish and order, which tends not to be the norm in faculty homes. Warren says she scoops up dog toys before people come over.

For her entire career, Warren’s singular focus has been the growing fragility of America’s middle class. She made the unusual choice as a law professor to concentrate relentlessly on data, and the data that alarms her shows corporate profits creeping up over the last 40 years while employees’ share of the pie shrinks. This shift occurred, Warren argues, because in the 1980s, politicians began reworking the rules for the market to the specifications of corporations that effectively owned the politicians. In Warren’s view of

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history, “The constant tension in a democracy is that those with money will try to capture the government to turn it to their own purposes.” Over the last four decades, people with money have been winning, in a million ways, many cleverly hidden from view. That’s why economists have estimated that the wealthiest top 0.1 percent of Americans now own nearly as much as the bottom 90 percent.

As a presidential candidate, Warren has rolled out proposal after proposal to rewrite the rules again, this time on behalf of a majority of American families. On the trail, she says “I have a plan for that” so often that it has turned into a T-shirt slogan. Warren has plans (about 20 so far, detailed and multipart) for making housing and child care affordable, forgiving college-loan debt, tackling the opioid crisis, protecting public lands, manufacturing green products, cracking down on lobbying in Washington and giving workers a voice in selecting corporate board members. Her grand overarching ambition is to end America’s second Gilded Age.

[Elizabeth Warren had big ambitions as a girl growing up in Oklahoma. It wasn’t easy.]

“Ask me who my favorite president is,” Warren said. When I paused, she said, “Teddy Roosevelt.” Warren admires Roosevelt for his efforts to break up the giant corporations of his day — Standard Oil and railroad holding companies — in the name of increasing competition. She thinks that today that model would increase hiring and productivity. Warren, who has called herself “a capitalist to my bones,” appreciated Roosevelt’s argument that trustbusting was helpful, not hostile, to the functioning of the market and the government. She brought up his warning that monopolies can use their wealth and power to strangle democracy. “If you go back and read his stuff, it’s not only about the economic dominance; it’s the political influence,” she said.

What’s crucial, Roosevelt believed, is to make the market serve “the public good.” Warren puts it like this: “It’s structural change that interests me. And when I say structural, the point is to say if you get the structures right, then the markets start to work to produce value across the board, not just sucking it all up to the top.”

But will people respond? Warren has been a politician for only seven years, since she announced her run for the Senate in 2011 at age 62. She’s still thinking through how she communicates her ideas with voters. “The only thing that worries me is I won’t describe it in a way that — ” she trailed off. “It’s like teaching class. ‘Is everybody in here getting this?’ And that’s what I just struggle with all the time. How do I get better at this? How do I do more of this in a way that lets people see it, hear it and say, ‘Oh, yeah.’”

In the months after Donald Trump’s stunning victory in 2016, Warren staked out territory as a fierce opponent of the president’s who saw larger forces at play in her party’s defeat. While many Democratic leaders focused on Trump himself as the problem, Warren gave a series of look-in-the-mirror speeches. In the first, to the executive council of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. on Nov. 10, she said that although there could be “no compromise” on standing up to Trump’s bigotry, millions of Americans had voted for him “despite the hate” — out of their deep frustration with “an economy and a government that doesn’t work for them.” Later that month, she gave a second speech behind closed doors to a group that included wealthy liberal donors and went hard at her fellow Democrats for bailing out banks rather than homeowners after the 2008 financial crisis. In another speech, in February 2017, to her ideological allies in the Congressional Progressive Caucus, Warren said: “No matter how extreme Republicans in Washington became, Democrats might grumble or whine, but when it came time for action, our party hesitated and pushed back only with great reluctance. Far too often, Democrats have been unwilling to get out there and fight.”

Warren fought in those early months by showing up at the Women’s March and at Logan Airport in Boston to protest Trump’s travel ban. On the Senate floor, opposing the nomination of Jeff Sessions to be Trump’s first attorney general, she read a letter by Coretta Scott King criticizing Sessions for his record of suppressing the black vote in Alabama, and Republican leaders rebuked her and ordered her to stop. The moment became a symbol of the resistance, with the feminist meme “Nevertheless, She Persisted,” a quote from the majority leader, Mitch McConnell, defending the move to silence her. Warren helped take down Trump’s first choice for labor secretary, the fast-food magnate Andy Puzder (he called his own employees the “bottom of the pool”), and she called for an investigation of the Trump administration’s botched recovery efforts in Puerto Rico after Hurricane Maria.

But somewhere along the way to announcing her candidacy, Warren’s influence faded. She was no longer the kingmaker or queenmaker whose endorsement Hillary Clinton and Bernie Sanders avidly sought during their 2016 primary battle. When Warren failed to endorse Sanders, the left saw her decision as an act of betrayal, accusing her of propping up the Democratic establishment instead of trying to take it down. (When I asked Warren if she had regrets, she said she wasn’t going to revisit 2016.) Sanders emerged as the standard-bearer of the emboldened progressive movement.

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Trump, meanwhile, was going after Warren by using the slur “Pocahontas” to deride her self-identification in the 1980s and ’90s as part Native American. In the summer of 2018, he said that if she agreed to take a DNA test in the middle of a televised debate, he would donate \$1 million to her favorite charity. Warren shot back on Twitter by condemning Trump’s practice of separating immigrant children from their parents at the border (“While you obsess over my genes, your Admin is conducting DNA tests on little kids because you ripped them from their mamas”). But a few months later, she released a video saying she had done the DNA analysis, and it showed that she had distant Native American ancestry. The announcement backfired, prompting gleeful mockery from Trump (“I have more Indian blood than she has!”) and sharp criticism from the Cherokee Nation, who faulted her for confusing the issue of tribal membership with blood lines. Warren apologized, but she seemed weaker for having taken Trump’s bait.

Sanders is still the Democratic candidate with a guru's following and a magic touch for small-donor fund-raising, the one who can inspire some 4,500 house parties in a single weekend. And he has used his big policy idea, Medicare for All, to great effect, setting the terms of debate on the future of health care in his party.

With four more years of Trump on the line, though, it's Joe Biden — the party's most known quantity — who is far out in front in the polls. Challenging Biden from the left, Warren and Sanders are not calling wealthy donors or participating in big-money fundraisers. Sanders has been leading Warren in the polls, but his support remains flat, while her numbers have been rising, even besting his in a few polls in mid-June. Warren and Sanders are old friends, which makes it awkward when her gain is assumed to be his loss. Early in June, an unnamed Sanders adviser ridiculed Warren's electability by calling her DNA announcement a "debacle" that "killed her," according to U.S. News & World Report. A couple of weeks before the first ***Democratic primary*** debates, on June 26 and 27, I asked her what it was like to run against a friend. "You know, I don't think of this as competing," she responded. It was the least plausible thing she said to me.

In March, Warren demonstrated her appetite for challenging the economic and political dominance of corporate titans by going directly at America's biggest tech companies. In a speech in Long Island City, Queens — where local protesters demanded that Amazon drop its plan to build a big new campus — Warren connected the companies' success at smothering start-up rivals to their influence in Washington. She remarked dryly that the large amounts that businesses like Facebook, Google, Amazon and Apple spend on lobbying is a "good return on investment if they can keep Washington from enforcing the antitrust laws." She wants to use those laws to break up the companies instead — a move that no other major American politician had proposed.

After Warren started talking about the four tech giants, along with other critics, the Trump administration let it be known that it was scrutinizing them for potential antitrust violations. Conservatives have suspected social media platforms of bias against them for years, and with concerns about privacy violations escalating, big tech was suddenly a bipartisan target. Warren has specifics about how to reduce their influence; she wants to undo the mergers that allowed Facebook, for example, to snap up WhatsApp, rather than compete with it for users. Warren could unleash the power to bring major antitrust prosecutions without Congress — an answer to gridlock in Washington that's crucially woven into some of her other plans too. (Warren also favors ending the filibuster in the Senate.) Warren wants to prevent companies that offer an online marketplace and have annual revenue of \$25 billion or more from owning other companies that sell products on that platform. In other words, Amazon could no longer sell shoes and diapers and promote them over everyone else's shoes and diapers — giving a small business a fair chance to break in.

"There's a concerted effort to equate Warren with Bernie, to make her seem more radical," says Luigi Zingales, a University of Chicago economist and co-host of the podcast Capitalismt. But Wall Street and its allies "are more afraid of her than Bernie," Zingales continued, "because when she says she'll change the rules, she's the one who knows how to do it."

Warren's theory of American capitalism rests on two turning points in the 20th century. The first came in the wake of the Great Depression, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt seized the chance to protect workers and consumers from future economic collapse. While the New Deal is mostly remembered for creating much of the nation's social safety net, Warren also emphasizes the significance of the legislation (like the Glass-Steagall Act) that Democrats passed to rein in bankers and lenders and the agencies (the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation) that they put in place to enforce those limits. Warren credits this new regulatory regime, along with labor unions, with producing a golden era for many workers over the next four and a half decades. Income rose along with union membership, and 70 percent of the increase went to the bottom 90 percent. That shared prosperity built, in Warren's telling, "the greatest middle class the world had ever known."

Then came Warren's second turning point: President Ronald Reagan's assault on government. Warren argues that Reagan's skill in the 1980s at selling the country on deregulation allowed the safeguards erected in the 1930s to erode. Republicans seized on the

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opening Reagan created, and Democrats at times aided them. (Bill Clinton signed the repeal of Glass-Steagall in 1999.) That's how the country arrived at its current stark level of inequality. "The system is as rigged as we think," Warren wrote in her 2017 book "This Fight Is Our Fight" — in a riposte to Barack Obama, who insisted it was not, even as he recognized the influence of money in politics. This, Warren believes, is what Trump, who also blasted a rigged system, got right and what the Democratic establishment — Obama, both Clintons, Biden — gets wrong.

The challenge for Warren, going up against Trump, is that his slogan "drain the swamp" furthers the longstanding Republican goal of discrediting government, whereas Warren criticizes government as "a tool for the wealthy and well connected," while asking voters to believe that she can remake it to help solve their problems. Hers is the trickier, paradoxical sell.

Warren faces a similar challenge when she tries to address the fear some white voters have that their economic and social status is in decline. Trump directs his supporters to blame the people they see every day on TV if they're watching Fox News: immigrants and condescending liberal elites. Warren takes aim at corporate executives while pressing for class solidarity among workers across race and immigration status. Trump's brand of right-wing populism is on the rise around the world. As more people from the global south move north, it's harder than ever to make the case to all workers that they should unite.

It's a classic problem for liberals like Warren: Workers often turn on other workers rather than their bosses and the shadowy forces behind them. "Populism is such a slippery concept," Michael Kazin, a historian at Georgetown University and author of "The Populist Persuasion: An American History," told me. "The only real test is whether you can be the person who convinces people you understand their resentment against the elites. Trump did enough of that to win. Bernie Sanders has shown he can do it among young people. Can Elizabeth Warren pull it off? I'm not sure."

It's an inconvenient political fact for Warren that she's far more associated with Harvard and Massachusetts, where she has lived for the last 25 years, than with Oklahoma, the childhood home that shaped her and where her three brothers still live and her family's roots are multigenerational. If you include Texas, where Warren lived in her early 20s and for most of her 30s, she spent three formative decades far from the Northeast.

When she was growing up, Warren's father worked as a salesman at Montgomery Ward and later as a janitor; neither of her parents went to college. (White women in this group broke for Trump by 61 percent in 2016, and white men supported him by 71 percent.) In the early 1960s, when Warren was 12, her father had a heart attack and lost his job in Oklahoma City. One day, after the family's station wagon was repossessed, her mother put on the one formal dress she owned, walked to an interview at Sears and got a job answering phones for minimum wage. This has become the story that Warren tells in every stump speech. She uses it to identify with people who feel squeezed.

There's another story that Warren tells in her book about the implications, for her own life, of her family's brush with financial ruin. Warren was going to George Washington University on a scholarship — "I loved college," she told me. "I was having a great time" — when an old high school boyfriend, Jim Warren, reappeared in her life.

He asked her to marry him and go to Texas, where he had a job at IBM. Warren knew her mother wanted her to say yes. "It was the whole future, come on," she told me. "I had lived in a family for years that was behind on the mortgage. And a secure future was a good man — not what you might be able to do on your own."

Warren dropped out of college to move to Houston with her new husband. "It was either-or," she said. Many women who make this choice never go back to school. But Warren was determined to become a teacher, so she persuaded Jim to let her finish college as a commuter student at the University of Houston for \$50 a semester. After her graduation, they moved to New Jersey for Jim's next IBM posting, and she started working as a speech therapist for special-needs children.

Warren was laid off when she became pregnant, and after her daughter was born, she talked Jim into letting her go to law school at Rutgers University in Newark (this time the cost was \$450 a semester). After she had her son, she came to terms with the fact that she wasn't cut out to stay home. "I wanted to be good at it, but I just wasn't," she told me.

In the late 1970s, she got a job at the University of Houston law school. She and her husband moved back to Texas. A couple of years later, when their daughter was in elementary school and their son was a toddler, the Warrens divorced. In her book, Warren writes about this from Jim's perspective: "He had married a 19-year-old girl, and she hadn't grown into the woman we both expected." (Jim Warren died in 2003.)

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A year later, Warren asked Mann, whom she had met at a conference, to marry her. He gave up his job at the University of Connecticut to join her in Houston. At the university, Warren decided to teach practical classes, finance and business. In 1981, she added a bankruptcy class and discovered a question that she wanted to answer empirically: Why were personal bankruptcy rates rising even when the economy was on the upswing?

At first, Warren accepted the assumption that people were causing their own financial ruin. Too much “Tommy, Ralph, Gucci and Prada,” a story in Newsweek called “Maxed Out” later declared. Along with two other scholars, Jay Westbrook and Teresa Sullivan, Warren flew around the country and collected thousands of bankruptcy-court filings in several states. “I was going to expose these people who were taking advantage of the rest of us by hauling off to bankruptcy and just charging debts that they really could repay,” she said in a 2007 interview with Harry Kreisler, a historian at the University of California, Berkeley. But Warren, Westbrook and Sullivan found that 90 percent of consumer bankruptcies were due to a job loss, a medical problem or the breakup of a family through divorce or the death of a spouse. “I did the research, and the data just took me to a totally different place,” Warren said.

That research led to a job at the University of Texas at Austin, despite the doubts some faculty members had about her nonselective university degrees. (Mann worked at Washington University in St. Louis.) They finally managed to get joint appointments at the University of Pennsylvania in 1987, and she stayed there until 1995.

During this period, Warren was registered as a Republican. (Earlier, in Texas, she was an independent.) Her political affiliation shifted around the time she began working on bankruptcy in Washington. More than one million families a year were going bankrupt in the mid-’90s, and Congress established the National Bankruptcy Review Commission to suggest how to change the bankruptcy code. The commission’s chairman, former Representative Mike Synar of Oklahoma, asked Warren, now at Harvard Law School, to be his chief policy adviser. “I said, ‘No, not a chance, that’s political,’” Warren said in her interview with Kreisler. “I want to be pure. I want to be pristine. I don’t want to muddy what I do with political implications.”

But Synar persuaded Warren to join his team. It was a critical juncture. Big banks and credit-card companies were pushing Congress to raise the barriers for consumers to file for bankruptcy and harder for families to write off debt. Bill Clinton was president. He had run — much as Warren is running now — as a champion of the middle class, but early in his first term he began courting Wall Street. He didn’t want to fight the banks.

Warren flew back and forth from Boston to Washington and to cities where the commission held hearings. It was her political education, and the imbalance of influence she saw disturbed her. The banks and lenders paid people to go to the hearings, wrote campaign checks and employed an army of lobbyists. People who went bankrupt often didn’t want to draw attention to themselves, and by definition, they had no money to fight back.

By 1997, Warren had become a Democrat, but she was battling within the party as well as outside it. In particular, she clashed with Joe Biden, then a senator from Delaware. Biden’s tiny state, which allowed credit-card companies to charge any interest rate they chose beginning in 1981, would become home to half the national market. Individuals who worked for one giant lender, MBNA, contributed more than \$200,000 to Biden’s campaigns over the years, according to the Center for Responsive Politics. Biden strongly supported a bill, a version of which was first introduced in 1998, to make it more expensive to file for bankruptcy and more difficult to leave behind debt. He was unpersuaded by Warren’s charts and graphs showing how the change would increase the financial burden on families. “I am so sick of this self-righteous sheen put on anybody who wants to tighten up bankruptcy,” Biden said during a Senate hearing in 2001.

The bankruptcy battles continued, and when Warren testified against the proposed changes to the bankruptcy code before the Senate in 2005, Biden called her argument “very compelling and mildly demagogic,” suggesting that her problem was really with the high interest rates that credit-card companies were allowed to charge. “But senator,” Warren answered, “if you are not going to fix that problem” — by capping interest rates — “you can’t take away the last shred of protection from these families” that access to bankruptcy offers. The bill passed two months later.

Biden’s team now argues that he stepped in to win “important concessions for middle-class families,” like prioritizing payments for child support and alimony ahead of other debt. When I asked Warren in June about Biden’s claim, she pursed her lips, looked out the window, paused for a long beat and said, “You may want to check the record on that.” The record shows that Warren’s focus throughout was on the plight of families who were going bankrupt and that Biden’s was on getting a bill through. He supported tweaking it to make it a little less harmful to those facing bankruptcy, and the changes allowed it to pass.

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In the years since it became law, the bankruptcy bill has allowed credit-card companies to recover more money from families than they did before. That shift had two effects, Matthew Yglesias argued recently in Vox. As Biden hoped, borrowers over all benefited when the credit-card companies offered slightly lowered interest rates. But as Warren feared, the new law hit people reeling from medical emergencies and other unexpected setbacks. Blocked from filing for bankruptcy, they have remained worse off for years. And a major effort to narrow the path to bankruptcy may have an unintended effect, according to a 2019 working paper released by the National Bureau of Economic Research, by making it harder for the country to recover from a financial crisis.

In 2001, a Harvard student named Jessica Pishko, an editor of The Harvard Women's Law Journal, approached Warren about contributing to a special issue. She didn't expect Warren to say yes. Students saw Warren as an example of female achievement but not as a professional feminist. "She didn't write about anything that could seem girlie," Pishko remembers. "She wasn't your go-to for feminist issues, and she was from that era when you didn't put pictures of your kids on your desk" to show that you were serious about your work. But Warren wanted to contribute. "She said: I'm doing all this research on bankruptcy, and I want to talk about why that's a women's issue. Can I do that?"

The paper Warren produced, "What Is a Women's Issue?" was aggressive and heterodox. In it, she criticized the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund for singling out Biden for praise in its annual report because he championed the Violence Against Women Act, which made it easier to prosecute domestic abusers. Warren thought his support for that law did not compensate for his role in pushing through the bankruptcy legislation, which she believed hurt women far more. "Why isn't Senator Biden in trouble with grass-roots women's groups all over the country and with the millions of women whose lives will be directly affected by the legislation he sponsors?" she asked. The answer raised "a troubling specter of women exercising powerful political influence within a limited scope, such as rape laws or equal educational opportunity statutes."

Warren wanted feminism to be wider in scope and centered on economic injustice. She urged students to take business-law classes. "If few students interested in women's issues train themselves in commercial areas, the effects of the commercial laws will not be diminished, but there will be few effective advocates around to influence those policy outcomes," she wrote. "If women are to achieve true economic equality, a far more inclusive definition of a women's issue must emerge."

She challenged standard feminist thinking again when she published her first book for a lay audience (written with her daughter), "The Two-Income Trap," in 2003. Warren argued that in the wake of the women's movement of the 1970s, millions of mothers streamed into the workplace without increasing the financial security of their families. Her main point was that a family's additional income, when a second parent went to work, was eaten up by the cost of housing, and by child care, education and health insurance.

Conservatives embraced her critique more enthusiastically than liberals. Warren even opposed universal day care for fear of "increasing the pressure" to send both parents to work. She has shifted on that point. The child-care proposal she announced this February puts funds into creating high-quality child care but doesn't offer equivalent subsidies to parents who stay home with their children. Warren says she's responding to the biggest needs she now sees. More and more families are squeezed by the cost of child care; not enough of it is high quality; the pay for providers is too low. Warren is framing child care as a collective good, like public schools or roads and bridges.

"The Two-Income Trap" got Warren onto "Dr. Phil," giving her a taste of minor stardom and the appeal of a larger platform. When the financial crisis hit, she moved to Washington's main stage. At the invitation of Harry Reid, the Senate majority leader at the time, Warren led the congressional oversight panel tasked with overseeing the \$700 billion Troubled Asset Relief Program that Congress created to save the financial system. In public hearings, Warren called out Timothy Geithner, Obama's Treasury secretary, for focusing on bailing out banks rather than small businesses and homeowners. Through a spokeswoman, Geithner declined to comment for this article. In his memoir, he called the oversight hearings "more like made-for-YouTube inquisitions than serious inquiries."

But Warren could see the value of the viral video clip. In 2009, Jon Stewart invited her on "The Daily Show." After throwing up from nerves backstage, she went on air and got a little lost in the weeds — repeating the abbreviation P.P.I.P. (the Public-Private Investment Program) and at first forgetting what it stood for. She felt as though she blew her opportunity to speak to millions of viewers. Stewart brought her back after the break for five more minutes, and she performed well, clearly explaining how the country forgot the lessons of the Great Depression and the dangers of deregulation. "We start pulling the threads out of the regulatory fabric," Warren said. She listed the upheavals that followed — the savings and loan crisis of the 1980s and 1990s, the collapse of the giant hedge fund Long-Term Capital Management in 1998 and the Enron scandal a few years later. "And what is our repeated response?" Warren said. "We just keep pulling the threads." Now that the government was trying to save the whole

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economy from falling off the cliff, there were two choices: “We’re going to decide, basically: Hey, we don’t need regulation. You know, it’s fine, boom and bust, boom and bust, boom and bust, and good luck with your 401(k). Or alternatively, we’re going to say, You know, we’re going to put in some smart regulations … and what we’re going to have, going forward, is we’re going to have stability and some real prosperity for ordinary folks.”

Stewart leaned forward and told Warren she had made him feel better than he had in months. “I don’t know what it is that you just did right there, but for a second that was like financial chicken soup for me,” he said.

“That moment changed my life,” Warren later said. Stewart kept inviting her back. In 2010, Congress overhauled and tightened financial regulation with the Dodd-Frank Act. In the push for its passage, Warren found that she had the leverage to persuade Democratic leaders to create a new agency, the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau. Its job is to safeguard people from malfunctioning financial products (like predatory loans), much as the government protects them from — to borrow Warren’s favorite analogy — toasters that burst into flames. Warren spent a year setting up the C.F.P.B. When Obama chose Richard Cordray over her as the first director because he had an easier path to Senate confirmation, progressives were furious.

Warren was an unusual political phenomenon by then: a policy wonk who was also a force and a symbol. In 2012, she was the natural choice for Democrats recruiting a candidate to run against Senator Scott Brown of Massachusetts, a Republican who had slipped into office, after Ted Kennedy’s death, against a weak opponent. Warren had another viral moment when a supporter released a homemade video of her speaking to a group in Andover. “You built a factory out there?” Warren said, defending raising taxes on the wealthy. “Good for you. But I want to be clear: You moved your goods to market on the roads the rest of us paid for; you hired workers the rest of us paid to educate; you were safe in your factory because of police forces and fire forces that the rest of us paid for. You didn’t have to worry that marauding bands would come and seize everything at your factory, and hire someone to protect against this, because of the work the rest of us did.” Brown called Warren “anti-free enterprise,” and Obama, running for re-election, distanced himself in an ad shot from the White House (“Of course Americans build their own businesses,” he said). But Warren’s pitch succeeded. She came from behind in the race against Brown and won with nearly 54 percent of the vote.

[How the Trump administration dismantled the C.F.P.B.]

Voters of color could determine the results of the 2020 presidential election. In the ***primaries***, African-Americans constitute a large share of ***Democrats*** in the early-voting state of South Carolina and on Super Tuesday, when many other states vote. In the general election, the path to the presidency for a Democrat will depend in part on turning out large numbers of people of color in Southern states (North Carolina, Virginia, possibly Florida) and also in the Rust Belt, where the post-Obama dip in turnout among African-Americans contributed to Hillary Clinton’s squeaker losses in Wisconsin and Pennsylvania.

Warren has work to do to persuade people of color to support her. In the last couple of ***Democratic primaries***, these voters started out favoring candidates who they thought would be most likely to win, not those who were the most liberal. Black voters backed Hillary Clinton in 2008 until they were sure Barack Obama had enough support to beat her, and in 2016 they stuck with her over Bernie Sanders. This time, they have black candidates — Kamala Harris, Cory Booker and Wayne Messam — to choose from. And voters of color may be skeptical of Warren’s vision of class solidarity transcending racial division. As it turned out, Warren’s case that most white people voted for Trump because of economic distress, and “despite the hate,” as she said right after the election, didn’t really hold up. A study published last year found that among white voters, perceived racial or global threats explained their shift toward Trump better than financial concerns did. What does that say about the chances of winning as a liberal who tries to take the racism out of populism?

When Warren makes the case about what needs to change in America by leaning on the period from 1935 to 1980, she’s talking about a time of greater economic equality — but also a period when people of color were excluded from the benefits of government policies that buoyed the white middle class. In a video announcing that she was exploring a presidential bid, Warren acknowledged that history by saying that families of color today face “a path made even harder by generations of discrimination.” For example, the federal agency created during the New Deal drew red lines around mostly black neighborhoods on maps to deny mortgage loans to people who lived in them.

Warren spoke about this problem years before she went into politics. Redlining contributed to the racial wealth gap, and that had consequences Warren saw in her bankruptcy studies — black families were more vulnerable to financial collapse. Their vulnerability was further heightened by subprime and predatory lending. In “The Two-Income Trap,” Warren called these kinds of loans “legally sanctioned corporate plans to steal from minorities.”

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In March, Warren took a three-day trip to the South. She started on a Sunday afternoon, with a town hall — one of 101 she has done across the country — at a high school in a mostly black neighborhood in Memphis. It's her format of choice; the questions she fields help sharpen her message. The local politicians who showed up that day were African-American, but most of the crowd was white.

The next morning, Warren drove to the Mississippi Delta. Her husband, Mann, was on spring break from teaching and along for the trip. Warren's staff welcomes his presence because Warren loves having him with her and because he's willing to chat up voters (who often call him "Mr. Warren"). In the small town of Cleveland, Miss., Warren sprang out of her black minivan in the parking lot of a church to shake the hand of an African-American state senator, Willie Simmons. They were meeting for the first time: He had agreed to take her on a walking tour after her campaign got in touch and said she wanted to learn about housing in the Delta.

Simmons and Warren set off down a block of modest ranch houses, some freshly painted, others peeling, preceded by TV crews and trailed by the rest of the press as her aides darted in to keep us out of the shot. The scrum made conversation stagy, but Simmons gradually eased into answering Warren's questions. He pointed out cracks in the foundations of some houses; the lack of money to repair old buildings was a problem in the Delta. They stopped at a vacant lot. The neighbors wanted to turn it into a playground, but there was no money for that either.

Warren nodded and then took a stab at communicating her ideas to the local viewers who might catch a few of her words that night. She hit the highlights of the affordable housing bill she released in the Senate months earlier — 3.2 million new homes over 10 years, an increase in supply that Moody's estimated would reduce projected rents by 10 percent. When the tour ended, Simmons told the assembled reporters that he didn't know whom he would support for president, but Warren got points for showing up and being easy to talk to — "touchable," he said.

That night, Warren did a CNN town hall at Jackson State University, the third historically black college she has visited this year. Warren moved toward the audience at the first opportunity, walking past the chair placed for her onstage. She laid out the basics of her housing bill, stressing that it addressed the effects of discrimination. "Not just a passive discrimination," Warren said. "Realize that into the 1960s in America, the federal government was subsidizing the purchase of homes for white families and discriminating against black families." Her bill included funds to help people from redlined areas, or who had been harmed by subprime loans, buy houses. The audience applauded.

Warren also said that night that she supported a "national full-blown conversation" about reparations for slavery and Jim Crow. She saw this as a necessary response to the stark wealth gap between black and white families. "Today in America — because of housing discrimination, because of employment discrimination — we live in a world where the average white family has \$100 and the average black family has about \$5." Several Democratic candidates have said they support a commission to study reparations. Ta-Nehisi Coates, author of the influential 2014 Atlantic article "The Case for Reparations," said in a recent interview with The New Yorker that Warren was the candidate whose commitment seemed real because she had asked him to talk with her about his article when it came out years ago. "She was deeply serious," Coates said.

Warren is often serious and doesn't hesitate to convey her moral outrage. "I'll own it," she told me about her anger. She talked about women expressing to her their distress about sexual harassment and assault. "Well, yeah," Warren said. "No kidding that a woman might be angry about that. Women have a right to be angry about being treated badly."

Trump gets angry all the time; whether a woman can do the same and win remains a question. Warren's campaign is simultaneously working in another register. On Twitter, it has been posting videos of Warren calling donors who have given as little as \$3. They can't believe it's her. When the comedian and actress Ashley Nicole Black tweeted, "Do you think Elizabeth Warren has a plan to fix my love life?" Warren tweeted back and then called Black, who finished the exchange with a fan-girl note: "Guess who's crying and shaking and just talked to Elizabeth Warren on the phone?!?!" We have a plan to get my mom grandkids, it's very comprehensive, and it does involve raising taxes on billionaires."

After Trump's election, Warren and Sanders said that if Trump followed through on his promise to rebuild the economy for workers and their families, they would help. If Trump had championed labor over corporations, he could have scrambled American politics by creating new alliances. But that version of his presidency didn't come to pass. Instead, by waging trade wars that hurt farm states and manufacturing regions more than the rest of the country, Trump has punished his base economically (even if they take satisfaction in his irreverence and his judicial appointments).

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Warren has been speaking to those voters. In June, she put out an “economic patriotism” plan filled with ideas about helping American industries. By stepping into the vacuum for economic populism the president has left, Warren forced a reckoning on Fox News, Trump’s safe space on TV, from the host Tucker Carlson. Usually a Trump loyalist, he has recently styled himself a voice for the white working class.

Carlson opened his show by using more than two minutes of airtime to quote Warren's analysis of how giant American companies are abandoning American workers. Carlson has warned that immigrants make the country "poorer and dirtier" and laced his show with racism, but now he told his mostly Republican viewers: "Ask yourself, what part of the statement you just heard did you disagree with?" He continued, "Here's the depressing part: Nobody you voted for said that or would ever say it." The next day, a new conservative Never Trump website called The Bulwark ran a long and respectful essay called "Why Elizabeth Warren Matters."

A month earlier in Mingo County, W.Va., where more than 80 percent of voters cast a ballot for Trump, Warren went to a local fire station to talk about her plan for addressing the opioid crisis. It's big: She wants to spend \$100 billion over 10 years, including \$50 million annually for West Virginia, the state with the highest rate of deaths from drug overdoses. In Trump's latest budget, he has requested an increase of \$1.5 billion to respond directly to the epidemic. Against a backdrop of firefighters' coats hanging in cinder-block cubbies, Warren moved among a crowd of about 150. Many hands went up when she asked who knew someone struggling with opioids. She brought up the role of "corporations that made big money off getting people addicted and keeping them addicted." People with "Make America Great Again" stickers nodded and clapped, according to Politico.

If Warren competes for rural voters in the general election (if not to win a red state then to peel off enough of them to make a difference in a purple one), her strong support for abortion rights and gun control will stand in her way. Lately, she has framed her argument for keeping abortion clinics open in economic terms, too. “Women of means will still have access to abortions,” she said at a town hall on MSNBC hosted by Chris Hayes of the effects of new state laws aimed at closing clinics. “Who won’t will be poor women, will be working women, will be women who can’t afford to take off three days from work, will be very young women.” She finished by saying, “We do not pass laws that take away that freedom from the women who are most vulnerable.”

Biden and Sanders have been polling better with non-college-educated white voters than Warren has. David Axelrod, the former Obama strategist and political commentator, thinks that even if her ideas resonate, she has yet to master the challenge of communicating with this group. “She’s lecturing,” he said. “There’s a lot of resistance, because people feel like she’s talking down to them.”

Warren didn't sound to me like a law professor on the trail, but she did sound like a teacher. Trying to educate people isn't the easiest way to connect with them. "Maybe she could bring it down a level," Lola Sewell, a community organizer in Selma, Ala., suggested. "A lot of us aren't involved with Wall Street and those places."

Warren may also confront a double bind for professional women: To command respect, they have to prove that they're experts, but once they do, they're often seen as less likable. At one point, I asked Warren whether there was anything good about running for president as a woman. "It is what it is," she said.

When I first talked with Warren in February, when her poll numbers were low, I wondered whether she was content with simply forcing ***Democratic*** candidates to engage with her ideas. During the 2016 ***primaries***, when Warren did not endorse Sanders, she wanted influence over Hillary Clinton's economic appointments should she win the presidency. Cleaving the Democratic administration from Wall Street — that was enough at the time. She could make a similar decision in 2020 or try to get her own appointment. If Warren became Treasury secretary, she could resuscitate the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, which Trump has worked to declaw, and tip all kinds of decisions away from banks and toward the families who come to her town halls and tell her about the loans they can't pay.

By mid-June, however, when I went to Washington to talk to Warren for the last time, she was very much in the race. New polls showed her in second place in California and Nevada. She had more to lose, and perhaps as a result, her answers were more scripted, more like her speeches.

Warren, like everyone in the race, has yet to prove that she has the political skills and broad-enough support to become president. But a parallel from another country suggests that perhaps bearing down on policy is the best strategy against right-wing populism. Luigi Zingales, the University of Chicago economist, comes from Italy, and he feared Trump's rise back in 2011, having watched the ascension of Silvio Berlusconi, the corrupt billionaire tycoon who was elected prime minister of Italy in the 2000s as a right-wing

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populist. After Trump's victory in 2016, Zingales pointed out in a New York Times Op-Ed that the two candidates who defeated Berlusconi treated him as "an ordinary opponent," focusing on policy issues rather than his character. "The Democratic Party should learn this lesson," Zingales wrote. He now thinks that Warren is positioned to mount that kind of challenge. "I think so," he said, "if she does not fall for his provocations."

Warren and I met in her Washington apartment. The floor at the entrance had been damaged by a leak in the building, and the vacuum cleaner was standing next to the kitchen counter. I said I was a bit relieved by the slight disarray because her house in Cambridge was so supremely uncluttered, and she burst out laughing. She sat on the couch as we spoke about the indignities to come, the way in which her opponents — Biden, Trump, who knew who else — would try to make her unrecognizable to herself. What would she do about that? Warren leaned back and stretched her feet out, comfortable in gray wool socks. "The answer is, we've got time," she said. "I'll just keep talking to people — I like talking to people."

Emily Bazelon is a staff writer for the magazine and the author of "Charged: The New Movement to Transform American Prosecution and End Mass Incarceration."

PHOTOS: Warren at a rally in May at Laney College in Oakland, Calif. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SEPTEMBER DAWN BOTTOMS) (MM24-MM25); Elizabeth Warren at George Washington University in the 1960s, in a dress she made herself. (PHOTOGRAPH FROM THE WARREN CAMPAIGN) (MM27); At rallies, Warren takes a photo with every supporter who wants one. At Laney College, she stayed for over two hours, meeting more than 1,000 people. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SEPTEMBER DAWN BOTTOMS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (MM28-MM29)

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Inside Our 2020 Candidate Video Project; On Politics With Lisa Lerer

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Highlight: In the On Politics newsletter: Behind the scenes of the new Times video project interviewing (nearly) the entire 2020 field.

Body

Hi. Welcome to On Politics, your guide to the day in national politics. I'm Lisa Lerer, your host.

[Get On Politics delivered to your inbox.]

Twenty-one candidates. Eighteen questions. Four months of reporting, traveling, editing and programming by a team of more than two dozen people.

The result: Meet the Candidates, a collection of video interviews with nearly everyone in the ***Democratic*** presidential ***primary*** race, covering topics both political and personal.

Today we're turning over the top of the newsletter to my colleagues Alex Burns and Sydney Ember, the reporters who put together this amazing (and huge!) project, to reflect on their favorite moments and tell some behind-the-scenes stories.

[See the whole project here — you can browse it by question or by candidate.]

Alex: Well, that was a lot of interviews! And videos. So many videos. You and I split the interviewing almost evenly (I think you did 11 and I did 10.) Was there anything that stood out the most to you — that moment that just keeps popping into your head — in terms of how the candidates answered questions or what they said?

Sydney: My honest answer is the sheer volume of sighs that Bill de Blasio elicited when I asked him about his most recent embarrassing moment. They just kept coming!

[See Mr. de Blasio's answer here.]

Alex: O.K., but wearing cargo shorts to the gym is about as embarrassing as it gets, so — understandable.

Sydney: I kept expecting something on a groundhog.

I was also struck by how similar some of the candidates were on questions like whether they supported or opposed the death penalty (nearly all said they opposed it). But were there any big differences that stood out to you?

[See their answers on the death penalty here.]

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Alex: The death penalty question was really striking to me, too. Even Steve Bullock, the only candidate who said he favored it in some circumstances, essentially said he was against it for most of what we think of as capital crimes, like murder. The only hypothetical exception he named was terrorism.

Also, somewhat to my surprise, I think the interviews really showed some of the ways that the leftward lurch of the Democratic Party has been overstated. On the single-payer question, for instance, there was very little “Medicare for All or bust” rhetoric. Even clearly liberal candidates — like Elizabeth Warren, Kamala Harris and Cory Booker — indicated they’d likely focus on improving the private health insurance system.

[See their answers on health care here.]

Sydney: Totally. That was surprising, especially since so many candidates talk on the trail about their support for “Medicare for All.” One thing I really enjoyed was getting to learn more about the candidates as people. They so rarely talk candidly about themselves, but I thought some of their most revealing answers were to the personal questions we asked — about their comfort food on the campaign trail, for instance, and about what they do to relax. We also got to spend a little bit of time with them before the interviews, an informal setting that was actually (at least for me) pretty unique.

[See their answers on comfort food and how they relax.]

Alex: Yes! Most of the interviews I did were at our office in New York, so it was fun to see how some of them handled being in the newsroom. Ms. Warren and Ms. Harris attracted pretty sizable crowds and handled it in pretty different ways — Ms. Warren with a kind of impromptu mini-town hall about tech regulation, Ms. Harris by focusing on a very animated conversation with Sam Sifton, the food editor. (Other candidates were, ah, less recognized.)

Sydney: At least one waved and ... no one waved back. I also got to travel a bit for some of the interviews I did (mostly to D.C., to be fair). But we met Beto O’Rourke at a sound stage in Austin. And we traveled to Cedar Rapids, Iowa, to interview Bernie Sanders.

Alex: I have to ask, what was it like to do that interview with Mr. Sanders after your rather contentious exchange with him back in May

Sydney: You know, he was very pleasant! He answered all of our questions, including the personal ones that he is known to vehemently dislike. One of my favorite moments was when he started talking about his grandchildren. It was the most tender I’ve ever seen him.

[See all of Mr. Sanders’s answers here.]

Alex: That’s sweet. It was interesting to see which candidates were looser on the personal questions versus who seemed happier talking about policy. I kind of judge a number of the candidates who refused to name an actual most embarrassing recent moment, especially in contrast to someone like Amy Klobuchar, who delivered one involving an airplane and her underwear. That’s candor!

[See Ms. Klobuchar’s answer here.]

If you could go back and add one more question to the list, what do you think it would be? I saw someone on Twitter saying she wished we had asked about pets.

Sydney: I think I’d add a question on education (another topic I saw someone on Twitter suggest). Policies around student debt, but also universal pre-K and charter schools, have become something of a focus among candidates in recent months, and it would have been interesting to hear their answers side-by-side to a question like, “How would you improve the country’s education system?”

Alex: That would have been good. We started the project before Ms. Warren’s student loan proposal really intensified that debate, and it’s now a pretty significant part of the race.

I would love to have asked something about bipartisanship or their instincts about working with Republicans — whether they think it’s possible, whether it would be a goal or something they’d do only grudgingly, whether they have to find partners on the other side to get stuff done or whether getting stuff done requires Democrats to be politically dominant. It’s such a dividing line in the

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field, and all the more so now that Joe Biden has decided to stake much of his campaign on the idea that he could make Republicans his partners in governing.

Of course, we wouldn't have been able to ask Mr. Biden, since he did not show up!

A timeline of the Biden controversy

Joe Biden's remarks this week on working with segregationists kicked off the biggest fight of the ***Democratic primary*** so far. For those who have not kept up, here's a timeline of everything that has happened in the past 48 hours.

On Tuesday night, at a fund-raiser at the Carlyle Hotel in New York City, Mr. Biden invoked two former Democratic senators who were staunchly opposed to desegregation — James O. Eastland and Herman E. Talmadge — as he looked back fondly at the “civility” of the Senate of the 1970s.

On Wednesday afternoon, Senator Cory Booker, one of two black candidates running for president, said Mr. Biden was “wrong” to use segregationists as examples for bringing the country together and suggested he should issue an apology.

Other Democrats spoke up on Wednesday afternoon, too. Senator Kamala Harris, who is also black, said, “If those men had their way, I wouldn’t be in the United States Senate.” Senators Bernie Sanders and Elizabeth Warren, Mayor Bill de Blasio and others also criticized the former vice president.

Before a fund-raiser on Wednesday evening, Mr. Biden was asked by reporters about his comments. “Apologize for what?” he said. When a reporter mentioned that Mr. Booker had called for the apology, Mr. Biden shot back: “Cory should apologize. He knows better. There’s not a racist bone in my body.”

Mr. Booker, in an interview on CNN Wednesday night, said that Mr. Biden “shouldn’t need this lesson.”

At a fund-raiser later on Wednesday, Mr. Biden invoked the former senators again, but changed his tone. “We had to put up with the likes of like Jim Eastland and Hermy Talmadge and all those segregationists and all of that,” he said. “We were able to beat them on everything they stood for.”

Finally, as my colleague Reid Epstein and I reported today, Mr. Biden called Mr. Booker late Wednesday night to try to smooth over tensions. We were told the tone between the men was conciliatory.

What do you think? We want to hear from On Politics readers. What do you think of Mr. Biden’s comments? Do they make him look out of touch, or were his opponents too quick to criticize? And how do you think it will affect the race? Send us an email: onpolitics@nytimes.com.

What to read tonight

Iran shot down an American spy drone early Thursday. But did it venture into Iranian airspace, as Tehran asserts, or stay in international airspace, as the United States asserts? Here’s what we know so far.

“I think people just want to listen to somebody who’s just going to say it straight and be honest.” After 23 years, Judge Judy is still going strong.

A writer for Buzzfeed went on a cruise hosted by Olivia, a lesbian travel company, for a story. She ended up blowing up her whole life.

... Seriously

Inside Our 2020 Candidate Video Project; On Politics With Lisa Lerer

The Cut ranked the comfort food choices in our Meet the Candidates project, “from least-to-most likely to cause me to wake up in the middle of the night, covered in a cold sweat, and screaming.” (Sorry, Amy Klobuchar!)

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Elizabeth Warren Has an Answer for Everything. Is That Enough?

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Body

The first time I met Elizabeth Warren, she had just come home from a walk with her husband and her dog at Fresh Pond, the reservoir near her house in Cambridge, Mass. It was a sunny day in February, a couple of weeks after Warren announced her candidacy for president, and she was wearing a navy North Face jacket and black sneakers with, as usual, rimless glasses and small gold earrings. Her hair had drifted a bit out of place.

The dog, Bailey, is a golden retriever who had already been deployed by her presidential campaign in a tweet a week earlier, a pink-tongued snapshot with the caption "Bailey will be your Valentine." Warren started toweling off his paws and fur, which were coated in mud and ice from the reservoir, when she seemed to realize that it made more sense to hand this task over to her husband, Bruce Mann.

In the kitchen, Warren opened a cupboard to reveal an array of boxes and canisters of tea. She drinks many cups a day (her favorite morning blend is English breakfast). Pouring us each a mug, she said, "This is a fantasy." She was talking about the enormous platform she has, now that she's running for president, to propagate policy proposals that she has been thinking about for decades. "It's this moment of being able to talk about these ideas, and everybody says, 'Oh, wait, I better pay attention to this.'" She went on: "It's not about me; it's about those ideas. We've moved the Overton window" -- the range of ideas deemed to merit serious consideration -- "on how we think about taxes. And I think, I think we're about to move it on child care."

Her plan, announced in January, would raise \$2.75 trillion in revenue over 10 years through a 2 percent tax on assets over \$50 million and a higher rate for billionaires. Warren wants to use some of that money to pay for universal child care on a sliding scale. As she talked, she shifted around in her chair -- her hands, her arms, her whole body leaning forward and moving back. Onstage, including at TV town halls, she prefers to stand and pace rather than sit (she tries to record six miles a day on her Fitbit), and sometimes she comes across as a little frenetic, like a darting bird. One on one, though, she seemed relaxed, intent.

Warren moved to Cambridge in 1995 when she took a tenured job at Harvard Law School, and 11 years later, Mann, who is a legal historian, got a job there, too. By then they had bought their house; Warren's two children from a previous marriage, her daughter, Amelia, and son, Alexander, were already grown. The first floor is impeccable, with a formal living room -- elegant decorative boxes arranged on a handsome coffee table -- a cozy sunroom and a gleaming kitchen with green tile countertops. When Warren taught classes at Harvard, she would invite her students over for barbecue and peach cobbler during the semester. Some of them marveled at the polish and order, which tends not to be the norm in faculty homes. Warren says she scoops up dog toys before people come over.

For her entire career, Warren's singular focus has been the growing fragility of America's middle class. She made the unusual choice as a law professor to concentrate relentlessly on data, and the data that alarms her shows corporate profits creeping up over the last 40 years while employees' share of the pie shrinks. This shift occurred, Warren argues, because in the 1980s, politicians

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began reworking the rules for the market to the specifications of corporations that effectively owned the politicians. In Warren's view of history, "The constant tension in a democracy is that those with money will try to capture the government to turn it to their own purposes." Over the last four decades, people with money have been winning, in a million ways, many cleverly hidden from view. That's why economists have estimated that the wealthiest top 0.1 percent of Americans now own nearly as much as the bottom 90 percent.

As a presidential candidate, Warren has rolled out proposal after proposal to rewrite the rules again, this time on behalf of a majority of American families. On the trail, she says "I have a plan for that" so often that it has turned into a T-shirt slogan. Warren has plans (about 20 so far, detailed and multipart) for making housing and child care affordable, forgiving college-loan debt, tackling the opioid crisis, protecting public lands, manufacturing green products, cracking down on lobbying in Washington and giving workers a voice in selecting corporate board members. Her grand overarching ambition is to end America's second Gilded Age.

[Elizabeth Warren has lots of plans. Together, they would remake the economy.]

"Ask me who my favorite president is," Warren said. When I paused, she said, "Teddy Roosevelt." Warren admires Roosevelt for his efforts to break up the giant corporations of his day -- Standard Oil and railroad holding companies -- in the name of increasing competition. She thinks that today that model would increase hiring and productivity. Warren, who has called herself "a capitalist to my bones," appreciated Roosevelt's argument that trustbusting was helpful, not hostile, to the functioning of the market and the government. She brought up his warning that monopolies can use their wealth and power to strangle democracy. "If you go back and read his stuff, it's not only about the economic dominance; it's the political influence," she said.

What's crucial, Roosevelt believed, is to make the market serve "the public good." Warren puts it like this: "It's structural change that interests me. And when I say structural, the point is to say if you get the structures right, then the markets start to work to produce value across the board, not just sucking it all up to the top."

But will people respond? Warren has been a politician for only seven years, since she announced her run for the Senate in 2011 at age 62. She's still thinking through how she communicates her ideas with voters. "The only thing that worries me is I won't describe it in a way that --" she trailed off. "It's like teaching class. Is everybody in here getting this? And that's what I just struggle with all the time. How do I get better at this? How do I do more of this in a way that lets people see it, hear it and say, 'Oh, yeah.'"

In the months after Donald Trump's stunning victory in 2016, Warren staked out territory as a fierce opponent of the president's who saw larger forces at play in her party's defeat. While many Democratic leaders focused on Trump himself as the problem, Warren gave a series of look-in-the-mirror speeches. In the first, to the executive council of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. on Nov. 10, she said that although there could be "no compromise" on standing up to Trump's bigotry, millions of Americans had voted for him "despite the hate" -- out of their deep frustration with "an economy and a government that doesn't work for them." Later that month, she gave a second speech behind closed doors to a group that included wealthy liberal donors and went hard at her fellow Democrats for bailing out banks rather than homeowners after the 2008 financial crisis. In another speech, in February 2017, to her ideological allies in the Congressional Progressive Caucus, Warren said: "No matter how extreme Republicans in Washington became, Democrats might grumble or whine, but when it came time for action, our party hesitated and pushed back only with great reluctance. Far too often, Democrats have been unwilling to get out there and fight."

Warren fought in those early months by showing up at the Women's March and at Logan Airport in Boston to protest Trump's travel ban. On the Senate floor, opposing the nomination of Jeff Sessions to be Trump's first attorney general, she read a letter by Coretta Scott King criticizing Sessions for his record of suppressing the black vote in Alabama, and Republican leaders rebuked her and ordered her to stop. The moment became a symbol of the resistance, with the feminist meme "Nevertheless, She Persisted," a quote from the majority leader, Mitch McConnell, defending the move to silence her. Warren helped take down Trump's first choice for labor secretary, the fast-food magnate Andy Puzder (he called his own employees the "bottom of the pool"), and she called for an investigation of the Trump administration's botched recovery efforts in Puerto Rico after Hurricane Maria.

But somewhere along the way to announcing her candidacy, Warren's influence faded. She was no longer the kingmaker or queenmaker whose endorsement Hillary Clinton and Bernie Sanders avidly sought during their 2016 primary battle. When Warren failed to endorse Sanders, the left saw her decision as an act of betrayal, accusing her of propping up the Democratic establishment instead of trying to take it down. (When I asked Warren if she had regrets, she said she wasn't going to revisit 2016.) Sanders emerged as the standard-bearer of the emboldened progressive movement.

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Trump, meanwhile, was going after Warren by using the slur "Pocahontas" to deride her self-identification in the 1980s and '90s as part Native American. In the summer of 2018, he said that if she agreed to take a DNA test in the middle of a televised debate, he would donate \$1 million to her favorite charity. Warren shot back on Twitter by condemning Trump's practice of separating immigrant children from their parents at the border ("While you obsess over my genes, your Admin is conducting DNA tests on little kids because you ripped them from their mamas"). But a few months later, she released a video saying she had done the DNA analysis, and it showed that she had distant Native American ancestry. The announcement backfired, prompting gleeful mockery from Trump ("I have more Indian blood than she has!") and sharp criticism from the Cherokee Nation, who faulted her for confusing the issue of tribal membership with blood lines. Warren apologized, but she seemed weaker for having taken Trump's bait.

Sanders is still the Democratic candidate with a guru's following and a magic touch for small-donor fund-raising, the one who can inspire some 4,500 house parties in a single weekend. And he has used his big policy idea, Medicare for All, to great effect, setting the terms of debate on the future of health care in his party.

With four more years of Trump on the line, though, it's Joe Biden -- the party's most known quantity -- who is far out in front in the polls. Challenging Biden from the left, Warren and Sanders are not calling wealthy donors or participating in big-money fundraisers. Sanders has been leading Warren in the polls, but his support remains flat, while her numbers have been rising, even besting his in a few polls in mid-June. Warren and Sanders are old friends, which makes it awkward when her gain is assumed to be his loss. Early in June, an unnamed Sanders adviser ridiculed Warren's electability by calling her DNA announcement a "debacle" that "killed her," according to U.S. News & World Report. A couple of weeks before the first ***Democratic primary*** debates, on June 26 and 27, I asked her what it was like to run against a friend. "You know, I don't think of this as competing," she responded. It was the least plausible thing she said to me.

In March, Warren demonstrated her appetite for challenging the economic and political dominance of corporate titans by going directly at America's biggest tech companies. In a speech in Long Island City, Queens -- where local protesters demanded that Amazon drop its plan to build a big new campus -- Warren connected the companies' success at smothering start-up rivals to their influence in Washington. She remarked dryly that the large amounts that businesses like Facebook, Google, Amazon and Apple spend on lobbying is a "good return on investment if they can keep Washington from enforcing the antitrust laws." She wants to use those laws to break up the companies instead -- a move that no other major American politician had proposed.

After Warren started talking about the four tech giants, along with other critics, the Trump administration let it be known that it was scrutinizing them for potential antitrust violations. Conservatives have suspected social media platforms of bias against them for years, and with concerns about privacy violations escalating, big tech was suddenly a bipartisan target. Warren has specifics about how to reduce their influence; she wants to undo the mergers that allowed Facebook, for example, to snap up WhatsApp, rather than compete with it for users. Warren could unleash the power to bring major antitrust prosecutions without Congress -- an answer to gridlock in Washington that's crucially woven into some of her other plans too. (Warren also favors ending the filibuster in the Senate.) Warren wants to prevent companies that offer an online marketplace and have annual revenue of \$25 billion or more from owning other companies that sell products on that platform. In other words, Amazon could no longer sell shoes and diapers and promote them over everyone else's shoes and diapers -- giving a small business a fair chance to break in.

"There's a concerted effort to equate Warren with Bernie, to make her seem more radical," says Luigi Zingales, a University of Chicago economist and co-host of the podcast Capitalism't. But Wall Street and its allies "are more afraid of her than Bernie," Zingales continued, "because when she says she'll change the rules, she's the one who knows how to do it."

Warren's theory of American capitalism rests on two turning points in the 20th century. The first came in the wake of the Great Depression, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt seized the chance to protect workers and consumers from future economic collapse. While the New Deal is mostly remembered for creating much of the nation's social safety net, Warren also emphasizes the significance of the legislation (like the Glass-Steagall Act) that Democrats passed to rein in bankers and lenders and the agencies (the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation) that they put in place to enforce those limits. Warren credits this new regulatory regime, along with labor unions, with producing a golden era for many workers over the next four and a half decades. Income rose along with union membership, and 70 percent of the increase went to the bottom 90 percent. That shared prosperity built, in Warren's telling, "the greatest middle class the world had ever known."

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Then came Warren's second turning point: President Ronald Reagan's assault on government. Warren argues that Reagan's skill in the 1980s at selling the country on deregulation allowed the safeguards erected in the 1930s to erode. Republicans seized on the opening Reagan created, and Democrats at times aided them. (Bill Clinton signed the repeal of Glass-Steagall in 1999.) That's how the country arrived at its current stark level of inequality. "The system is as rigged as we think," Warren wrote in her 2017 book "This Fight Is Our Fight" -- in a riposte to Barack Obama, who insisted it was not, even as he recognized the influence of money in politics. This, Warren believes, is what Trump, who also blasted a rigged system, got right and what the Democratic establishment -- Obama, both Clintons, Biden -- gets wrong.

The challenge for Warren, going up against Trump, is that his slogan "drain the swamp" furthers the longstanding Republican goal of discrediting government, whereas Warren criticizes government as "a tool for the wealthy and well connected," while asking voters to believe that she can remake it to help solve their problems. Hers is the trickier, paradoxical sell.

Warren faces a similar challenge when she tries to address the fear some white voters have that their economic and social status is in decline. Trump directs his supporters to blame the people they see every day on TV if they're watching Fox News: immigrants and condescending liberal elites. Warren takes aim at corporate executives while pressing for class solidarity among workers across race and immigration status. Trump's brand of right-wing populism is on the rise around the world. As more people from the global south move north, it's harder than ever to make the case to all workers that they should unite.

It's a classic problem for liberals like Warren: Workers often turn on other workers rather than their bosses and the shadowy forces behind them. "Populism is such a slippery concept," Michael Kazin, a historian at Georgetown University and author of "The Populist Persuasion: An American History," told me. "The only real test is whether you can be the person who convinces people you understand their resentment against the elites. Trump did enough of that to win. Bernie Sanders has shown he can do it among young people. Can Elizabeth Warren pull it off? I'm not sure."

It's an inconvenient political fact for Warren that she's far more associated with Harvard and Massachusetts, where she has lived for the last 25 years, than with Oklahoma, the childhood home that shaped her and where her three brothers still live and her family's roots are multigenerational. If you include Texas, where Warren lived in her early 20s and for most of her 30s, she spent three formative decades far from the Northeast.

When she was growing up, Warren's father worked as a salesman at Montgomery Ward and later as a janitor; neither of her parents went to college. (White women in this group broke for Trump by 61 percent in 2016, and white men supported him by 71 percent.) In the early 1960s, when Warren was 12, her father had a heart attack and lost his job in Oklahoma City. One day, after the family's station wagon was repossessed, her mother put on the one formal dress she owned, walked to an interview at Sears and got a job answering phones for minimum wage. This has become the story that Warren tells in every stump speech. She uses it to identify with people who feel squeezed.

There's another story that Warren tells in her book about the implications, for her own life, of her family's brush with financial ruin. Warren was going to George Washington University on a scholarship -- "I loved college," she told me. "I was having a great time" -- when an old high school boyfriend, Jim Warren, reappeared in her life.

He asked her to marry him and go to Texas, where he had a job at IBM. Warren knew her mother wanted her to say yes. "It was the whole future, come on," she told me. "I had lived in a family for years that was behind on the mortgage. And a secure future was a good man -- not what you might be able to do on your own."

Warren dropped out of college to move to Houston with her new husband. "It was either-or," she said. Many women who make this choice never go back to school. But Warren was determined to become a teacher, so she persuaded Jim to let her finish college as a commuter student at the University of Houston for \$50 a semester. After her graduation, they moved to New Jersey for Jim's next IBM posting, and she started working as a speech therapist for special-needs children.

Warren was laid off when she became pregnant, and after her daughter was born, she talked Jim into letting her go to law school at Rutgers University in Newark (this time the cost was \$450 a semester). After she had her son, she came to terms with the fact that she wasn't cut out to stay home. "I wanted to be good at it, but I just wasn't," she told me.

In the late 1970s, she got a job at the University of Houston law school. She and her husband moved back to Texas. A couple of years later, when their daughter was in elementary school and their son was a toddler, the Warrens divorced. In her book, Warren

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writes about this from Jim's perspective: "He had married a 19-year-old girl, and she hadn't grown into the woman we both expected." (Jim Warren died in 2003.)

A year later, Warren asked Mann, whom she had met at a conference, to marry her. He gave up his job at the University of Connecticut to join her in Houston. At the university, Warren decided to teach practical classes, finance and business. In 1981, she added a bankruptcy class and discovered a question that she wanted to answer empirically: Why were personal bankruptcy rates rising even when the economy was on the upswing?

At first, Warren accepted the assumption that people were causing their own financial ruin. Too much "Tommy, Ralph, Gucci and Prada," a story in Newsweek called "Maxed Out" later declared. Along with two other scholars, Jay Westbrook and Teresa Sullivan, Warren flew around the country and collected thousands of bankruptcy-court filings in several states. "I was going to expose these people who were taking advantage of the rest of us by hauling off to bankruptcy and just charging debts that they really could repay," she said in a 2007 interview with Harry Kreisler, a historian at the University of California, Berkeley. But Warren, Westbrook and Sullivan found that 90 percent of consumer bankruptcies were due to a job loss, a medical problem or the breakup of a family through divorce or the death of a spouse. "I did the research, and the data just took me to a totally different place," Warren said.

That research led to a job at the University of Texas at Austin, despite the doubts some faculty members had about her nonselective university degrees. (Mann worked at Washington University in St. Louis.) They finally managed to get joint appointments at the University of Pennsylvania in 1987, and she stayed there until 1995.

During this period, Warren was registered as a Republican. (Earlier, in Texas, she was an independent.) Her political affiliation shifted around the time she began working on bankruptcy in Washington. More than one million families a year were going bankrupt in the mid-'90s, and Congress established the National Bankruptcy Review Commission to suggest how to change the bankruptcy code. The commission's chairman, former Representative Mike Synar of Oklahoma, asked Warren, now at Harvard Law School, to be his chief policy adviser. "I said, 'No, not a chance, that's political,'" Warren said in her interview with Kreisler. "I want to be pure. I want to be pristine. I don't want to muddy what I do with political implications."

But Synar persuaded Warren to join his team. It was a critical juncture. Big banks and credit-card companies were pushing Congress to raise the barriers for consumers to file for bankruptcy and harder for families to write off debt. Bill Clinton was president. He had run -- much as Warren is running now -- as a champion of the middle class, but early in his first term he began courting Wall Street. He didn't want to fight the banks.

Warren flew back and forth from Boston to Washington and to cities where the commission held hearings. It was her political education, and the imbalance of influence she saw disturbed her. The banks and lenders paid people to go to the hearings, wrote campaign checks and employed an army of lobbyists. People who went bankrupt often didn't want to draw attention to themselves, and by definition, they had no money to fight back.

By 1997, Warren had become a Democrat, but she was battling within the party as well as outside it. In particular, she clashed with Joe Biden, then a senator from Delaware. Biden's tiny state, which allowed credit-card companies to charge any interest rate they chose beginning in 1981, would become home to half the national market. Individuals who worked for one giant lender, MBNA, contributed more than \$200,000 to Biden's campaigns over the years, according to the Center for Responsive Politics. Biden strongly supported a bill, a version of which was first introduced in 1998, to make it more expensive to file for bankruptcy and more difficult to leave behind debt. He was unpersuaded by Warren's charts and graphs showing how the change would increase the financial burden on families. "I am so sick of this self-righteous sheen put on anybody who wants to tighten up bankruptcy," Biden said during a Senate hearing in 2001.

The bankruptcy battles continued, and when Warren testified against the proposed changes to the bankruptcy code before the Senate in 2005, Biden called her argument "very compelling and mildly demagogic," suggesting that her problem was really with the high interest rates that credit-card companies were allowed to charge. "But senator," Warren answered, "if you are not going to fix that problem" -- by capping interest rates -- "you can't take away the last shred of protection from these families" that access to bankruptcy offers. The bill passed two months later.

Biden's team now argues that he stepped in to win "important concessions for middle-class families," like prioritizing payments for child support and alimony ahead of other debt. When I asked Warren in June about Biden's claim, she pursed her lips, looked out the window, paused for a long beat and said, "You may want to check the record on that." The record shows that Warren's focus

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throughout was on the plight of families who were going bankrupt and that Biden's was on getting a bill through. He supported tweaking it to make it a little less harmful to those facing bankruptcy, and the changes allowed it to pass.

In the years since it became law, the bankruptcy bill has allowed credit-card companies to recover more money from families than they did before. That shift had two effects, Matthew Yglesias argued recently in Vox. As Biden hoped, borrowers over all benefited when the credit-card companies offered slightly lowered interest rates. But as Warren feared, the new law hit people reeling from medical emergencies and other unexpected setbacks. Blocked from filing for bankruptcy, they have remained worse off for years. And a major effort to narrow the path to bankruptcy may have an unintended effect, according to a 2019 working paper released by the National Bureau of Economic Research, by making it harder for the country to recover from a financial crisis.

In 2001, a Harvard student named Jessica Pishko, an editor of The Harvard Women's Law Journal, approached Warren about contributing to a special issue. She didn't expect Warren to say yes. Students saw Warren as an example of female achievement but not as a professional feminist. "She didn't write about anything that could seem girlie," Pishko remembers. "She wasn't your go-to for feminist issues, and she was from that era when you didn't put pictures of your kids on your desk" to show that you were serious about your work. But Warren wanted to contribute. "She said: 'I'm doing all this research on bankruptcy, and I want to talk about why that's a women's issue. Can I do that?'"

The paper Warren produced, "What Is a Women's Issue?" was aggressive and heterodox. In it, she criticized the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund for singling out Biden for praise in its annual report because he championed the Violence Against Women Act, which made it easier to prosecute domestic abusers. Warren thought his support for that law did not compensate for his role in pushing through the bankruptcy legislation, which she believed hurt women far more. "Why isn't Senator Biden in trouble with grass-roots women's groups all over the country and with the millions of women whose lives will be directly affected by the legislation he sponsors?" she asked. The answer raised "a troubling specter of women exercising powerful political influence within a limited scope, such as rape laws or equal educational opportunity statutes."

Warren wanted feminism to be wider in scope and centered on economic injustice. She urged students to take business-law classes. "If few students interested in women's issues train themselves in commercial areas, the effects of the commercial laws will not be diminished, but there will be few effective advocates around to influence those policy outcomes," she wrote. "If women are to achieve true economic equality, a far more inclusive definition of a women's issue must emerge."

She challenged standard feminist thinking again when she published her first book for a lay audience (written with her daughter), "The Two-Income Trap," in 2003. Warren argued that in the wake of the women's movement of the 1970s, millions of mothers streamed into the workplace without increasing the financial security of their families. Her main point was that a family's additional income, when a second parent went to work, was eaten up by the cost of housing, and by child care, education and health insurance.

Conservatives embraced her critique more enthusiastically than liberals. Warren even opposed universal day care for fear of "increasing the pressure" to send both parents to work. She has shifted on that point. The child-care proposal she announced this February puts funds into creating high-quality child care but doesn't offer equivalent subsidies to parents who stay home with their children. Warren says she's responding to the biggest needs she now sees. More and more families are squeezed by the cost of child care; not enough of it is high quality; the pay for providers is too low. Warren is framing child care as a collective good, like public schools or roads and bridges.

"The Two-Income Trap" got Warren onto "Dr. Phil," giving her a taste of minor stardom and the appeal of a larger platform. When the financial crisis hit, she moved to Washington's main stage. At the invitation of Harry Reid, the Senate majority leader at the time, Warren led the congressional oversight panel tasked with overseeing the \$700 billion Troubled Asset Relief Program that Congress created to save the financial system. In public hearings, Warren called out Timothy Geithner, Obama's Treasury secretary, for focusing on bailing out banks rather than small businesses and homeowners. Through a spokeswoman, Geithner declined to comment for this article. In his memoir, he called the oversight hearings "more like made-for-YouTube inquisitions than serious inquiries."

But Warren could see the value of the viral video clip. In 2009, Jon Stewart invited her on "The Daily Show." After throwing up from nerves backstage, she went on air and got a little lost in the weeds -- repeating the abbreviation P.P.I.P. (the Public-Private Investment Program) and at first forgetting what it stood for. She felt as though she blew her opportunity to speak to millions of viewers. Stewart brought her back after the break for five more minutes, and she performed well, clearly explaining how the country forgot the lessons of the Great Depression and the dangers of deregulation. "We start pulling the threads out of the regulatory

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fabric," Warren said. She listed the upheavals that followed -- the savings and loan crisis of the 1980s and 1990s, the collapse of the giant hedge fund Long-Term Capital Management in 1998 and the Enron scandal a few years later. "And what is our repeated response?" Warren said. "We just keep pulling the threads." Now that the government was trying to save the whole economy from falling off the cliff, there were two choices: "We're going to decide, basically: Hey, we don't need regulation. You know, it's fine, boom and bust, boom and bust, boom and bust, and good luck with your 401(k). Or alternatively, we're going to say, You know, we're going to put in some smart regulations ... and what we're going to have, going forward, is we're going to have stability and some real prosperity for ordinary folks."

Stewart leaned forward and told Warren she had made him feel better than he had in months. "I don't know what it is that you just did right there, but for a second that was like financial chicken soup for me," he said.

"That moment changed my life," Warren later said. Stewart kept inviting her back. In 2010, Congress overhauled and tightened financial regulation with the Dodd-Frank Act. In the push for its passage, Warren found that she had the leverage to persuade Democratic leaders to create a new agency, the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau. Its job is to safeguard people from malfunctioning financial products (like predatory loans), much as the government protects them from -- to borrow Warren's favorite analogy -- toasters that burst into flames. Warren spent a year setting up the C.F.P.B. When Obama chose Richard Cordray over her as the first director because he had an easier path to Senate confirmation, progressives were furious.

Warren was an unusual political phenomenon by then: a policy wonk who was also a force and a symbol. In 2012, she was the natural choice for Democrats recruiting a candidate to run against Senator Scott Brown of Massachusetts, a Republican who had slipped into office, after Ted Kennedy's death, against a weak opponent. Warren had another viral moment when a supporter released a homemade video of her speaking to a group in Andover. "You built a factory out there?" Warren said, defending raising taxes on the wealthy. "Good for you. But I want to be clear: You moved your goods to market on the roads the rest of us paid for; you hired workers the rest of us paid to educate; you were safe in your factory because of police forces and fire forces that the rest of us paid for. You didn't have to worry that marauding bands would come and seize everything at your factory, and hire someone to protect against this, because of the work the rest of us did." Brown called Warren "anti-free enterprise," and Obama, running for re-election, distanced himself in an ad shot from the White House ("Of course Americans build their own businesses," he said). But Warren's pitch succeeded. She came from behind in the race against Brown and won with nearly 54 percent of the vote.

[How the Trump administration dismantled the C.F.P.B.]

Voters of color could determine the results of the 2020 presidential election. In the ***primaries***, African-Americans constitute a large share of ***Democrats*** in the early-voting state of South Carolina and on Super Tuesday, when many other states vote. In the general election, the path to the presidency for a Democrat will depend in part on turning out large numbers of people of color in Southern states (North Carolina, Virginia, possibly Florida) and also in the Rust Belt, where the post-Obama dip in turnout among African-Americans contributed to Hillary Clinton's squeaker losses in Wisconsin and Pennsylvania.

Warren has work to do to persuade people of color to support her. In the last couple of ***Democratic primaries***, these voters started out favoring candidates who they thought would be most likely to win, not those who were the most liberal. Black voters backed Hillary Clinton in 2008 until they were sure Barack Obama had enough support to beat her, and in 2016 they stuck with her over Bernie Sanders. This time, they have black candidates -- Kamala Harris, Cory Booker and Wayne Messam -- to choose from. And voters of color may be skeptical of Warren's vision of class solidarity transcending racial division. As it turned out, Warren's case that most white people voted for Trump because of economic distress, and "despite the hate," as she said right after the election, didn't really hold up. A study published last year found that among white voters, perceived racial or global threats explained their shift toward Trump better than financial concerns did. What does that say about the chances of winning as a liberal who tries to take the racism out of populism?

When Warren makes the case about what needs to change in America by leaning on the period from 1935 to 1980, she's talking about a time of greater economic equality -- but also a period when people of color were excluded from the benefits of government policies that buoyed the white middle class. In a video announcing that she was exploring a presidential bid, Warren acknowledged that history by saying that families of color today face "a path made even harder by generations of discrimination." For example, the federal agency created during the New Deal drew red lines around mostly black neighborhoods on maps to deny mortgage loans to people who lived in them.

Elizabeth Warren Has an Answer for Everything. Is That Enough?

Warren spoke about this problem years before she went into politics. Redlining contributed to the racial wealth gap, and that had consequences Warren saw in her bankruptcy studies -- black families were more vulnerable to financial collapse. Their vulnerability was further heightened by subprime and predatory lending. In "The Two-Income Trap," Warren called these kinds of loans "legally sanctioned corporate plans to steal from minorities."

In March, Warren took a three-day trip to the South. She started on a Sunday afternoon, with a town hall -- one of 101 she has done across the country -- at a high school in a mostly black neighborhood in Memphis. It's her format of choice; the questions she fields help sharpen her message. The local politicians who showed up that day were African-American, but most of the crowd was white.

The next morning, Warren drove to the Mississippi Delta. Her husband, Mann, was on spring break from teaching and along for the trip. Warren's staff welcomes his presence because Warren loves having him with her and because he's willing to chat up voters (who often call him "Mr. Warren"). In the small town of Cleveland, Miss., Warren sprang out of her black minivan in the parking lot of a church to shake the hand of an African-American state senator, Willie Simmons. They were meeting for the first time: He had agreed to take her on a walking tour after her campaign got in touch and said she wanted to learn about housing in the Delta.

Simmons and Warren set off down a block of modest ranch houses, some freshly painted, others peeling, preceded by TV crews and trailed by the rest of the press as her aides darted in to keep us out of the shot. The scrum made conversation stony, but Simmons gradually eased into answering Warren's questions. He pointed out cracks in the foundations of some houses; the lack of money to repair old buildings was a problem in the Delta. They stopped at a vacant lot. The neighbors wanted to turn it into a playground, but there was no money for that either.

Warren nodded and then took a stab at communicating her ideas to the local viewers who might catch a few of her words that night. She hit the highlights of the affordable housing bill she released in the Senate months earlier -- 3.2 million new homes over 10 years, an increase in supply that Moody's estimated would reduce projected rents by 10 percent. When the tour ended, Simmons told the assembled reporters that he didn't know whom he would support for president, but Warren got points for showing up and being easy to talk to -- "touchable," he said.

That night, Warren did a CNN town hall at Jackson State University, the third historically black college she has visited this year. Warren moved toward the audience at the first opportunity, walking past the chair placed for her onstage. She laid out the basics of her housing bill, stressing that it addressed the effects of discrimination. "Not just a passive discrimination," Warren said. "Realize that into the 1960s in America, the federal government was subsidizing the purchase of homes for white families and discriminating against black families." Her bill included funds to help people from redlined areas, or who had been harmed by subprime loans, buy houses. The audience applauded.

Warren also said that night that she supported a "national full-blown conversation" about reparations for slavery and Jim Crow. She saw this as a necessary response to the stark wealth gap between black and white families. "Today in America -- because of housing discrimination, because of employment discrimination -- we live in a world where the average white family has \$100 and the average black family has about \$5." Several Democratic candidates have said they support a commission to study reparations. Ta-Nehisi Coates, author of the influential 2014 Atlantic article "The Case for Reparations," said in a recent interview with The New Yorker that Warren was the candidate whose commitment seemed real because she had asked him to talk with her about his article when it came out years ago. "She was deeply serious," Coates said.

Warren is often serious and doesn't hesitate to convey her moral outrage. "I'll own it," she told me about her anger. She talked about women expressing to her their distress about sexual harassment and assault. "Well, yeah," Warren said. "No kidding that a woman might be angry about that. Women have a right to be angry about being treated badly."

Trump gets angry all the time; whether a woman can do the same and win remains a question. Warren's campaign is simultaneously working in another register. On Twitter, it has been posting videos of Warren calling donors who have given as little as \$3. They can't believe it's her. When the comedian and actress Ashley Nicole Black tweeted, "Do you think Elizabeth Warren has a plan to fix my love life?" Warren tweeted back and then called Black, who finished the exchange with a fan-girl note: "Guess who's crying and shaking and just talked to Elizabeth Warren on the phone?!? We have a plan to get my mom grandkids, it's very comprehensive, and it does involve raising taxes on billionaires."

Elizabeth Warren Has an Answer for Everything. Is That Enough?

After Trump's election, Warren and Sanders said that if Trump followed through on his promise to rebuild the economy for workers and their families, they would help. If Trump had championed labor over corporations, he could have scrambled American politics by creating new alliances. But that version of his presidency didn't come to pass. Instead, by waging trade wars that hurt farm states and manufacturing regions more than the rest of the country, Trump has punished his base economically (even if they take satisfaction in his irreverence and his judicial appointments).

Warren has been speaking to those voters. In June, she put out an "economic patriotism" plan filled with ideas about helping American industries. By stepping into the vacuum for economic populism the president has left, Warren forced a reckoning on Fox News, Trump's safe space on TV, from the host Tucker Carlson. Usually a Trump loyalist, he has recently styled himself a voice for the white working class.

Carlson opened his show by using more than two minutes of airtime to quote Warren's analysis of how giant American companies are abandoning American workers. Carlson has warned that immigrants make the country "poorer and dirtier" and laced his show with racism, but now he told his mostly Republican viewers: "Ask yourself, what part of the statement you just heard did you disagree with?" He continued, "Here's the depressing part: Nobody you voted for said that or would ever say it." The next day, a new conservative Never Trump website called The Bulwark ran a long and respectful essay called "Why Elizabeth Warren Matters."

A month earlier in Mingo County, W.Va., where more than 80 percent of voters cast a ballot for Trump, Warren went to a local fire station to talk about her plan for addressing the opioid crisis. It's big: She wants to spend \$100 billion over 10 years, including \$50 million annually for West Virginia, the state with the highest rate of deaths from drug overdoses. In Trump's latest budget, he has requested an increase of \$1.5 billion to respond directly to the epidemic. Against a backdrop of firefighters' coats hanging in cinder-block cubbies, Warren moved among a crowd of about 150. Many hands went up when she asked who knew someone struggling with opioids. She brought up the role of "corporations that made big money off getting people addicted and keeping them addicted." People with "Make America Great Again" stickers nodded and clapped, according to Politico.

If Warren competes for rural voters in the general election (if not to win a red state then to peel off enough of them to make a difference in a purple one), her strong support for abortion rights and gun control will stand in her way. Lately, she has framed her argument for keeping abortion clinics open in economic terms, too. "Women of means will still have access to abortions," she said at a town hall on MSNBC hosted by Chris Hayes of the effects of new state laws aimed at closing clinics. "Who won't will be poor women, will be working women, will be women who can't afford to take off three days from work, will be very young women." She finished by saying, "We do not pass laws that take away that freedom from the women who are most vulnerable."

Biden and Sanders have been polling better with non-college-educated white voters than Warren has. David Axelrod, the former Obama strategist and political commentator, thinks that even if her ideas resonate, she has yet to master the challenge of communicating with this group. "She's lecturing," he said. "There's a lot of resistance, because people feel like she's talking down to them."

Warren didn't sound to me like a law professor on the trail, but she did sound like a teacher. Trying to educate people isn't the easiest way to connect with them. "Maybe she could bring it down a level," Lola Sewell, a community organizer in Selma, Ala., suggested. "A lot of us aren't involved with Wall Street and those places."

Warren may also confront a double bind for professional women: To command respect, they have to prove that they're experts, but once they do, they're often seen as less likable. At one point, I asked Warren whether there was anything good about running for president as a woman. "It is what it is," she said.

When I first talked with Warren in February, when her poll numbers were low, I wondered whether she was content with simply forcing ***Democratic*** candidates to engage with her ideas. During the 2016 ***primaries***, when Warren did not endorse Sanders, she wanted influence over Hillary Clinton's economic appointments should she win the presidency. Cleaving the Democratic administration from Wall Street -- that was enough at the time. She could make a similar decision in 2020 or try to get her own appointment. If Warren became Treasury secretary, she could resuscitate the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, which Trump has worked to declaw, and tip all kinds of decisions away from banks and toward the families who come to her town halls and tell her about the loans they can't pay.

Elizabeth Warren Has an Answer for Everything. Is That Enough?

By mid-June, however, when I went to Washington to talk to Warren for the last time, she was very much in the race. New polls showed her in second place in California and Nevada. She had more to lose, and perhaps as a result, her answers were more scripted, more like her speeches.

Warren, like everyone in the race, has yet to prove that she has the political skills and broad-enough support to become president. But a parallel from another country suggests that perhaps bearing down on policy is the best strategy against right-wing populism. Luigi Zingales, the University of Chicago economist, comes from Italy, and he feared Trump's rise back in 2011, having watched the ascension of Silvio Berlusconi, the corrupt billionaire tycoon who was elected prime minister of Italy in the 2000s as a right-wing populist. After Trump's victory in 2016, Zingales pointed out in a New York Times Op-Ed that the two candidates who defeated Berlusconi treated him as "an ordinary opponent," focusing on policy issues rather than his character. "The Democratic Party should learn this lesson," Zingales wrote. He now thinks that Warren is positioned to mount that kind of challenge. "I think so," he said, "if she does not fall for his provocations."

Warren and I met in her Washington apartment. The floor at the entrance had been damaged by a leak in the building, and the vacuum cleaner was standing next to the kitchen counter. I said I was a bit relieved by the slight disarray because her house in Cambridge was so supremely uncluttered, and she burst out laughing. She sat on the couch as we spoke about the indignities to come, the way in which her opponents -- Biden, Trump, who knew who else -- would try to make her unrecognizable to herself. What would she do about that? Warren leaned back and stretched her feet out, comfortable in gray wool socks. "The answer is, we've got time," she said. "I'll just keep talking to people -- I like talking to people."

This is a more complete version of the story than the one that appeared in print.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/17/magazine/elizabeth-warren-president.html>

Graphic

PHOTOS: Warren at a rally in May at Laney College in Oakland, Calif. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SEPTEMBER DAWN BOTTOMS) (MM24-MM25)

Elizabeth Warren at George Washington University in the 1960s, in a dress she made herself. (PHOTOGRAPH FROM THE WARREN CAMPAIGN) (MM27)

At rallies, Warren takes a photo with every supporter who wants one. At Laney College, she stayed for over two hours, meeting more than 1,000 people. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SEPTEMBER DAWN BOTTOMS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (MM28-MM29)

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Bernie Sanders Unveils Education Plan to Eliminate Student Loan Debt

The New York Times

June 24, 2019 Monday 14:27 EST

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Byline: Emily Cochrane

Highlight: Senator Bernie Sanders, along with Representatives Ilhan Omar and Pramila Jayapal, would cancel all student debt and eliminate tuition at public and community colleges.

Body

WASHINGTON — Senator Bernie Sanders, along with prominent House Democratic progressives, introduced legislation on Monday to eliminate all of the country's student debt while transforming the nation's higher education system, escalating the policy battle to win the support of the Democratic Party's left flank.

The plan, which Mr. Sanders, an independent from Vermont, introduced with Representatives Ilhan Omar of Minnesota and Pramila Jayapal of Washington, both Democrats, would forgive the student debts of nearly 45 million graduates — worth about \$1.6 trillion — and eliminate tuition and fees at public four-year institutions and community *colleges*. It would cap *student loan* interest rates; expand Pell grants by allowing them to cover books, housing and transportation; and cancel tuition at trade schools and apprenticeship programs. It would also channel more funding to historically black universities, tribal colleges and other minority institutions.

To pay its estimated \$2.2 trillion cost, its authors would impose a “Wall Street speculation tax” on financial investment transactions. Mr. Sanders said that all debt could be eliminated within six months under his plan.

“I don’t often use the phrase, but today we are, in fact, offering a revolutionary proposal,” said Mr. Sanders at an event outside the Capitol to introduce the legislation. “Today, we are entering a proposal which will allow every person in this country to get all of the education that they need to live out their dreams.”

Introduced two days before the first debate of the 2020 *Democratic* presidential *primary* race, the plan offers Mr. Sanders an opportunity to distinguish himself from Senator Elizabeth Warren, Democrat of Massachusetts, who has been jockeying with him for the support of the party’s left flank. Ms. Warren released her own higher education plan in April.

Mr. Sanders declined on Monday to answer any questions related to the campaign, telling reporters that he wanted to focus on the legislation. But the political backdrop was unmistakable, and it was not the first time the independent senator has used the Capitol to advance his claim on the Democratic presidential nomination. Mr. Sanders began his bid for the party’s 2016 White House nod from the same patch of grass, known as the Senate Swamp, in 2015.

The new bill builds on legislation introduced during the last Congress by Ms. Jayapal and Mr. Sanders. That legislation would also scrap tuition and fees at public institutions, but it did not include the elimination of student debt. Aides said that Ms. Omar, who is still paying off her own student debt, pressed for the inclusion of debt cancellation.

Under the new bill, states seeking federal higher education aid would have to enter an annual agreement with the Education Department that would include a number of stipulations, like a prohibition on raising tuition for out-of-state students.

Bernie Sanders Unveils Education Plan to Eliminate Student Loan Debt

“As a nation, we are killing ourselves by draining the enthusiasm, innovation, creativity and potential of our next generation,” Ms. Jaypal said. “Let’s free the generations to come.”

While Mr. Sanders is widely credited with bringing the idea of free college to national attention during his 2016 presidential run, Ms. Warren pushed the idea further in April with an additional call for the elimination of student debt. She has siphoned away parts of Mr. Sanders’s base of voters with a stream of progressive plans. Julián Castro, a former housing secretary and current presidential candidate, has also unveiled a plan to transform the **student loan** repayment system.

Ms. Warren’s \$1 trillion plan would eliminate some or all **student loan** debt for about 95 percent of borrowers — about 42 million people, according to her campaign — canceling up to \$50,000 for every person with a household income of less than \$100,000. More than 75 percent of borrowers would see all of their student debt eliminated. She has said that she plans to introduce accompanying legislation with Representative James E. Clyburn of South Carolina, the No. 3 Democrat in the House.

But Mr. Sanders’s legislation makes no distinctions for income levels.

“Rather than making exceptions, let’s end this crisis entirely once and for all,” said Ms. Omar, who made the cancellation of **student loans** a prominent issue during her 2018 campaign. “The American people bailed out Wall Street. It’s time for Wall Street to bail out the American people.”

Mr. Sanders told reporters he did not support an income cutoff because “I believe in universality.”

“If Donald Trump wants to send his kids to public schools,” he added, “he has a right to do that.”

Some more moderate analysts were measured about the plan, asking for more detail on its funding, state involvement and a more direct antidote to the rising costs of secondary education.

The plan “doesn’t match the complexity of the cost education problem,” said Joni E. Finney, a professor at the University of Pennsylvania and the director of the school’s Institute for Research on Higher Education. “This is providing it all on the back end, and doesn’t deal with the angst students have on the front end.”

Others in the education field, like Randi Weingarten, the head of the American Federation of Teachers, backed it.

“We have a crisis here of immense proportion,” Ms. Weingarten said, speaking at the event on Monday. “That is why I stand here proudly.”

Liberal lawmakers, along with activists with their own tales of crippling student debt, unveiled the proposal on a blazing hot day outside the Capitol, before a sweaty crowd of young interns, staff members and tourists eager to catch a glimpse of some of the highest-profile members of the Democratic Party’s left.

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“It was literally easier for me to become the youngest woman in American history elected to Congress than it is to pay off my **student loan** debt,” she said. “That should tell you everything about the state of this.”

PHOTO: Senator Bernie Sanders and Representative Ilhan Omar also propose ending tuition at public four-year and community colleges. (PHOTOGRAPH BY J. SCOTT APPLEWHITE/ASSOCIATED PRESS)

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Bernie Sanders Unveils Education Plan to Eliminate Student Loan Debt

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Sanders Introduces a Bill To Forgive Student Debt

The New York Times

June 25, 2019 Tuesday, Late Edition - Final

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Byline: By EMILY COCHRANE

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<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/24/us/politics/bernie-sanders-student-debt.html>

Graphic

PHOTO: Senator Bernie Sanders and Representative Ilhan Omar also propose ending tuition at public four-year and community colleges. (PHOTOGRAPH BY J. SCOTT APPLEWHITE/ASSOCIATED PRESS)

Load-Date: June 25, 2019

Sanders Introduces a Bill To Forgive Student Debt

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Tiffany Cabán and the New Democrats

The New York Times

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Length: 974 words

Byline: Mara Gay

Highlight: Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez's victory was no fluke.

Body

It was election night at La Boom, a Queens nightclub, and Tiffany Cabán's supporters had something to say.

"Black Lives Matter!" they shouted, an extraordinary cry at the victory party for a district attorney candidate. "Black Lives Matter!"

Such was the scene as the night's tally ended with Ms. Cabán 1,090 votes ahead of Borough President Melinda Katz in the ***Democratic primary***. The final toll won't be known until at least next week, when absentee and other paper ballots are counted.

If Ms. Cabán's lead holds, New York is likely to be added to the list of cities that have elected district attorneys who want to remake the criminal justice system to undo two decades of policies that led to the imprisonment of hundreds of thousands of black and Latino Americans, too often for minor crimes and drug-related offenses.

The election also affirms the growing power of a fairly new force in New York politics: a millennial-based coalition pulling the Democratic Party to the left, and challenging its leadership machine.

When Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez beat Joseph Crowley, the Queens Democratic chairman and fourth-ranking House member, last June, she gained star power more akin to Beyoncé's than that of a freshman member of Congress. The city's political establishment thought it was a fluke.

Victories by reform ***Democrats*** in the New York State Senate ***primary*** elections in September threw shade on those doubts. This election should put to rest the idea that the coalition isn't a sustainable force.

Conventional wisdom would have suggested that Tuesday's election results were impossible. Months ago, few had ever heard of Ms. Cabán, a 31-year-old public defender with seven years' experience. In her way stood the entirety of the county Democratic organization backing Ms. Katz, a longtime player in Queens politics. Powerful unions pledged to support Ms. Katz; the real estate industry provided plentiful donations. Gov. Andrew Cuomo endorsed her. So did prominent African-American elected officials like Representative Gregory Meeks, Mr. Crowley's successor as head of the Queens County Democrats, who moved to get out black voters in southeast Queens.

Their ads and allies warned that Ms. Cabán's inexperience and radical ideas would endanger people's safety.

But in the end, Ms. Cabán's message proved more compelling to her supporters than those warnings were to everyone else.

With the help of the Working Families Party and her fellow Democratic Socialists of America, she has shocked the state's Democratic establishment, no matter the final outcome.

Tiffany Cabán and the New Democrats

Who are these usurpers? Many are part of a generation still quite young when the crack epidemic swept the city in the 1980s and '90s, but whose political consciousness was forged by the consequences of the brutal reaction to that era: decades of over-policing that criminalized blacks and Latinos.

It's a generation that feels that the Democratic Party leadership has failed it, not only on criminal justice, but on issues from inequality to immigration to the Iraq war.

I am one of them. Many of us are highly educated, but struggle to get ahead after years of stagnant wages, *[student loans](#)* and rents that just keep going up. To these voters, the real estate money helping fuel Ms. Katz's campaign probably didn't help her case.

We talk openly about sexual harassment. We speak about gender and sexual orientation in fluid terms that even the most well intentioned in our parents' generation struggle to understand. If we are not immigrants ourselves, we're likely to be welcoming to them.

Ms. Cabán describes herself as a "queer Latina." Her parents grew up in public housing. She went on to graduate from Pennsylvania State University and New York Law School.

We are the generation that watched our black and Latino classmates — mostly but not only the boys — thrown up against police cars on the way home from school, part of a stop-and-frisk practice that was later ruled unconstitutional. We remember how black men like Sean Bell, Kalief Browder and Eric Garner died at the hands of the police or by the cruelties of the corrections system, and we want this sort of injustice to end.

But Ms. Cabán's apparent win was dependent not only on those voters who showed up, but also those who didn't. In a different time, Ms. Cabán's campaign promises to eliminate cash bail, decriminalize sex work and stop prosecuting most quality-of-life offenses might have conjured fears of rising crime, and drawn conservative voters to the polls.

Ms. Katz and her allies certainly tried to capitalize on those fears, releasing negative ads late in the race that sought to evoke the specter of a return to the "bad old days."

With turnout at just over 11 percent — an abysmal showing — Ms. Cabán's motivated voters had the edge.

To make a lasting impact, these liberal insurgents will have to do more than capitalize on voter apathy, as the machine before them so often did. They will need to build a much broader coalition — not only to keep winning elections, but also to succeed at governing. Especially important will be fighting to win over black New Yorkers in the areas of southeast Queens that Ms. Katz won, as well as those who are unsure about what this new vision of criminal justice reform, and other political changes, may mean.

The old kind of politics seems to be fading away. Whether what comes next is any better is up to all of us to decide.

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PHOTO: Tiffany Cabán with supporters on election night. (PHOTOGRAPH BY FRANK FRANKLIN II/ASSOCIATED PRESS)

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Tiffany Cabán and the New Democrats

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If Ms. Cabán's lead holds, New York is likely to be added to the list of cities that have elected district attorneys who want to remake the criminal justice system to undo two decades of policies that led to the imprisonment of hundreds of thousands of black and Latino Americans, too often for minor crimes and drug-related offenses.

The election also affirms the growing power of a fairly new force in New York politics: a millennial-based coalition pulling the Democratic Party to the left, and challenging its leadership machine.

When Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez beat Joseph Crowley, the Queens Democratic chairman and fourth-ranking House member, last June, she gained star power more akin to Beyoncé's than that of a freshman member of Congress. The city's political establishment thought it was a fluke.

Victories by reform ***Democrats*** in the New York State Senate ***primary*** elections in September threw shade on those doubts. This election should put to rest the idea that the coalition isn't a sustainable force.

Conventional wisdom would have suggested that Tuesday's election results were impossible. Months ago, few had ever heard of Ms. Cabán, a 31-year-old public defender with seven years' experience. In her way stood the entirety of the county Democratic organization backing Ms. Katz, a longtime player in Queens politics. Powerful unions pledged to support Ms. Katz; the real estate industry provided plentiful donations. Gov. Andrew Cuomo endorsed her. So did prominent African-American elected officials like Representative Gregory Meeks, Mr. Crowley's successor as head of the Queens County Democrats, who moved to get out black voters in southeast Queens.

Their ads and allies warned that Ms. Cabán's inexperience and radical ideas would endanger people's safety.

But in the end, Ms. Cabán's message proved more compelling to her supporters than those warnings were to everyone else.

With the help of the Working Families Party and her fellow Democratic Socialists of America, she has shocked the state's Democratic establishment, no matter the final outcome.

Who are these usurpers? Many are part of a generation still quite young when the crack epidemic swept the city in the 1980s and '90s, but whose political consciousness was forged by the consequences of the brutal reaction to that era: decades of over-policing that criminalized blacks and Latinos.

Tiffany Cabán and the New Democrats

It's a generation that feels that the Democratic Party leadership has failed it, not only on criminal justice, but on issues from inequality to immigration to the Iraq war.

I am one of them. Many of us are highly educated, but struggle to get ahead after years of stagnant wages, student loans and rents that just keep going up. To these voters, the real estate money helping fuel Ms. Katz's campaign probably didn't help her case.

We talk openly about sexual harassment. We speak about gender and sexual orientation in fluid terms that even the most well intentioned in our parents' generation struggle to understand. If we are not immigrants ourselves, we're likely to be welcoming to them.

Ms. Cabán describes herself as a "queer Latina." Her parents grew up in public housing. She went on to graduate from Pennsylvania State University and New York Law School.

We are the generation that watched our black and Latino classmates -- mostly but not only the boys -- thrown up against police cars on the way home from school, part of a stop-and-frisk practice that was later ruled unconstitutional. We remember how black men like Sean Bell, Kalief Browder and Eric Garner died at the hands of the police or by the cruelties of the corrections system, and we want this sort of injustice to end.

But Ms. Cabán's apparent win was dependent not only on those voters who showed up, but also those who didn't. In a different time, Ms. Cabán's campaign promises to eliminate cash bail, decriminalize sex work and stop prosecuting most quality-of-life offenses might have conjured fears of rising crime, and drawn conservative voters to the polls.

Ms. Katz and her allies certainly tried to capitalize on those fears, releasing negative ads late in the race that sought to evoke the specter of a return to the "bad old days."

With turnout at just over 11 percent -- an abysmal showing -- Ms. Cabán's motivated voters had the edge.

To make a lasting impact, these liberal insurgents will have to do more than capitalize on voter apathy, as the machine before them so often did. They will need to build a much broader coalition -- not only to keep winning elections, but also to succeed at governing. Especially important will be fighting to win over black New Yorkers in the areas of southeast Queens that Ms. Katz won, as well as those who are unsure about what this new vision of criminal justice reform, and other political changes, may mean.

The old kind of politics seems to be fading away. Whether what comes next is any better is up to all of us to decide.

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Graphic

PHOTO: Tiffany Cabán with supporters on election night. (PHOTOGRAPH BY FRANK FRANKLIN II/ASSOCIATED PRESS)

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Full Transcript: Democratic Presidential Debates, Night 2

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Body

Following is a transcript of the Democratic debate, reprinted with permission from CQ-Roll Call, Inc.

HOLT:

And good evening once again. Welcome to the candidates and our spirited audience here tonight in the Arsht Center and across America. Tonight we continue the spirited debate about the future of the country, how to tackle our most pressing problems and getting to the heart of the biggest issues in this ***Democratic primary***.

GUTHRIE:

Tonight we are going to talk about healthcare, immigration. We're also to dive into the economy, jobs, climate change as well.

DIAZ-BALART:

As a quick rules of the road before we begin and they may sound familiar 20 candidates cal--qualified for this first debate. As we said we heard from 10 last night and we will hear from 10 more tonight. The breakdown for each night was selected at random. The candidates will have 60 seconds to answer, 30 seconds for follow-ups.

HOLT:

And because of the large field of candidates not every person is going to be able to weigh in on every topic but over the course of the next two hours we will hear from everyone.

GUTHRIE:

And we love our audience but we would like to ask them to keep their reactions to a minimum and we are not going to hold back making sure that candidates stick to time.

So with that business take care--taken care of let's get to it and we are going to start today with Senator Sanders. Good evening to you.

You have called for big new government benefits like universal healthcare and free college. In a recent interview you said you suspected that Americans would be quote delighted to pay more taxes for things like that. My question to you is will taxes go up for the middle class in a Sanders administration? And if so how do you sell that to voters?

SANDERS:

Well, you are quite right. We have a new vision for America and at a time when we have three people in this country owning more wealth than the bottom half of America, while 500,000 people are sleeping out on the streets today we think it is time for change, real change.

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And by that I mean that healthcare in my view is a human right and we have got to pass a Medicare for all single-payer system.

(APPLAUSE)

Under that system by the way vast majority of the people in this country will be paying significantly less for healthcare than they are right now. I believe that education is the future for this country and that is why I believe that we must make public colleges and universities tuition-free and eliminate student debt and we do that by placing a tax on Wall Street.

(APPLAUSE)

Every proposal that I have brought forth is fully paid for.

GUTHRIE:

Senator Sanders I will give you 10 seconds just to ask the--answer the very direct question will you raise taxes for the middle class in a Sanders administration?

SANDERS:

People who have healthcare under Medicare for all will have no premiums, no deductibles, no copayments, no out of expe--out-of-pocket expenses. Yes, they will pay more in taxes but less in healthcare for what they get.

(APPLAUSE)

GUTHRIE:

Thank you Senator.

BENNET:

Senator Sanders--

GUTHRIE:

(CROSSTALK) Senator--Senator Bennet we're going to get to everybody.

BIDEN:

I'd like to say--

GUTHRIE:

Senator Biden promise everyone's going to get in here, promise. Sen--Vice President Biden Senator Sanders as you know has been calling for revolution. Recently in remarks to a group of wealthy donors as you were speaking about the problem of income inequality in this country you said we shouldn't quote demonize the rich. You said nobody has to be punished, no one's standard of living would change, nothing would fundamentally change. What did you mean by that?

BIDEN:

What I meant by that is look, Donald Trump thinks Wall Street built America. Ordinary middle-class Americans built America.

My dad used to have an expression he said Joe a job is about a lot more than a paycheck; it's about your dignity, it's about respect, it's being able to look your kid in the eye and say everything's going to be okay. Too many people who are in the middle class and poor have had the bottom fall out under this proposal.

What I am saying is that we've got to be straightforward. We have to make sure we understand that to return dignity to the middle class they have to have insurance that is covered and they can afford it. They have to make sure that we (INAUDIBLE) situation

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where there's continuing education and they are able to pay for it and they have to make sure that they are able to breathe air that is--is clean and they--they have water that they can drink.

Look, Donald Trump has put us in a horrible situation. We do have enormous income inequality and one thing I agree honestly can make massive cuts in the \$1.6 trillion in tax loopholes out there and I would be going about eliminating Donald Trump's tax cuts for the wealthy.

GUTHRIE:

Vice President Biden thank you.

(APPLAUSE)

Senator Harris there's a lot of talk in this primary about new government benefits such as student loan cancellation, free college, healthcare and more. Do you think that Democrats have a responsibility to explain how they will pay for every proposal

GUTHRIE:

They make along those lines.

HARRIS:

Well, let me tell you something. I--I hear that question, but where was that question when the Republicans and Donald Trump passed a tax bill that--that benefits the top 1 percent and--

(APPLAUSE)

--the biggest corporations in the--this country, contributing at least a--\$1 trillion to the debt of America, which middle-class families will pay for one way or another. Working families need support and need to be lifted up, and frankly this economy is not working or working people.

For too long, the rules have been written in the favor of the people who have the most and not in favor of the people who work the most, which why I am proposing that we change the tax code so, for every family that is making less than \$100,000 year, they will receive a tax credit that they can collect, up to \$500 a month, which will make all the difference between those families being able to get through the end of the month with dignity and was support or not. And on day one, I will repeal that tax bill that benefits the top 1 percent and the biggest corporations in America.

(APPLAUSE)

GUTHRIE:

Senator Harris, thank you. Governor Hickenlooper, let me get you in on this. You've warned that Democrats will lose in 2020 if they embrace socialism, as you put it. You were booed at the California Democratic Convention when you said that. Only one candidate on this stage, Senator Sanders, identifies himself as a democratic socialist. What are the policies or positions of your opponents that you think are veering towards socialism?

HICKENLOOPER:

Well, I think that the bottom line is, if we don't clearly define that we are not socialists, the Republicans are going to come at us every way they can and--and call us socialists. And if you look at the Green New Deal, which I admire the sense of urgency and how important it is to do climate change, I'm a scientist, but we can't promise every American a government job if you want to get universal healthcare coverage. I believe that healthcare is a right and not a privilege, but you can't expect to eliminate private insurance for 180 million people, many of whom don't want to give it up.

In Colorado, we brought businesses and nonprofits together. We got to near universal healthcare coverage. We were the first state in America to--to bring the environmental community and the oil and gas industry to address, aggressively address methane emissions. And we were also the first place to--to expand reproductive rights on a scale basis that we reduced teen pregnancy by 54

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percent. We've done the big progressive things people said it couldn't be done. I've done what pretty much everyone else up here is still talking about doing.

GUTHRIE:

Governor, thank you. Senator Sanders--

(APPLAUSE)

--I'll give you a chance to--to weigh in here. What is your response to those who say nominating a--a socialist would reelect Donald Trump?

SANDERS:

Well, I think the responses at the polls, last poll I saw had us 10 points ahead of Donald Trump, because the American people understand that Trump is a phony, that Trump is a pathological liar and a racist, and then he lied to the American people during his campaign. He said he was going to stand up for working families. Well, President Trump, you're not standing up for working families when you try to throw 32 million people off the healthcare that they have and that 83 percent of your tax benefits go to the top 1 percent. That's how we be Trump. We expose him for the fraud that he is.

(APPLAUSE)

GILLIBRAND:

In answer--

GUTHRIE:

--Senator--

GILLIBRAND:

--I want to talk about--

GUTHRIE:

--Senator Gillibrand, 30 seconds.

GILLIBRAND:

I disagree with both their perspectives. The debate we're having in our party right now is confusing because the truth is there's a big difference between capitalism on the one hand and greed on the other. And so, all the things that we're trying to change is when companies care more about profits when they do about people.

So, if you're talking about ending gun violence, it's the greed of the NRA and the gun manufacturers that make any progress impossible. It's the greed of the insurance companies and the drug companies when we want to try to get healthcare as a right and not a privilege.

GUTHRIE:

Senator Gillibrand--

GILLIBRAND:

--So, there may--

GUTHRIE:

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--Thank you--

GILLIBRAND:

--Not be disagreement in the party because, in truth, we want healthy capitalism.

GUTHRIE:

Senator, thank you.

GILLIBRAND:

We don't want corrupted capitalism--

GUTHRIE:

--Thank you. I want to be fair to all the candidates--

GILLIBRAND:

--Which is the definition of greed.

GUTHRIE:

Thank you. Senator Bennet--

(APPLAUSE)

--You have said, "It's possible to write policy proposals that have no basis in reality. You might as well call them candy." Were you referring to any candidate or proposal in particular when you said that?

BENNET:

Are you--was that directed to me?

GUTHRIE:

Yes, that was your quote.

BENNET:

Well, thank you. That sounded like me. Thank you.

GUTHRIE:

It was you.

BENNET:

I appreciate it. Well--

GILLIBRAND:

--It definitely wasn't me--

BENNET:

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--Look, first of all, I agree completely with Bernie about what the fundamental challenge we're facing as a country is, 40 years of no economic growth for 90 percent of the American people. One hundred and sixty thousand families in the top .1 percent have the same wealth as the bottom 90 percent, and we got the worst income inequality that we've had in 100 years.

Where I disagree is on his solution on Medicare for All. You know, I--I have proposed getting to universal healthcare, which we need to do. It is a right. Healthcare is a right.

BENNET:

We need to get to personal healthcare. I believe the way to do that is by finishing the work we started with Obamacare and creating a public option that every family and every person in America can make a choice for their family about whether they want a public option which for them would be like having Medicare for all or whether they want to keep their private insurance. I believe we will get there much more quickly if we do that.

(CROSSTALK)

BENNET:

If I could just finish--Bernie mentioned that the taxes that we would have to pay because of those taxes Vermont rejected Medicare for all.

(CROSSTALK)

BENNET:

In Bernie's bill, in Bernie's bill I wrote--

GUTHRIE:

We are going to talk about healthcare at length Senator, but at the moment my colleague--

(CROSSTALK)

GILLIBRAND:

In Senator Sanders' bill I wrote the part in Senator Sanders' bill that is the transition that merges what the two senators said.

HOLT:

Senator.

GILLIBRAND :

The truth is if you have a buy in over a four or five year period you move us to single payer more quickly.

DIAZ BALART:

Senator, we will get to this. We will get to this.

BENNET:

Can I--can I just say--

DIAZ BALART:

Before we do I want to say hello and good evening, Buenos noches to Mayor Buttigieg.

BUTTIGIEG:

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(UNTRANSLATED)

DIAZ BALART:

(UNTRANSLATED) Many of your colleagues on stage support free college. You do not. Why not?

BUTTIGIEG:

Sure. So, college affordability is personal for us. Chasten and I have six figure student debt. I believe in reducing student debt. It's logical to me that if you can refinance your house you ought to be able to refinance your student debt. I also believe in free college for low and middle income students for whom cost could be a barrier.

(APPLAUSE)

I just don't believe it makes sense to ask working class families to subsidize even the children of billionaires. I think the children of the wealthiest Americans can pay at least a little bit of tuition. And while I want -- want tuition costs to go down I don't think we can buy down every last penny for that. Now, there's something else that doesn't get talked about in the college affordability debate. Yes, it needs to be more affordable in this country to go to college. It also needs to be more affordable in this country to not go to college. You should be able to live well, afford rent, be generous to your children--

(APPLAUSE)

(INAUDIBLE) little league whether you went to college or not. That's one of many reasons we need to raise the minimum wage to at least \$15.00 an hour.

SWALWELL:

I got \$100,000 in student loan debt myself. I tell you--if I count on the people who have been in government for the past 30 years who were around when this problem was created to be the ones to solve it it is going to be the next generation, the 40 million of us who can't start a family. Can't take a good idea and start a business and can't buy our first home. This is the generation that's going to be able to solve student loan debt. This generation is ready to lead.

DIAZ BALART:

Mr.--Mr. Yang your signature policy is to give every adult in the United States \$1,000 a month no questions asked.

YANG:

That's right.

DIAZ BALART:

I think that's like \$3.2 trillion a--a year. How would you do that?

YANG:

I'm sorry?

DIAZ BALART:

Oh, so it's difficult to do if you have companies like Amazon, trillion dollar tech companies paying literally 0 in taxes while they're closing 30 percent of our stores. Now, we need to put the American people in a position to benefit from all of these innovations in other parts of the economy. And if we had a value added tax at even half the European level it would generate over 800 billion in new revenue which combined with the money in our hands it would be the trickle up economy from our people, families and communities up we would spend the money and circulate through our regional economies and neighborhoods--creating millions of jobs, making our families stronger and healthier. We'd save money on things like incarceration, homelessness services, emergency room healthcare and just the value gains from having a stronger, healthier, mentally healthier population would increase GDP by

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\$700 billion. This is the move we have to make particularly as technology is now automating away millions of American's jobs, why Donald Trump is our president today that we automated away 400 million manufacturing jobs in Michigan, Ohio and Pennsylvania and Wisconsin and we're about to do the same thing to millions of retail jobs, call center jobs, fast food jobs, truck driving jobs on and on throughout the economy.

DIAZ BALART:

So, I get to understand you a little better. So, you're saying \$1,000 a month for everyone over 18 but a value added tax so you can spend that \$1000 on value added tax?

YANG:

Well, the value added tax what it would end up--you would still be increasing the buying power of the bottom 94 percent of Americans. You have to spend a lot of money for a mild value add tax to eat up \$12,000 a year per individual. So for the average family with two or three adults it would \$24 to \$36,000 a year.

DIAZ BALART:

OK. So, Congressman Swalwell, want to talk a little bit about what Mr. Yang is talking about and you just actually mentioned it--many Americans are worried about things like self-driving cars, robots, drones, artificial intelligence will cost them their jobs. What would you to help people get the skills they need to adapt to this new world?

SWALWELL:

We must always be a country where technology creates more jobs than--

SWALWELL:

--Displaces. And I've seen the anxiety across America where the manufacturing floors go from 1,000 to 100 to one. So, we have to modernize our schools, value the teachers who prepare our kids, wipe the student debt from any teacher that goes into a community that needs it. Invest in America's communities, especially where places where the best exports are people who move away to get skills. But, Jose, I was six years old when a presidential candidate came to the California Democratic Convention and said, it's time to pass the torch to a new generation of Americans. That candidate was then Senator Joe Biden. Joe Biden was right when he said it was time the pass the torch to a new generation of Americans 32 years ago.

(APPLAUSE)

He's still right today. If we're going to solve the issues of automation (PH), pass the torch. If we're going to solve the issues of climate chaos, pass the torch. If we're going to solve the issue of student loan debt, pass the torch. If we're going to end gun violence for families who are fearful of sending their kids to school, pass the torch.

DIAZ-BALART:

Vice president, would you like to sing a torch song?

BIDEN:

I would.

(LAUGHTER)

I'm still holding on to that torch. I want to make it clear to you, look, the fact of the matter is what we have to do is make sure that everybody is prepared better to go on to educate for an education. The fact is that that's why I propose us focusing on schools that are in distress. That's why I think we should triple the amount of money we spend for Title I schools. That's why I think we should have universal Pre-K. That's why I think every single person who graduates from high school--65 out of 100 now need something beyond high school and we should provide for them to be able to get that education. That's why there should be free community college, cutting in half the cost of college. That's why we should be in the position where we do not have anyone have to pay back

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the student debt when they get out, they're making less than \$25,000 a year. Their debt is frozen. No interest payment until they get beyond that. We can't put people in a position where they aren't able to go on and move on.

And so, folks, there's a lot we can do, but we have to make continuing education available for everyone so that everyone can compete in the 21st century. We're not doing that now.

DIAZ-BALART:

Senator. Senator.

(APPLAUSE)

BUTTIGIEG:

As the youngest--as the youngest guy on the stage, I feel like I probably ought to contribute to the generation.

GILLIBRAND:

Before--before--

(CROSSTALK)

SANDERS:

As part of Joe's generation--

GILLIBRAND:

--I'm for--

BUTTIGIEG:

--I'm all for--

GILLIBRAND:

--Before we move on--

SANDERS:

--As part of Joe's generation--

GILLIBRAND:

Before--before we move--

SANDERS:

--Let me respond--the issue, if I may say--

HARRIS:

--Before we move on from education--

SANDERS:

--Is not generational--

DIAZ-BALART:

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--Let's please--please.

UNKNOWN:

Yeah.

DIAZ-BALART:

Senators. Senators.

UNKNOWN:

Yeah.

HARRIS:

We forgive (CROSSTALK).

SANDERS:

--The issue is who has the guts--

UNKNOWN:

(INAUDIBLE) comment--

SANDERS:

--To take on Wall Street, to take on the fossil fuel industry, to take on the big money interest who have unbelievable influence over the economic and political life of this country.

SWALWELL:

These issues (INAUDIBLE).

SANDERS:

That's the issue.

DIAZ-BALART:

Senator Harris. Senator Harris.

(CROSSTALK)

DIAZ-BALART:

Senator Harris, I'm so sorry.

GILLIBRAND:

Can I have a turn?

DIAZ-BALART:

We will let all of these things. Senator Harris.

(CROSSTALK)

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We will let you all speak. Senator Harris.

UNKNOWN:

(CROSSTALK) been part of the issue--

UNKNOWN:

--Wait for evolution on these issues.

HARRIS:

Hey, guys. You know what? America does not want to witness a food fight. They want to know how we're going to put food on their table.

(APPLAUSE)

So, on that point, part of the issue that is at play in America today, and we've all been traveling around the country, I certainly have, I'm meeting people who are working two and three jobs. You know, this president walks around talking about and flouting his great economy, right? My great economy. My great economy. You ask him, well, how are you measuring this greatness of this economy of yours and he talks about the stock market. Well, that's fine if you own stocks. So many families in America do not. You ask him how are you measuring the greatness of this economy of yours and they point to the jobless numbers and the unemployment numbers. Well, yeah, people in America are working. They're working two and three jobs. So, when we talk about jobs, let's be very clear. In our America, no one should have to work more than one job to have a roof over their head and food on the table.

(APPLAUSE)

DIAZ-BALART:

Thank you very much, senator. Yes.

HOLT:

You have all--you've all expressed an interest in talking about healthcare. So, let's--

WILLIAMSON:

--I'd like to say something else--

HOLT:

--Let's--let's talk about healthcare. And this is going to be a show of hands question. We asked a question about healthcare last night that spurred a lot of discussion, as you know. We're going to do it again now. Many people watching at home have health insurance of their employer. Who here would abolish their private health insurance in favor of a government run plan? All right.

(APPLAUSE)

Kirsten Gill--Gillibrand. Senator Gillibrand.

UNKNOWN:

Can I--

GILLIBRAND:

--Yeah. So, now, it's my turn.

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HOLT:

Go ahead.

GILLIBRAND:

So, this is a very important issue. So, the plan that Senator Sanders and I and other support Medicare for All is how you get to single payer, but it has a buy in transition period, which is really important. In 2005 when I ran for Congress in a two to one republican district, I actually ran on Medicare for All and I won that two to one republican district twice. And the way I formulated it was simple. Anyone who doesn't have access to insurance they like, they could buy it in a percentage of income they could afford.

So, that's what we put into the transition period for our Medicare for All Plan. I believe we need to get to universal healthcare as a right, not a privilege to single payer. The quickest way you get there is you create competition with the insurers. God bless the insurers if they want to compete, they can certainly try. But, they'd never put people over their profits and I doubt they ever will.

So, what will happen is people will choose Medicare. You will transition. We would get to Medicare for All. And then your step to single payer is so short. I would make it an earned benefit just like Social Security, so that you buy in your whole life. It is always there for you and it's permanent and it's universal.

HOLT:

Senator, your time is up. I want to put that same question to Mayor Buttigieg.

BUTTIGIEG:

Yeah, we've taught look, everybody who says Medicare for All, every person in politics who allows that phrase to escape their lips has a responsibility to explain how you're actually supposed to get from here to there.

(APPLAUSE)

Now here's how I would do it. It's very similar. I would call it Medicare for All Who Want It. you take something like Medicare, a flavor of that, and you make it available on the exchanges it. People can buy in. and then if people like us are right that that will be not only a more inclusive plan, but a more efficient plan than any of the corporate answers out there, then it will be a very natural glide path to the single payer environment.

But, let's remember even in countries that have outright socialized medicine, like England, even there there's still a private sector, that's fine. It's just that for our primary care we can't be relying on the tender verses of the corporate system. This one is very personal for me. I started out this year dealing with a terminal illness of my father. I make decisions for a living and nothing could have prepared me for the kind of decisions our family faced. But, the thing we had going for us was that we never had to make those decisions based on whether it was gonna bankrupt our family because of Medicare. And I want every--

HOLT:

--Time.

BUTTIGIEG:

--And I want every family to have that same freedom to do what is medically right, not (INAUDIBLE).

(APPLAUSE)

HOLT:

Your time is complete. Vice President Biden, I want to put the question to you. You were an ar--one of the architects of Obama Care. So, where do we go from here?

BIDEN:

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Look, this is a very personal to me. When my wife and daughter were killed in an automobile accident my two boys were really very badly injured. I couldn't imagine what it'd be like had I not had adequate healthcare available immediately. And then when my son came home from Iraq after a year he was diagnosed with terminal cancer and he was given months to live. I can't fathom what would have happened if, in fact, they said by the way the last six months of your life you're on your own. We're cutting off. You've used up your time.

The fact of the matter is that the quickest, fastest way to do it is build on Obama Care, to build on what we did.

(APPLAUSE)

And secondly, secondly, to make sure that everyone does have an option. Everyone, whether they have private insurance, employer insurance or no insurance, they, in fact, can buy into the exchange to a Medicare like plan. And the way you do that, you can do it quicker look, urgency matters. There's people right now facing what I've faced and what we've faced without any of the help I had. We must move now. I'm against any democrat who opposes--in fact--

HOLT:

--Vice President Biden, your time is--

BIDEN:

--Takes down Obama Care and any republican who wants to get rid of it.

HOLT:

Let me--let me turn to Senator Sanders.

(APPLAUSE)

Senator Sanders, you have basically--you basically want to scrap the private health insurance system as we know it and replace it with a government run plan. None of the states that have tried something like that, California, Vermont, New York has struggled with it, have been successful. If politicians can't make it work in those states how would you implement it on a national level. How does this work?

SANDERS:

Lester, I find it hard to believe that every other major country on earth, including my neighbor 50 miles north of me, Canada, somehow has figured out a way to provide healthcare to every man, woman and child, and in most cases they're spending 50 percent per capita of what we are spending.

(APPLAUSE)

Let's be clear, let us be very clear the function of healthcare today from the insurance and drug company perspective is not to provide quality care to all in a cost effective way. The function of the healthcare system today is to make billions in profits for the insurance companies. And, last year, if you could believe it, while we paid the highest prices in the world for prescription drugs and I will lower prescription drug prices in half in this country, top ten companies made \$69 billion in profit. They will spend 100's of millions of dollars lying to the American people telling us why we cannot have a--

HOLT:

--Senator--

SANDERS:

--Medicare for All.

HOLT:

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I just have to follow up there, how do you implement it on a national level.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS:

I'm sorry?

HOLT:

How do you implement it on a national level given the fact that it's not succeeded in other states that have tried?

SANDERS:

I will tell you how we'll do it. We'll do it the way real change has always taken place, whether it was the labor movement, the civil rights movement or the women's movement.

SANDERS:

We will have Medicare for all when tens of millions of people are prepared to stand up and tell the insurance companies and the drug companies that their day is gone, that healthcare is a human right, not something to make huge profits off of.

HOLT:

All right. Ms. Williamson--Ms. Williamson this is a question for you.

(CROSSTALK)

HOLT:

Excuse me, excuse me. I am addressing the question to Ms. Williamson. We have been talking a lot about access to health insurance but for many Americans their most pressing concern is the high cost of healthcare. How would you lower the cost of prescription drugs?

WILLIAMSON:

Well, first of all the government should never have made the deal with the big farm at that they couldn't negotiate; that was just part of the regular corruption by which multinational corporations have their way with us. You know I wanted to say that while I agree with--I--I'm with Senator Bennet and others but I agree with almost everything here I will tell you one thing it's really nice if we got all these plans but if you think we are going to beat Donald Trump by just having all of these plans you've got another thing coming because he didn't when by saying he had a plan. He won by simply saying make America great again. We've got to get deeper than just the superficial fixes as important as they are. Even if we are just talking about the superficial fixes ladies and gentlemen we don't have a health care system in the United States, we have a sickness care system in the United States. We just wait until somebody gets sick and then we talk about who's going to pay for the treatment and how they are going to be treated.

(APPLAUSE)

What we need to talk about is why so many Americans have unnecessary chronic illnesses so many more compared to other countries and that gets back into not just the big Pharma, not just health insurance companies, it has to do with chemical policies, it has to do with environmental policies--

HOLT:

All right, Ms. Williamson your time--

WILLIAMSON:

--it has to do with food policies--

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(APPLAUSE)

WILLIAMSON:

It has to do with drug policies.

HOLT:

Thank you.

WILLIAMSON:

It even has to do with environmental policies.

HOLT:

Thank you. Senator--Senator Bennet, a question for you do you want to keep a system that we have in place with Obama care and build on it? You mentioned that a moment ago. Is that enough to get us to universal coverage?

BENNET:

I believe that will get us the quickest way there and I bought the vice president was very moving about this and Mayor Pete as well. I had prostate cancer recently as you may know and that is why I was a little late getting in the race these same week my kid had her appendectomy out and I feel very strongly that families ought to be able to have this choice. I think that is what the American people want. I believe it will get us there quickly. There are millions of people in America that do not have health insurance today because they can't--they are too wealthy. Wealthy? They make too much money to be on Medicaid, they can't afford health insurance. When Senator Sanders says that Canada is single payer, there are 35 million people in Canada. There are 330 million people in the United States easily the number of people on a public option. It could easily be 35 million and for them it would be Medicare for all as mayor Buttigieg says but for others that want to keep it they should be able to keep it. And I think that will be the fastest way to get where we need to go. Also I will say Bernie is a very honest person. He has said over and over again unlike others that have supported this legislation over and over again that this will band making it illegal all insurance except cosmetic, except insurance for I guess that's where plastic surgery. Everything else is banned under the Medicare for all proposal--

HOLT:

I--I let--I let you go a little long there but I want--but obviously Senator Sanders you have got a response.

HARRIS:

I would like to add a point here.

HOLT:

Senator Sanders (INAUDIBLE).

SANDERS:

Just very briefly you know Mike, Medicare is the most popular--

BENNET:

I agree.

SANDERS:

-- Health insurance program in the country. People don't like their private insurance companies, they like their doctors and hospitals. Under our plan people go to any doctor they want, any hospital they want. We will substantially lower the cost of healthcare in this country because we will stop the greed of the insurance companies and the drug companies.

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HARRIS:

On this issue--on this issue we have to think about how this affects real people--

UNKNOWN:

(INAUDIBLE) lifetime, (INAUDIBLE) for all and today--

HARRIS:

The reality of how this affects real people is captured in a story that many of us heard and I will para--paraphrase there is in the unite--America a parent who is seeing that their child has a temperature that is out of control, calls 911 what should I do and they say take the child to the emergency room and so they get in their car and they drive and there sitting in the parking lot outside of the emergency room looking at those sliding glass doors while they have the hand on the four head of their child knowing that if they walk through those sliding glass doors even though they have insurance they will be out 5000 deductible--\$5000 deductible when they walk through those doors.

HOLT:

Senator, Senator--

HARRIS:

That is what insurance companies are doing in America today.

GUTHRIE:

We're going to continue this discussion--

SWALWELL:

--I'm one of those parents--

GUTHRIE:

I wanted to put it in--

(CROSSTALK)

GUTHRIE:

Candidates, please.

SWALWELL:

I'm one of those parents. I was just in the emergency room with my eight month old--

GUTHRIE:

--Candidates, please--

SWALWELL:

--I'm one of those parents. I was just in the emergency room. And I'm telling you--

GUTHRIE:

--Congressman, thank you--

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SWALWELL:

--We fight health insurance companies every single week.

GUTHRIE:

Thank you.

SWALWELL:

We stand in line and pay expensive prescription drugs. We have to have a healthcare guarantee. If you're sick, you're seen it. And in America, you never go broke because of it.

GUTHRIE:

Okay.

GILLIBRAND:

With all due respect--

GUTHRIE:

--A lot of you have been talking tonight about these government healthcare plans that you proposed in one form or another. This is a show of hands question. And hold them up for a moment so people can see. Raise your hand if--if your government plan would provide coverage for undocumented immigrants.

(APPLAUSE)

GUTHRIE:

Okay. Let me start with you, Mayor Buttigieg. Why? Mayor Buttigieg, why?

BUTTIGIEG:

Because our country is healthier when everybody is healthier. And remember, we're talking about something people are getting a--given a chance to buy into. In the same way that there are undocumented immigrants in my community who pay, they pay sales taxes, they pay property taxes directly or indirectly. This is not about a handout. This is an insurance program. And we do ourselves no favor by having 11 million undocumented people in our country be unable to access healthcare.

But of course, the real problem is we shouldn't have 11 million undocumented people with no pathway to citizenship. It makes no sense. And the American people--

(APPLAUSE)

-- The American people agree on what to do. This is the crazy thing. If leadership consists of--of forming a consensus around a divisive issue, this White House has divided us around a consensus issue. The American people want a pathway to citizenship. They wanted protections for Dreamers. We need to clean up the lawful immigration system, like how my father immigrated to this country. And as part of a compromise, we can do whatever commonsense measures are needed at the border.

GUTHRIE:

Mayor--

BUTTIGIEG:

--But Washington can't deliver on something the American people want. What does that tell you about the system we're living in? It tells you it needs profound--

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GUTHRIE:

--Mayor, thank you--

BUTTIGIEG:

--Structural reform.

GUTHRIE:

Vice President Biden, I believe you said that your--

(APPLAUSE)

Health care plan would not cover undocumented immigrants. Could you explain your position?

BIDEN:

I'm sorry. I beg your pardon. I didn't hear.

GUTHRIE:

I believe at the show of hands you did not raise her hand. Did you raise your hand?

BIDEN:

Oh, no, I did. I--but

GUTHRIE:

--Okay. Sorry. Sorry. I--so, you said that they would be covered under your plan--

BIDEN:

--Yes--

GUTHRIE:

--Which is different than Obama Care.

BIDEN:

Yes. But here--here's the thing.

GUTHRIE:

Can you explain that change?

BIDEN:

Yes. You cannot let--as the mayor said, you cannot let people who are sick, no matter where they come from, no matter what their status, go uncovered. You can't do that. It's just going to be taking care of, period. You have to. It's the humane thing to do.

But here's the deal. The deal is that he's right about three things. Number one, they in fact contribute to the well-being of the country, but they also--for example, they've increased the lifespan of Social Security because they're--they have a job. They're paying the Social Security tax. That's what they're doing. It's increase the lifespan. They would do the same thing in terms of reducing the overall cost of healthcare by them being able to be treated and not wait until there in extremis.

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The other thing is, folks, look, we can deal with these insurance companies. We can deal with insurance companies by, number one, putting insurance executives in jail for their misleading--their misleading advertising, what they're doing on opioids--

(APPLAUSE)

--What they're doing paying doctors to prescribe. We should--we could be doing this by making sure everyone who is on Medicare--that the government should be able to negotiate the price for what--whatever the drug costs are. We can do this by making sure that we're in a position that we in fact allow people--you mean time's up?

WILLIAMSON:

I just want to address--

GUTHRIE:

--Your time's up. Vice President Biden, thank you.

HOLT:

Actually, you can hold off a minute. We need to take a short break here. We got a lot more we need to talk to all of you about, so stick with us. We're just getting started. We'll be back with more from Miami right after this.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

HOLT:

Welcome back from Miami. Jose is going to lead off the questioning in this round.

DIAZ BALART:

Thank you very much. Senator Harris, last month more than 130,000 migrants were apprehended at the southern border. Many of them are being detained including small children in private detention centers in Florida and throughout our countries. Most of the candidates on this stage say the conditions in these facilities are abhorrent. On January 20th, 2021, if you are president, what specifically would you do with the thousands of people--

HARRIS:

--Yeah--

DIAZ BALART:

--who try to reach the United States every day and want a better life through asylum?

HARRIS:

Immediately on January 20th of 2021 I will first of all we cannot forget our DACA recipients so I'm going to start there. I will immediately by executive action reinstate DACA status and DACA protection to those young people.

(APPLAUSE)

I will further extend protection for deferral of deportation for their parents and for veterans who we have so many who are undocumented and who have served our country and fought for our democracy.

(APPLAUSE)

I will also immediately put in place immediate process for reviewing the cases for asylum. I will release children from cages. I will get rid of the private detention centers.

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(APPLAUSE)

And I will ensure that the--this microphone that the President of the United States holds in her hand is used in a way that is about reflecting the values of our country and not about locking children up, separating them from their parents. And I have to just say that we have to think about this issue in terms of real people. A mother who pays a coyote to transport her child through their country of origin, through the entire country of Mexico facing unknown peril to come here why would that mother do that? I will tell you. Because she has decided for that child to remain where they are is worse. But what does Donald Trump do? He says go back to where you came from. That is not reflective of our America and our values and it has got to end.

(APPLAUSE)

DIAZ BALART:

(INAUDIBLE) Hickenlooper day one if you are--day one at the White House how do you respond?

WILLIAMSON:

With these--with these children?

DIAZ BALART:

Let me get to you in--in just a second.

WILLIAMSON:

I'm sorry.

DIAZ BALART:

Governor, day one, thousands of men, women and children cross the border asking for asylum for a better life. What do you do? One, day one, hour one?

HICKENLOOPER:

Certainly the images we've seen this week just compound the emotional impact that the world is judging us by. If you had ever told me any time in my life that this country would sanction federal agents to take children from the arms of their parents, put them in cages, actually put them up for adoption--in Colorado we call that kidnapping. I--I would have called you--

(APPLAUSE)

I would have told you it was unbelievable. And the first thing we have to do is recognize the humanitarian crisis on the border for what it is and make sure there are the sufficient facilities in place so that women and children are not separated from their families. The children are with their families. We have to make sure that--that ICE is completely reformed. And they begin looking at their job in a humanitarian way where they are addressing the whole needs of the people that they are engaged with along the border. And we have to make sure, ultimately, that we provide not just shelter, but food, clothing and access to medical care.

DIAZ BALART:

Ms. Williamson.

WILLIAMSON:

Yes, what Donald Trump has done to these children and it's not just in Colorado, Governor, you're right--it is kidnapping. And it's extremely important for us to realize that. If you forcibly take a child from their parents arms you are kidnapping them. And if you take a lot of children and you put them in a detention center thus inflicting chronic trauma upon them that's called child abuse. This is collective child abuse.

WILLIAMSON:

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This is collective child abuse.

(APPLAUSE)

And when this is crime--both of those things are a crime and if your government does it that doesn't make it less of a crime. These are state-sponsored crimes. And what President--and what President Trump has done is not only attack these children, not only demonize these immigrants, he is attacking a basic principle of America's moral core. We open our hearts to the stranger.

This is extremely important and it's also important for all of us remember and I have great respect for everyone who is on this--on this--on this stage but we are going to talk about what to do about healthcare. Well, where have you been guys? Because if it's not just the matter of a plan and I haven't heard anybody on this stage who has talked about American foreign policy in Latin America and how we might have in the last few decades contributed to something being more helpful(SP).

DIAZ-BALART:

Senator Gillibrand what would you do as President with a reality?

GILLIBRAND:

Well, one of the worst things about President Trump that he has done to this country is he has torn apart the moral fabric of who we are. When he started separating children at the border from their parents the fact that seven children have died in his custody, the fact that dozens of children have been separated from their parents and they have no plan to reunite them so I would do a few things. First, I would fight for comprehensive immigration reform with a pathway to citizenship. Second, I would reform how we treat asylum-seekers at the border. I would have a community-based treatment center where you are doing it within the communities where asylum-seekers are given lawyers, where there is real immigration judges, not employees of the Atty. Gen. but appointed for life and have a community-based system. I would fund borders security but the worst thing President Trump has done is he has diverted the funds away from cross-border terrorism, cross-border human trafficking, drug trafficking and gun trafficking and he is given that money to the for-profit prisons. I would not be spending money in for profit prisons--

DIAZ-BALART:

We had--

GILLIBRAND:

--to lock up children and asylum-seekers.

DIAZ-BALART:

We had a very spirited debate on this stage last night on the topic of decriminalization of the border. If--if you would be so kind raise your hand if you think it should be a civil offense rather than a crime to cross the border without documentation? Can we keep the hands up so we can see them?

BUTTIGIEG:

Let's remember that's not just a theoretical exercise, that criminalization that is the basis for family separation. You do away with that it is no longer possible. Of course it wouldn't be possible anyway in my presidency because it is dead wrong. We have got to talk about one other thing because the Republican Party likes to cloak itself in the language of religion. Now our party doesn't talk about that as much largely for a very good reason which was we are committed to the separation of church and state and we stand for people of any religion and people of no religion. But we should call out hypocrisy when we see it in for a party that associates itself with Christianity to say that it is okay to suggest that God would smile on the division of families at the hands of federal agents, that God would condone putting children in cages has lost all claim to ever use religious language again.

(APPLAUSE)

DIAZ-BALART:

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Mr. vice president I don't know if you raised your hand or word just asking to speak--

BIDEN:

Look--

DIAZ-BALART:

Would you decriminalize crossing the border without documents?

BIDEN:

The first thing I would do is unite families. I would surge immediately billions of dollars' worth of help to the region the immediately. Look, I talk about foreign policy. I am the guy that got a bipartisan agreement at the very end of the campaign, at the very end of our term to spend \$740 million to deal with the problem and that was to go to the root cause of why people are leaving in the first place. It was working. We saw as you know a net decrease in the number of children who were coming. The crisis was updated and along came this President and he said he immediately discontinued that. We all talk about these things, I did it. I did it.

(APPLAUSE)

740--now look, second thing--second thing we have to do, the law now requires the reuniting of those families. We would reunite those families period and if not we would put those children in a circumstance where they were safe until we could find their parents. And lastly the idea that he is in court with his Justice Department saying children in cages do not need a bed, do not need a blanket, do not need a toothbrush--

DIAZ-BALART:

Vice President--

BIDEN:

That is outrageous.

DIAZ-BALART:

The Obama-Biden administration was--

(APPLAUSE)

The Obama-Biden administration deported more than three million Americans. My question to you is if an individual is living in the United States of America without documents and that is his only offense, should that person be deported?

BIDEN:

Depending if they committed a--a major crime, they should be deported. And the President was left in his--President Obama I think did a heck of a job. To compare him to what--what this guy is doing is absolutely, I find--

(APPLAUSE)

--close to immoral. But the fact is that, look, we should not be locking people up. We should be making sure we change the circumstance, as we did, why they would leave in the first place. And those who come seeking asylum, we should immediately have the capacity to absorb them, keep them safe until they can be heard.

DIAZ-BALART:

A 15-second, if you could, if you wish to answer, should someone who is here without documents, and that is his only offense, should that person be deported?

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BIDEN:

That person should not be the focus of deportation. We should fundamentally change the way we deal with things.

(APPLAUSE)

DIAZ-BALART:

Senator?

SANDERS:

I want to--

WILLIAMSON:

--I think it's important--

SANDERS:

--Suggest that I agree with a lot of what Kamala just said, and that is on day one we take out our executive order pen and we rescind every damn thing on this issue that Trump has done.

(APPLAUSE)

Number two--number two, picking up on the point that Joe made, we got a look at the root causes. And you have a situation where Honduras, among other things, is a failing state, massive corruption. You got gangs who are telling families that if a 10-year-old does not join their gang, their family is going to be killed. What we have got to do on day one and invite the presidents and the leadership of Central America and Mexico together. This is a hemispheric--

DIAZ-BALART:

--Thank you--

SANDERS:

--Problem that we have got to address.

DIAZ-BALART:

Congressman Swalwell?

(APPLAUSE)

What do you do?

SWALWELL:

Day one?

DIAZ-BALART:

No. If someone is here without documents and that is their only offense, is that person to be deported?

SWALWELL:

No, that person can be a part of this great American experience. That person can contribute. My congressional district is one of the most diverse in America, and we see the benefits when people contribute and they become a part of the community and they're not in the shadow economy.

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Day one for me, families are reunited. This president, though, for immigrants, there is nothing he will not do two separate a family, cage a child, or erase their existence by weaponizing the census. And there is nothing that we cannot do in the courts and that I will not do as president to reverse that and to make sure that families always belong together.

DIAZ-BALART:

Senator Harris?

HARRIS:

Well, thank you. I will say, no, absolutely not. They should not be deported. And I actually--this was one of the very few issues with which I disagreed with the administration, with whom I otherwise had a great relationship and a great deal of respect. But on the secure communities issue, I was Attorney General of California. I led the second largest Department of Justice in the United States, second only to the United States Department of Justice, in a state of 40 million people.

And on this issue, I disagreed with my president, because the policy was to allow deportation of people who, by ICE's own definition, were non-criminals. So, as Attorney General and the chief law officer of the state of California, I issued a directive to the sheriffs of my state that they did not have to comply with detainers and instead should make decisions based on the best interest of public safety of their community. Because what I saw--and I was tracking it every day. I was tracking it and saw that--that parents, people who had not committed a crime even by ICE's own definition, were being deported.

And--but I have to add a point here. The problem with this kind of policy, and I know it as a prosecutor--

DIAZ-BALART:

--Senator--

HARRIS:

--I want a rape victim to be able to run in the middle--

DIAZ-BALART:

--Senator--

HARRIS:

--Of a--to run in the middle of the street and waved down a police officer and report the crime against her. I want anybody who has been the victim--

DIAZ-BALART:

--Senator--

HARRIS:

--Of any real crime--

DIAZ-BALART:

--Senator--

HARRIS:

--To be able to do that--

DIAZ-BALART:

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--Your time--

HARRIS:

--And not be afraid that, if they do that--

DIAZ-BALART:

--Senator--

HARRIS:

--They will be deported because the abuser--

DIAZ-BALART:

--Senator--

(APPLAUSE)

HARRIS:

--Will tell them it is they who is the criminal. It is wrong.

HOLT:

We're going to turn--

HARRIS:

--It is wrong--

HOLT:

--We're going to turn to the issue of trade now, if we can.

HOLT:

Last night we ask the candidates on this stage to name the greatest geopolitical threat facing the U.S. Four of them mentioned China. U.S. businesses say China steals our intellectual property and party leaders on both sides accuse China of manipulating their currency to keep the cost of goods artificially low.

I'll ask this to Senator Bennet to start off with, how would you stand up to China?

BENNET:

I think that, first of all, the biggest--the biggest threat to our national security right now is Russia, not China. And, second, on China we've got comp--because of what they've done with our election. In China, I think the president's been right to push back on China but he's done it in completely the wrong way. We should mobilize the entire rest of the world who all have a shared interest in pushing back on China's mercantilist trade policies and I think we can do that.

I'd like to answer the other question before this as well.

HOLT:

You--you have the time--

BENNET:

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When I--when I see these kids at the border, I see my mom because I know she sees herself because she was separated from her parents for years during the holocaust in Poland. And for Donald Trump to be doing what he's doing to children and their families at the borders I say this as somebody who wrote the immigration bill in 2013 that created a pathway to citizenship for 11 million people in this country that had the most progressive DREAM Act that's ever been conceived, much less passed, it got 68 votes in the Senate, that had \$46 billion of border security in it that was sophisticated 21st century border security, not a medieval wall that the president has--

HOLT:

--Senator, the time--sorry--

BENNET:

--Turned the border of the United States into a symbol of nativist hostility that the whole world is looking at when what we should be represented by is--

HOLT:

--Senator, thank you.

BENNET:

--The Statue of Liberty, which has brought my parents to this country to begin with.

(APPLAUSE)

We need to make a change.

HOLT:

Mr. Yang, let me bring you in on this on the issue of China. You've expressed also of concerns about technology and taking jobs. Are you worried about China? And, if so, how would you stand up against it?

YANG:

Well, I just want to agree that I think Russia is our biggest geopolitical threat because they've been hacking our democracy successfully. They've been laughing their asses off about it for the last couple of years and we should focus on that before we start worrying about other threats.

Now, China, they do--they do (INAUDIBLE) property. It's a massive problem. But the tariffs and the trade war are just punishing businesses and producers and workers on both sides. I met with a farmer in Iowa who said he spent six years building up a buying relationship in China that's now disappeared and gone forever. And the beneficiaries have not been American workers or--or people in China. It's been Southeast Asia and other producers that have then stepped into the void.

So, we need to--to crack down on Chinese malfeasance in the trade relationship but the tariffs and the trade war are the wrong way to go.

(CROSSTALK)

HOLT:

(INAUDIBLE) how would you stand up against China?

BUTTIGIEG:

Yeah, I mean first of all, we've got to recognize that the China challenge really is a serious one. This is not something to dismiss or wave away. And if you look at what China is doing. They're using technology for the perfection of dictatorship. But, their fundamental economic model isn't gonna change because of some tariffs. I live in the industrial Midwest. Folks who aren't in the

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shadow of a factory or somewhere near a soy field where I live. And manufacturers, and especially soy farmers, are hurting. Tariffs are taxes. And Americans are gonna pay on average \$800 more a year because of these tariffs. Meanwhile, China is investing so that they could soon be able to run circles around us in artificial intelligence.

And this president is fixated on the China relationship as if all that mattered was the export balance on dishwashers. We've got a much bigger issue on our hands. But in a moment when their authoritarian model is being held up as an alternative to ours because ours looks so chaotic compared to theirs right now because of our internal divisions. The biggest thing we've got to do is invest in our own domestic competitiveness. If we disinvest--

HOLT:

--All right, mayor, thank you.

BUTTIGIEG:

--In our own infrastructure, education we are never gonna be able to compete. And if we really want to be an alternative, a democratic alternative, we actually have to demonstrate that we care about democratic values--

HOLT:

--Mayor, thank you, thank you for your answer.

BUTTIGIEG:

--At home. (CROSSTALK)

(APPLAUSE)

GUTHRIE:

(INAUDIBLE) so far we're gonna take a quick break here, candidates. When we come back the questioning continues about college, Chuck Todd and Rachel Maddow will be here. Much more with our candidates straight ahead.

(APPLAUSE)

(APPLAUSE)

HOLT:

Welcome back to the Presidential Democratic debates at our center in Miami.

GUTHRIE:

As we bring in the questioning we want to bring in more members of our team.

DIAZ BALART:

So let's turn over to Chuck Todd and Rachel Maddow.

(APPLAUSE)

TODD:

Rachel, I had a dream that we've done this before.

MADDOW:

No.

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TODD:

No.

MADDOW:

No. This is definitely the first time.

TODD:

Definitely the first time. Thank you, Lester, Savannah and Jose. Let's recap the rules one more time. 20 candidates qualified for this first debate. We heard from 10 of them from last night. We are hearing from 10 more tonight. Breakdown for each night was selected at random candidates will have 60 seconds to answer direct questions, 30 seconds for follow-ups if necessary.

MADDOW:

Because of this large field of candidates not every person will be able to comment on everything but the less audience reaction there is the more time they will all get.

(APPLAUSE)

Over the course of the next hour we will hear from all of these candidates. We are going to begin this hour with Mayor Buttigieg. In the last five years civil rights activists in our country have led a national debate over race and the criminal justice system. Your community of South Bend, Indiana has recently been in uproar over an officer involved shooting. The police force in South Bend is now 6 percent black in a city that is 26 percent black. Why has that not improved over your two terms as mayor?

BUTTIGIEG:

Because I couldn't get it done. My community is in anguish right now because of an officer involved shooting. A black man Eric Logan killed by a white officer. And I'm not allowed to take sides until the investigation comes back. The officer says he was attacked with a knife, but he didn't have his body camera on. It's a mess. And we're hurting. And I could walk you through all of the things that we have done as a community--all of the steps that we took from bias training to de-escalation but it didn't save the life of Eric Logan. And when I look into his mother's eyes I have to face the fact and nothing that I say will bring him back. This is an issue that is facing our community and so many communities around the country. And until we move policing out from the shadow of systemic racism whatever this particular incident teaches us we will be left with the bigger problem of the fact that there is a wall of mistrust put up one racist act at a time. Not just from what has happened in the past but what's happening around the country in the present. It threatens the well being of every community. And I am determined to bring about a day when a white person driving a vehicle and a black person driving a vehicle when they see a police officer approaching feels the exact same thing. A feeling not of fear but of safety. I'm determined to bring that day about.

MADDOW:

Thank you, Mr. Mayor.

(APPLAUSE)

HICKENLOOPER:

Mayor Buttigieg, Mayor Buttigieg, if I could ask one question because I think--

MADDOW:

Governor, I'll give you 30 seconds.

HICKENLOOPER:

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I think that the question they are asking in South Bend I think across the country is why is it taking so long? We had a shooting when I first became mayor 10 years before Ferguson and the community came together and we created an office of the independent monitor--civilian oversight commission. We diversified the police force in two years. We actually did de-escalation training. I think the real question that America should be asking is why five years after Ferguson every city doesn't have this level of police accountability?

MADDOW:

Governor Hickenlooper, thank you.

HICKENLOOPER:

We--

BUTTIGIEG:

I've got to respond to that. Look, we've taken so many steps toward police accountability that the FOP just denounced me for too much accountability. We're obviously not there yet. And I accept responsibility for that--

(CROSSTALK)

SWALWELL:

(INAUDIBLE) you should fire the chief.

BUTTIGIEG:

So, under Indiana law this will be investigated. And there will be accountability for the officer involved.

SWALWELL:

But you're the mayor. You should fire the chief if that's the policy and someone died.

WILLIAMSON:

All of these issues are extremely important but there are specifics, there are symptoms. And the underlying cause has to do with deep, deep, deep realms of racial injustice. Both in our criminal justice system and in our economic system. And the democratic party should be on the side of reparations for slavery for this very reason.

(APPLAUSE)

I do not believe--I do not believe that the average American is a racist. But the average American is woefully undereducated about the history of race in the United States.

(CROSSTALK)

TODD:

Vice President Biden, we're going to get to you. Hang on. We're going to get--

HARRIS:

I would like to say--

MADDOW:

--Ms. Williamson, thank you very much.

BALART:

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Vice President Biden, I'm going to--we're going to get to you. Hang on. We're going to get--

HARRIS:

--As we (INAUDIBLE) on this stage, I would like to speak--

BALART:

--I--I--

HARRIS:

--On the issue of race.

(APPLAUSE)

MADDOW:

Senator Harris--

HARRIS:

--And so, what I will say--

MADDOW:

--I will--Senator Harris, if I could--if I could preface--

HARRIS:

--Is that I agree--

MADDOW:

--This, we'll give you 30 seconds because we're going to come back to you on--on this again in just a moment. Go for 30 seconds.

HARRIS:

Okay. So, on the issue of race, I couldn't agree more that this is an issue that is still not being talked about truthfully and honestly. I--there is not a black man I know, be he a relative, a friend or a coworker who has not been the subject of some form of profiling or discrimination. Growing up, my sister and I had to deal with the neighbor who told us her parents couldn't play with us because she--because we were black. And I will say also that--that in this campaign, we've also heard--and I'm going to now direct this to Vice President Biden. I do not believe you are a racist and I agree with you when you commit yourself to the importance of finding common ground.

BIDEN:

Mm-hmm.

HARRIS:

But, I also believe--and it's personal. And I--I was actually very--it was hurtful to hear you talk about the reputations of two United States senators who built their reputations and career on segregation of race in this country. And it was not only that, but you also worked with them to oppose bussing. And you know, there was a little girl in California who was part of the second class to integrate her public schools and she was bussed to school every day and that little girl was me. So, I will tell you that on this subject, it cannot be an intellectual debate among democrats. We have to take it seriously. We have to act swiftly. As attorney general of California, I was very proud to put in place a--a requirement that all my special agents would wear body cameras and keep those cameras on.

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(APPLAUSE)

MADDOW:

Senator Harris, thank you.

(APPLAUSE)

Vice President Biden, you have been invoked.

(CROSSTALK)

We are going to give you a chance to respond.

(APPLAUSE)

Vice President Biden.

(APPLAUSE)

BIDEN:

That's a mischaracterization of my position across the board. I did not praise racists. That is not true, number one. Number two, if we want to have this campaign litigated on who supports civil rights and whether I did or not, I'm happy to do that. I was a public defender. I didn't become a prosecutor. I came out and I left a good law firm to become a public defender when in fact --

(APPLAUSE)

when in fact --

(APPLAUSE)

when in fact my city was in flames because of the--the assassination of Dr. King, number one. Now, number two, as the U.S.--as--excuse me--as the vice president of the United States, I worked with a man who in fact, we worked very hard to see to it we dealt with these issues in a major, major way. The fact is that in terms of bussing, the bussing, I never--you would've been able to go to school the same exact way because it was a local decision made by your city council. That's fine. That's one of the things I argued for that we should not be--we should be breaking down these lines.

But--so, the bottom line here is, look, everything I have done in my career--I ran because of civil rights. I continue to think we have to make fundamental changes in civil rights. And those civil rights, by the way, include not just African Americans, but the LGBT community. They don't--

HARRIS:

--But, Vice President Biden

(APPLAUSE)

do you agree today--do you agree today that you were wrong to oppose bussing in America then?

BIDEN:

No.

HARRIS:

Do you agree?

(APPLAUSE)

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BIDEN:

I did not oppose bussing in America. What I opposed is bussing ordered by the Department of Education. That's what I opposed. I did not oppose--

HARRIS:

--Well, there was a failure of--of states to--to integrate--

BIDEN:

--No, but--

HARRIS:

--Public schools in America. I was part of the second class to integrate, Berkley, California Public Schools almost two decades after Brown v. Board of Education.

BIDEN:

Because your city council made that decision. It was a local decision.

HARRIS:

So, that's where the federal government must step in.

BIDEN:

The--the federal government must--

HARRIS:

--That's why we have the Voting Rights Act

(APPLAUSE)

and the Civil Rights Act. That's why we need to pass the Equality Act. That's why we need to pass the ERA because there are--

BIDEN:

--That--

HARRIS:

--Moments in-

HARRIS:

--history where states fail to preserve the civil rights of all people.

BIDEN:

I have supported the ERA from the very beginning when I ran for (INAUDIBLE).

TODD:

Vice President Biden 30 seconds because I want to bring other people into this.

BIDEN:

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I--I supported the ERA from the very beginning. I am the guy that extended the voting rights act for 25 years. We got to the place where we got 98 out of 98 votes in the United States Senate doing it. I have also argued very strongly that we in fact deal with the notion of denying people access to the ballot box. I agree that everybody once they in fact--my time is up. I'm sorry.

TODD:

Thank you vice president.

HARRIS:

All of these things (INAUDIBLE).

TODD:

Senator Sanders--Senator Sanders, I want to go to you on this. You said on the day you launched your campaign that voters should focus on what people stand for, not a candidate's race or age or sexual orientation. Any Democrats are very excited by the diversity of this field on this stage and on last night stage and the perspective that diverse city brings to this contest and to these issues. Are you telling Democratic voters that diverse city should it matter when they make this decision?

SANDERS:

No, absolutely not. Unlike the Republican party we encourage diverse city, we believe in diverse city, that is what America is up about. But in addition to diversity in terms of having more women, more people from the GB-L--LGBT community we also have to do something else and that is we have to ask ourselves a simple question and that how come to day the worker in the middle of our economy is making no more money than he or she made 45 years ago and that in the last 30 years the top 1 percent has seen a \$21 trillion increase in their wealth. We need a party that is diverse but we need a party that has the guts to stand up to the powerful special interest who have so much power over the economic and political life of this country.

TODD:

Senator Gillibrand I want to give you 30 seconds on this.

GILLIBRAND:

Well, first of all where Bernie left off we have heard a lot of good ideas on this stage tonight and a lot of plans but the truth is until you go to the root of the corruption, the money in the--in politics, the fact that Washington is run by these special interest you are never going to solve any of these problems. I have the most comprehensive approach that experts agree is the most transformative plan to actually take on political corruption to get money out of politics through publicly funded elections, to have clean elections. If we do that and get money out of politics we can guarantee healthcare as a right not a privilege we can deal with institutional racism, we can't take on income inequality and we can take on the corporate corruption that runs Washington.

BIDEN:

The first constitutional amendment to do that was introduced by me when I was a young senator.

TODD:

Thank--thank you vice president. I want to shift topics here. Senator Bennet, the next question is for you. On the issue of partisan gridlock President Obama promised in 2012 that after his reelection Republicans would want to work with Democrats, fever would break. That did not happen. Now Vice President Biden is saying the same thing that if he is elected in 2020 both parties will want to work together. Should voters believe that somehow if there is a Democratic President in 2021 that gridlock is going to magically disappear?

BENNET:

Gridlock will not magically disappear as long as Mitch McConnell is there, first.

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(APPLAUSE)

Second, second, that is why it is so important for us to when not just the presidency to have somebody that can run in all 50 states but to--but to win the Senate as well and that is why we have to propose policies that can be supported like Medicare X (PH) so that we can build a broad coalition of Americans to overcome broken Washington DC. I agree with what Senator Gillibrand was saying and share a lot of her views.

We need to in gerrymandering in wash--and we need to end political gerrymandering in Washington.

The court today said they couldn't do anything about it. We need to overturn Citizens United. The court was the one that gave us Citizens United. And the attack on voting rights in Shelby versus Holder is something we need to deal with.

All of those things has happened since Vice President Biden was in the Senate. And we face structural problems that we have to overcome with a broad coalition. It's the only way we can do it. We need to root out the corruption in Washington, expand people's right to get to the polls.

TODD:

Time is up. Thank you.

BENNET:

And I think then we can succeed.

TODD:

Vice President Biden--

BIDEN:

--Can I respond--

TODD:

--Thirty seconds. I want--I--what--it does sound as if you haven't seen what's been happening in the United States Senate over the last 12 years. It didn't happen. Why?

BIDEN:

I have seen what happened just sense we were vice president. We needed three votes to pass an \$800 billion recovery act that kept us from going into depression. I got three votes changed. We needed to be able to keep the government from shutting down and going bankrupt. I got Mitch McConnell to raise taxes \$600 billion by raising the top rate. And as recently as after the President got elected, I was able to put together a coalition on the Cures Act that billions of dollars go into cancer research, bipartisan.

But sometimes you can't do that. Sometimes you just have to go out and beat them. I went into 20 states, over 60 candidates--

TODD:

--Okay, thank you--

BIDEN:

--And guess what? We beat them. We won back the Senate.

BENNET:

Chuck? Chuck?

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TODD:

Thank you.

BENNET:

Chuck--

TODD:

--Thank you, Mr.--

BENNET:

--The problem with what the vice--

TODD:

--Go ahead, 30 seconds--

BENNET:

--No. What?

(APPLAUSE)

TODD:

Yeah, 30 seconds. Go ahead.

BENNET:

We--sometimes you do have to beat them, but--but the deal that he talked about with Mitch McConnell was a complete victory for the Tea Party. It extended the Bush tax cuts permanently. The Democratic Party had been running against that for 10 years. We've lost that economic argument because that deal extended almost all those Bush tax cuts permanently and put in place the mindless cuts that we still are dealing with today that are called the sequester. That was a great deal for Mitch McConnell.

BIDEN:

Oh, come on.

BENNET:

It was a terrible deal for America.

TODD:

Thank you. Thank you, Senator Bennet.

GILLIBRAND:

And you heard from Republicans.

TODD:

Right, right.

GILLIBRAND:

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You heard from the Republicans--

TODD:

--Go ahead, 30 seconds--

GILLIBRAND:

--That the reason why the Trump tax cut had to be passed is because they had to pay back their donors. You heard it. They actually said those words. So, the corruption in Washington is real, and it is something that makes every one of the plans we've heard about over the last several months impossible. And I have the most comprehensive approach to do it with clean elections, publicly funded elections so we restore the power of our democracy into the hands of the voters, not into the Koch brothers.

We were talking about issues. Imagine--we're in Florida. Imagine the Parkland kids having as much power in our democracy--

TODD:

--Thank you--

GILLIBRAND:

--As the Koch brothers or the NRA.

TODD:

Thank you, Senator Gillibrand. Thank you.

GILLIBRAND:

Imagine their voices carrying--

(APPLAUSE)

--Farther and wider than--

TODD:

--Thank you--

GILLIBRAND:

--Anyone else because their voice is needed.

TODD:

Go ahead. Senator Gillibrand, I'm trying--

GILLIBRAND:

--And you can--and as president--

TODD:

--To get everyone in here--

GILLIBRAND:

--It's the first thing I'm going--

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TODD:

--Thank you--

GILLIBRAND:

--To do because nothing else is possible, whether it's education or healthcare or ending institutional racism.

TODD:

Thank you very much. Right.

MADDOW:

Senator Sanders, I'd like to put a different question to you. Roe versus Wade has been the law of the land since 1973. Now that there is a conservative majority on the Supreme Court, several Republican controlled state have passed laws to severely restrict or even ban abortion. One of those laws could very well make it to the Supreme Court during your presidency if you're elected president. What is your plan if row is struck down in the court while your president?

SANDERS:

Well, my plan is somebody who believes, for a start, that a woman's right to control her own body is a constitutional right, that government and politicians should not infringe on that right. We will do everything we can to defense our--Roe versus Wade.

Second of all, let me make--

(APPLAUSE)

--Let me make--let me make a promise here. You asked about litmus test. My litmus test is I will never appoint any--nominate any justice to the Supreme Court unless that justice is 100 percent clear he or she will defend Roe v. Wade.

(APPLAUSE)

Third of all, I do not believe in packing the court.

SANDERS:

right now. But I do believe that constitutionally we have the power to rotate judges to other courts. And that brings in new blood into the supreme court and a majority I hope that will understand that a woman has the right to control her own body and that corporations cannot run the United States of America.

MADDOW:

Senator

(CROSSTALK)

MADDOW:

I'm going to give you 10 additional seconds because (INAUDIBLE) what if the court has already overturned Roe and Roe is gone? All of the things you have described would be to try to preserve Roe. If Roe was gone what could you do as president to preserve abortion rights?

SANDERS:

Well, first of all let me tell you this--didn't come up yet but let's face this--Medicare for All guarantees every woman in this country the right to have an abortion if she wants it.

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MADDOW:

Thank you, Senator.

GILLIBRAND:

And can I just address this for a second? And I--and I want to talk directly-directly to America's women and to men who love them--women's reproductive rights are under assault by President Trump and the Republican party. Thirty states are trying to overturn Roe v. Wade right now. And it is mind boggling to me that we are debating this on this stage in 2019 among democrats whether women should have access to reproductive rights. I think we have to stop playing defense and start playing offense. But let me tell you one thing about politics because it goes to the corruption of the deal making--when the door is closed negotiations are made. There are conversations about women's rights and compromises have been made behind our backs. That's how we got to Hyde. That's how the Hyde Amendment was created. A compromise by leaders of both parties. Then we have the ACA. During the ACA neg--negotiations I had to fight like heck with other women to make sure that contraception wasn't sold down the river or abortion services.

And so, what we need to know is imagine this one question--when we beat President Trump and Mitch McConnell walks into the Oval Office god forbid to do negotiations who do you want when that door closes to be sitting behind that desk to fight for women's rights? I have been the fiercest advocate for women's reproductive freedom for over a decade.

MADDOW:

Thank you.

GILLIBRAND:

And I promise you as President--

TODD:

Senator--

GILLIBRAND:

--when that door closes I will guarantee women's reproductive (INAUDIBLE) no matter what.

TODD:

Thank you. Thank you.

(APPLAUSE)

TODD:

We're moving to climate. We're moving to climate guys. Senator Harris, addressing you first on this. You live in a state that has been hit by drought, wildfires, flooding, climate change it is a major concern for voters in your state that's pretty obvious. Obvious of the state as well. Last night, voters heard many of the candidates weigh in on their proposals, explain specifically what yours is.

HARRIS:

Well, first of all I don't even call it climate change. It's a climate crisis. It represents an existential threat to us as a species. And the fact that we have a President of the United States who has embraced science fiction over science fact will be to our collective peril. I visited while the embers were smoldering the wildfires in California I spoke with firefighters who were in the midst of fighting a fire while their own homes were burning. And on this issue it is a critical issue that is about what we must do to confront what is immediate and before us right now. That is why I support a Green New Deal. It is why I believe on day one and as President will re-enter us in the Paris agreement because we have to take these issues seriously and frankly, we have a President of the United

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States we talked about you asked before what is the greatest national security threat to the United States? It's Donald Trump. And I'm going to tell you why.

(APPLAUSE)

And I'm going to tell you why because I agree climate change represents an existential threat. He denies the science. You want to talk about North Korea, real threat in terms of nuclear arsenal but what does she do? He embraces Kim Jong Un a dictator

HARRIS:

History where states fail to preserve the civil rights of all people.

BIDEN:

I have supported the ERA from the very beginning when I ran for (INAUDIBLE).

TODD:

Vice President Biden 30 seconds because I want to bring other people into this.

BIDEN:

I--I supported the ERA from the very beginning. I am the guy that extended the voting rights act for 25 years. We got to the place where we got 98 out of 98 votes in the United States Senate doing it. I have also argued very strongly that we in fact deal with the notion of denying people access to the ballot box. I agree that everybody once they in fact--my time is up. I'm sorry.

TODD:

Thank you vice president.

HARRIS:

All of these things (INAUDIBLE).

TODD:

Senator Sanders--Senator Sanders, I want to go to you on this. You said on the day you launched your campaign that voters should focus on what people stand for, not a candidate's race or age or sexual orientation. Any Democrats are very excited by the diversity of this field on this stage and on last night stage and the perspective that diverse city brings to this contest and to these issues. Are you telling Democratic voters that diverse city should it matter when they make this decision?

SANDERS:

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never going to solve any of these problems. I have the most comprehensive approach that experts agree is the most transformative plan to actually take on political corruption to get money out of politics through publicly funded elections, to have clean elections. If we do that and get money out of politics we can guarantee healthcare as a right not a privilege we can deal with institutional racism, we can't take on income inequality and we can take on the corporate corruption that runs Washington.

BIDEN:

The first constitutional amendment to do that was introduced by me when I was a young senator.

TODD:

Thank--thank you Vice president. I want to shift topics here. Sen. Bennet, the next question is for you. On the issue of partisan gridlock Pres. Obama promised in 2012 that after his reelection Republicans would want to work with Democrats, fever would break. That did not happen. Now Vice President Biden is saying the same thing that if he is elected in 2020 both parties will want to work together. Should voters believe that somehow if there is a Democratic Pres. in 2021 that gridlock is going to magically disappear?

BENNET:

Gridlock will not magically disappear as long as Mitch McConnell is there, first.

(APPLAUSE)

Second, second, that is why it is so important for us to when not just the presidency to have somebody that can run in all 50 states but to--but to win the Senate as well and that is why we have to propose policies that can be supported like Medicare X so that we can build a broad coalition of Americans to overcome broken Washington DC. I agree with what Senator Gillibrand was saying and share a lot of her views.

We need to in gerrymandering in wash--and we need to end political gerrymandering in Washington.

BIDEN:

And new science and technology to be the exporter not only of the green economy, but economy that can create millions of jobs. But, I would immediately rejoin the Paris Climate Accord. I would up the ante in that accord, which it calls for because we make up 15 percent of the problem; 85 percent of the world makes up the rest. And so, we have to have someone who knows how to corral the rest of the world, bring them together, and get something done like we did in our administrator.

MADDOW:

Senators--senators, I want--

(APPLAUSE)

--to give you 30 seconds--

SANDERS:

--Look--

MADDOW:

--To follow up, but I'm going to hold you to 30 seconds.

SANDERS:

Look, the old ways are no longer relevant. The scientists tell us we have 12 years because there's irreparable damage to this planet. This is a global issue. What the president of the United States should do is not deny the reality of climate change, but tell the rest of

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the world that instead of spending \$1.5 trillion on weapons of destruction, let us get together for the common enemy and that is to transform the world energy system away from fossil fuel to energy efficiency, and sustainable energy.

MADDOW:

Thank you.

SANDERS:

The future of the planet rests on us doing that.

SWALWELL:

There--there's--

TODD:

--Before we go--

SWALWELL:

--There's--

TODD:

--Hang on.

(APPLAUSE)

MADDOW:

Before we leave this topic--

SWALWELL:

--Here's a solution. Pass the torch. Pass the torch to the generation that's going to feel the effects--

UNKNOWN:

--No--

SANDERS:

--Of climate change--take on the fossil fuel--

SWALWELL:

--Pass the torch to the generation--

SANDERS:

--Is (CROSSTALK) the solution--

UNKNOWN:

--That's inventive enough--

GILLIBRAND:

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--Agreed. And--

MADDOW:

--Before we leave this topic--

(CROSSTALK)

--here's something you all want to weigh in on.

Hold on a moment.

TODD:

Just--just--

GILLIBRAND:

--Campaign to the Republican Party.

MADDOW:

Hold on moment.

TODD:

Just trust us on this.

WILLIAMSON:

And the fact--

TODD:

--We're going to--

WILLIAMSON:

--That somebody has a younger body doesn't mean you don't have old ideas.

(LAUGHTER)

SWALWELL:

No, we have new ideas.

WILLIAMSON:

And John Kennedy--John Kennedy--

(LAUGHTER)

SWALWELL:

--We have real new ideas--

WILLIAMSON:

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--Did not say--John Kennedy did not say I'm--I have a plan to get a man to the moon and so we're going to do it and I think we can all work together and maybe we can get a man on the moon. John Kennedy said, by the end of this decade, we are going to put a man on the moon--

UNKNOWN:

--Yeah--

WILLIAMSON:

--Because John Kennedy was back in the day when politics included the people. It included imagination. And it included great dreams and included great plans.

MADDOW:

Ms. Williamson--

TODD:

--Thank you, Ms. Williamson.

WILLIAMSON:

And I have a career not making the political plans, but I have had a career harnessing the inspiration and the motivation and the excitement of people.

TODD:

Thank you, Ms. Williamson.

WILLIAMSON:

Masses of people. When we know that when we say--

TODD:

--Thank you--

WILLIAMSON:

--We are going to turn from a dirty economy--

TODD:

--Thank you--

WILLIAMSON:

--To a clean economy, we're going to have a green new deal, we're going to create millions of jobs, we're going to do this within the next 12 years because I'm not interested in just winning the next election. We are--

TODD:

--Thank you, Ms. Williamson--

WILLIAMSON:

(INAUDIBLE) our grandchildren.

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TODD:

All right. We got to--

WILLIAMSON:

--Then, you will have it.

TODD:

We're going to sneak in a break in a minute, but before we go, I'm going to go down the line here and I'm asking you please, for one or two words. All right? Please.

(LAUGHTER)

MADDOW:

Really.

TODD:

President Obama, in his first year, wanted to address both healthcare and climate and he could only get one signature issue accomplished. It was, obviously, healthcare. He didn't get to do climate change. You may only get one shot and your first issue that you're going to push--you get one shot that it may be the only thing you get passed, what is that first issue for your presidency? Eric Swalwell, you're first.

SWALWELL:

For Parkland, for Orlando, for every community effected by gun violence, ending gun violence.

TODD:

Senator Bennet?

(APPLAUSE)

BENNET:

Climate change and the lack of economic mobility Bernie talks about.

TODD:

Senator Gillibrand?

GILLIBRAND:

Passing a family bill of rights that includes a national paid leave plan, universal Pre-K, affordable daycare and making sure that women and families can thrive in the workplace no matter who they are.

TODD:

All right.

HARRIS:

Oh, I like that.

TODD:

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Senator Harris?

HARRIS:

So, passing a middle class and working families tax cut.

TODD:

That's one.

HARRIS:

DACA, guns.

(LAUGHTER)

TODD:

I'll give you credit for the first thing you said, the tax cut.

(CROSSTALK)

Senator Sanders, first thing?

SANDERS:

The premise that there's only one or two issues out there.

TODD:

I'm not saying there's only one or two.

SANDERS:

(CROSSTALK) is enormous crisis.

TODD:

Senator Sanders--

SANDERS:

--We need a political revolution. People have got to stand up and take on the special interests. We can transform this country.

TODD:

Vice President Biden, your first issue, Mr. Vice President?

BIDEN:

I think you've so underestimated what Barack Obama did. He's the first man to bring together the entire world, 196 nations to commit to deal with climate change immediately.

(APPLAUSE)

I don't-I don't buy that. The first--the first thing I would do is make sure that we defeat Donald Trump.

TODD:

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Okay.

BIDEN:

Period.

(APPLAUSE)

TODD:

Mayor Buttigieg, your first priority, your first issue as president that you are going to block and tackle?

BUTTIGIEG:

We've got to fix our democracy before it's too late. Get that right and climate, immigration, taxes and every other issue gets better.

(APPLAUSE)

TODD:

Mr.--Mr. Yang?

YANG:

I would pass a \$1,000 freedom dividend for every American adult starting at age 18.

(LAUGHTER)

Which would speed us up on climate change because if you get the boot off of people's throats they're (INAUDIBLE) climate change much more clearly.

TODD:

Okay. Governor Hickenlooper?

(APPLAUSE)

HICKENLOOPER:

I would do a collaborative approach to climate change and I would pronounce it well before the election to make sure we don't reelect the worst president in American history.

TODD:

And Ms. Williamson, you have the last word.

WILLIAMSON:

My first call is to Prime Minister of New Zealand who said that her role is to make New Zealand the place where it's the best place in the world for a child to grow up. And I would tell her, girlfriend, you are so wrong because the United States of America is going to be the best place--

TODD:

Thank you.

WILLIAMSON:

--In the world for a child to grow up. We are going to have--

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TODD:

--Thank you. You guys were close with the short--at least it was shorter.

MADDOW:

No, they weren't, not at all.

(LAUGHTER)

TODD:

All right, C-minus.

MADDOW:

We're gonna take a quick break. We'll be right back with these candidates right after this.

(APPLAUSE)

(APPLAUSE)

MADDOW:

Welcome back to the democratic candidates debate in Miami. We are going to continue the questioning now with Lester in the audience. We aren't? We are in a second going to have a question from Lester in the audience. That was just a fake out.

(LAUGHTER)

TODD:

We're going to go the issue of guns and--

MADDOW:

Congressman Swalwell, among this field of candidates you have a unique position on gun reform. You're proposing that the government should buy back every assault weapon in America and it should be mandatory. How do you envision that working especially in states where gun rights are a flashpoint?

SWALWELL:

Keep your pistols, keep your rifles, keep your shotguns but we can take the most dangerous weapons from the most dangerous people. We have the NRA on the ropes because of the Moms because the Brady Group, because of Giffords, because of March for Our Lives. But I'm the only candidate on this stage calling for a ban and buyback of every single assault weapon in America. I've seen the plans of the other candidates here. They would all leave 15 million assault in our communities. They wouldn't do a single thing to save a single life in Parkland. I will approach this issue as a prosecutor. I will approach it as the only person on this stage who has voted and passed background checks--but also as a parent of a generation who sends our children to school where we look at what they're wearing so we can remember it in case we have to identify them later. A generation who has seen thousands of black children killed in our streets and a generation who goes to the theater and we actually know where the fire exits are. We don't have to live this way. We must be a country who loves our children more than we love our guns.

(APPLAUSE)

MADDOW:

Senator Sanders a Vermont newspaper--

(APPLAUSE)

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Senator Sanders, a Vermont newspaper recently released portions of an interview you gave in 2013 in which you said, "My own view on guns is everything being equal, states should make those decisions."

SANDERS:

No.

MADDOW:

Has your thinking changed since then? Do you now think there's a federal role to play?

SANDERS:

Mischaracterization of my thinking. Look--

MADDOW:

It's a quote of you.

SANDERS:

We have a gun--we have a gun crisis right now. 40,000 people a year are getting killed. In 1988, Rachel, when it wasn't popular I ran on a platform of banning assault weapons and in fact, lost that race for Congress. I have a D minus voting record from the NRA. And I believe that what we need is comprehensive gun--gun legislation that, among other things, provides universal background. We end the gun show loophole. We end the straw man provision. And I believed in 1988 and I believe today that assault weapons--

SWALWELL:

--Why would you--why would you leave 15 million on the streets--

SANDERS:

--Assault weapons--assault weapons--

SWALWELL:

--Why would you leave--Senator--

SANDERS:

--Are weapons--

SWALWELL:

--You leave 15 million on the streets--

SANDERS:

--Are from the military--

SWALWELL:

--Though--

SANDERS:

--And that they should not be on the streets--

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SWALWELL:

--Why do you leave--

SANDERS:

--Of America.

SWALWELL:

You would--your plan leaves them on the streets. You leave 15 million on the streets.

SANDERS:

We ban the sale and--we ban the sale and distribution--

SWALWELL:

--Will you buy them back--

SANDERS:

--And that's what I've believed for many years.

SWALWELL:

Will you--will you buy them back?

HARRIS:

And then--and--and--

SANDERS:

--If people want to buy--if the government wants to do that, if people want bring it back--

SWALWELL:

--But you're going to be the government--

SANDERS:

--Yes--

SWALWELL:

--Will you buy them back?

SANDERS:

Yeah.

MADDOW:

Senator Harris, we're going to give you 30 seconds here.

HARRIS:

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Thank you. I think your idea is a great one, Congressman Swalwell. And I will say there are a lot of great ideas. The problem is Congress has not had the courage to act, which is why, when elected president of the United States, I will give the United States Congress 100 days to pull their act together, bring all these good ideas together, and put a bill on my desk for signature. And if they do not, I will take executive action and I will put in place--

(APPLAUSE)

--The most comprehensive background check policy we've had. I will require the ATF to take the licenses of gun dealers who violate the law. And I will ban by executive order the importation of assault weapons, because I'm going to tell you, as a prosecutor, I have seen more autopsy photographs than I care to tell you. I have hugged more mothers who are the mothers of homicide victims, and I have attended more police officer funerals.

It is enough. It is enough. And there have been plenty of good ideas from members of the United States Congress. There's been no action. As president, I will take action.

MADDOW:

Mayor Buttigieg--

(APPLAUSE)

--I want to bring you in on this, sir; a lot of discussion about assault rifles that are often as shorthanded as military style weapons. You are the only person on the stage tonight with military experience as a veteran of the Afghanistan war.

(APPLAUSE)

Will military families--does that inform your thinking on this view? Do you believe that military families or America's veterans will, at large, have a different take on this than the other Americans who we've been talking about and who Congressman Swalwell is appealing to with his buyback program?

BUTTIGIEG:

Yeah, of course, because we trained on some of these kinds of weapons. Look, every part of my life experience informs this, being the mayor of a city where the worst part of the job is dealing with violence. We--we lose a--as many as were lost at Parkland every two or three years in my city alone. And this is tearing communities apart.

If more guns made us safer, we'd be the safest country on earth. It doesn't work that way.

(APPLAUSE)

And commonsense measures like universal background checks can't seem to get delivered by Washington, even when most Republicans, let alone most Americans, agree it's the right thing to do. And as somebody who trained on weapons of war, I can tell you that there are weapons that have absolutely no place in American cities or neighborhoods in peacetime, ever.

(APPLAUSE)

MADDOW:

Vice President Biden, 30 seconds.

BIDEN:

A real 30 seconds?

MADDOW:

A real 30 seconds.

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BIDEN:

Okay. I'm the only person that's beaten the NRA nationally. I'm the guy that got the Brady Bill passed, the background checks, number one.

(APPLAUSE)

Number two, we increased that background check when--when--during the Obama-Biden administration. I'm also the only guy that got assault weapons banned, banned, and the number of clips in a gun banned. And so, folks, look, and I would buy back those weapons. We already started talking about that. We tried to get it done. I think it can be done. And it should be demanded that we do it, and that's a good expenditure of money.

And lastly, we should have smart guns. No gun should be able to be sold unless your biometric measure could pull that trigger. It's within our right to do that. We can do that. Our enemy is the gun manufacturers, not the NRA, the gun manufacturers.

MADDOW:

Mr. Vice President, thank you.

BUTTIGIEG:

But the NRA is taking orders from--

TODD:

--All right--

BUTTIGIEG:

--The gun manufacturers. That's the problem.

TODD:

Lester Holt has our next question. Lester, take it away.

HOLT:

All right, Chuck. This is a question from our viewers. We put some suggestions that asked maybe they could share some of. Here's one that came from Kathleen (PH) from Canby, Oregon, who writes many fear the current administration has inflicted irrevocable harm on our governing institutions and norms and, in the process, on our reputation abroad. The question is what do you see as importance early steps in reversing the damage done? And will put this one to Senator Bennet.

BENNET:

Thank you very much. What an excellent question. First of all, we have to restore our democracy at home. The rest of the world is looking for us for leadership. We have a president who doesn't believe in the role of law. He doesn't believe in freedom of the press. He doesn't believe in an independent judiciary. He believes in the corruption that he's brought to Washington D.C. And that is what we have to change. And that's why everybody is up here tonight. And I appreciate the fact that there up here for that reason.

Second, we've got to--we've got to restore the relationships that he's destroyed with our allies, not just in Europe. He flew to the G20 last night and attacked Japan, Germany, and a third ally of ours without saying anything about North Korea or Russia. And when you've got a situation where you have a president who says something happens in the Straits of Hormuz and the whole world doesn't know whether to believe it or not, that is a huge problem when it comes to the national security of the United States of America.

(APPLAUSE)

TODD:

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This is a perfect time--

BENNET:

--And we need to change that.

TODD:

Thank you, Senator Bennet. This is a perfect time for me to do another one of --

TODD:

Thank you, Senator Bennet. This is the perfect time for me to do another one of (INAUDIBLE) the line and this is what this question is which is you are going to have to re---you are likely going to have to reset a relationship between America and--and another country or entity if you become president because of--perhaps because of some relationship that you just mentioned about President Trump. What is the first relationship you would like to reset as president I'm going down the line and I will start with Ms. Williamson.

WILLIAMSON:

Well, one of my first phone calls would be to call the European leaders and say we are back because I totally understand how important it is that the United States be part of the Western alliance.

TODD:

Okay. I want--I'm trying to get one--one or two words here. I--guy here you. Governor Hickenlooper?

HICKENLOOPER:

You know I talk about constant engagement and I think the first--

TODD:

(INAUDIBLE)

HICKENLOOPER:

The first country I would go to but I understand they have been cheating and stealing intellectual property would be China because--

TODD:

Okay.

HICKENLOOPER:

--because if we are going to do deal with--deal with public health pandemics and we are going to deal with--

TODD:

Thank you.

HICKENLOOPER:

--all of the challenges of the globe we've got to have relationships with everyone.

TODD:

Mr. Yang, we will try to squeeze in a couple of more things before we go to another break. Mr. Yang?

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YANG:

China, we need to cooperate with them on climate change, AI, and other issues, North Korea.

TODD:

Thanks for the quickness. Mayor Buttigieg?

BUTTIGIEG:

We have no idea which of our most important allies he will have pissed off between now and then. What we know is that our relationship--

(LAUGHTER)

--with the entire world needs to change.

(APPLAUSE)

And it starts by modeling American values at home.

TODD:

Okay. Mr. Vice President, we are trying to be quick.

BIDEN:

We know NATO will fall apart if he is elected for more years it is the single most consequential alliance--

TODD:

Okay.

BIDEN:

--in the history of the United States.

TODD:

Senator Sanders?

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS:

It's not one country. I think it is rebuilding trust in the United Nations and understand that we can solve conflicts without war but with diplomacy.

TODD:

Senator Harris?

(APPLAUSE)

HARRIS:

All of the members of the NATO alliance.

TODD:

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Senator Gillibrand?

GILLIBRAND:

President Trump is hell-bent on starting a war with Iran. My first act will be to engage Iran to stabilize the Middle East and make sure we do not start an unwanted never-ending war.

TODD:

Senator Bennet quickly.

BENNET:

Our European allies and every Latin American country that is willing to have a conversation about how to deal with the refugee crisis.

TODD:

And Congressman Swalwell?

SWALWELL:

My first act in foreign policy we are breaking up with Russia and making up with NATO.

MADDOW:

Thank you all. Thank you all. We have one last question for Vice President Biden tonight. You have made your decades of experience in foreign policy a pillar of your campaign but when the time came to say yes or no on one of the most consequential foreign policy decisions of the last century you voted for the Iraq war. You have said you regret that vote but why should voters trust your judgment when it comes to making a decision about taking the country to war the next time?

BIDEN:

Because once we--once Bush abuse that power what happened was we got elected after that. I made sure the president turned to me and said Joe, get our combat troops out of Iraq. I was responsible for getting 150,000 combat troops out of Iraq and my son was one of them. I also think we should not have combat troops in Afghanistan. It's long overdue. It should end.

(APPLAUSE)

And I thirdly I believe that you are not going to find anybody who has pulled together more of our alliances to deal with what is the real stateless threat out there. We cannot go it alone in terms of dealing with terrorism. So I would eliminate the--the act that allowed us to go into war and not the AU and fan make sure that it could only be used for what it's intended--what its intent was and that is to go after terrorist but never do it alone. That is why we have to repair our alliances. We put together 65 countries to make sure we dealt with ISIS in Iraq and other places. That is what I would do. That is what I have done and I know how to do it.

MADDOW:

Senator Sanders, 30 seconds.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS:

One of the differences--one of the differences that Joe and I have in our record is Joe voted for that work, I helped lead the opposition to that or which was a total disaster. Second of all, I helped lead the effort for the first time to utilize the War Powers Act to get the United States out of these Saudi led intervention in Yemen which is the most horrific humanitarian disaster on Earth.

(APPLAUSE)

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And thirdly let me be very clear, I will do everything I can to prevent a war with Iran which would be far worse than disastrous war with Iraq.

MADDOW:

Senator Sanders thank you.

TODD:

All right, guys.

BIDEN:

Informed consent of the American people.

TODD:

Good news is you get more time to talk but I have to sneak in one more break.

MADDOW:

--right back.

TODD:

We will be right back with more debate.

HOLT:

We are back from Miami. Now each candidate will have a final chance to make their case to the voter's 45 seconds each. We begin with Congressman Swalwell.

SWALWELL:

We can't be a forward looking party if we look to the past for leadership. I'm a congressman but also a father of a two year old and an infant. When I'm not changing diapers, I'm changing Washington. Most of the time the diapers smell better. I went to congress at 31. And I found a Washington that doesn't work for people like you or me. It's made of the rich and the disconnected. I was the first in my family to go to college and have student loan debt. So, I have led the effort to elect the next generation of members of Congress and we have a moment to seize. This is a can do generation. This is a generation that will end climate chaos. This is the generation that will solve student loan debt. And this is the generation that will say enough is enough and end gun violence. This generation demands bold solutions. That's why I'm running for president.

HOLT:

Congressman, thank you.

GUTHRIE:

Ms. Williamson, 45 seconds for your closing statement.

WILLIAMSON:

I'm sorry we haven't talked more tonight about how we are going to beat Donald Trump. I have an idea about Donald Trump. Donald Trump is not going to be beaten just by insider politics talk. He's not going to be beaten just by somebody who has plans. He is going to be beaten by somebody who has an idea what this man has done. This man has reached into the psyche of the American people and he has harnessed fear for political purposes. So, Mr. President, if you're listening, I want you to hear me please--you have harnessed fear for political purposes and only love can cast that out. So, I sir, I have a feeling you know what you're doing. I'm going to harness love for political purposes. I will meet you on that field and, sir, love will win.

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(APPLAUSE)

GUTHRIE:

Thank you.

HOLT:

Senator Bennet.

BENNET:

Thank you. Thank you. My mom and her parents came to the United States to rebuild their shattered lives 3--in the only country that they could, 300 years before that my parents family came searching religious freedom here. The ability for one generation to do better than the next is now severely at risk in the United States especially among children living in poverty like the ones I used to work for in the Denver public schools. That's why I'm running for president. I've had two tough races in Colorado by bringing people together not by making empty promises. And I believe we need to build a broad coalition of Americans to beat Donald Trump and the corruption in Washington and build a new era of--of American democracy and American opportunity.

BENNET:

This is going to be hard to do, but it's what our parents would've expected. It's what our kids deserve.

HOLT:

Senator--

BENNET:

--I hope you join me in this effort. Thank you.

HOLT:

Thank you. Governor Hickenlooper.

HICKENLOOPER:

I'm a small business owner who brought that same scrappy spirit to big Colorado, one of the most progressive states in America. We've expanded reproductive health to--to reduce teenage abortion by 64 percent. We were the first state to legalize marijuana and we transformed our justice system in the process. We passed universal background checks in a purple state. We got to near universal healthcare coverage. We attack climate change with the toughest methane regulations in the country. And for the last three years, we've been the number one economy in America.

You don't need big government to do big things. I know that because I'm the one person up here who's actually done the big progressive things everyone else is talking about. If we turn towards socialism, we run the risk of helping to reelect the worst president in American history.

HOLT:

Thank you, governor.

(APPLAUSE)

GUTHRIE:

Senator Gillibrand, you have the floor for 45 seconds.

GILLIBRAND:

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Women in America--women in America are on fire. We've marched, we've organized, we've run for office and we've won. But, our rights are under attack like never before by President Trump and the Republicans who want to repeal Roe v. Wade, which is why I went to the front lines in Georgia to fight for them. As president, I will take on the fights that no one else will. I stood up to the Pentagon and repealed Don't Ask Don't Tell. I've stood up to the banks and voted against the bail out twice. I've stood up to Trump more than any other senator in the U.S. Senate. And I have the most comprehensive approach for getting money out of politics with publicly funded elections to deal with political corruption.

Now is not the time to play it safe. Now is not the time to be afraid of first. We need a president who will take on the big challenges even if she stands alone. Join me in fighting for this.

GUTHRIE:

Senator Gillibrand, thank you.

HOLT:

Mr. Yang, you have 45 seconds--

(APPLAUSE)

--for your closing.

YANG:

First, I want to thank everyone who put me on this stage tonight. I am proof that our democracy still works. Democrats and Americans around the country have one question for their nominee and that is who can beat Donald Trump in 2020. That is the right question. And the right candidate to beat Donald Trump will be solving the problems that got Donald Trump elected and will have a vision of a trickle up economy that is already drawing thousands of disaffected Trump voters, conservatives, independents, and libertarians, as well as Democrats and progressives. I am that candidate. I can build a much broader coalition to beat Donald Trump. It is not left. It is not right. It is forward and that is where I'll take the country in 2020.

HOLT:

Mr. Yang, thank you.

(APPLAUSE)

GUTHRIE:

Senator Harris. Senator Harris, the floor is yours.

HARRIS:

Thank you. Well, I--I just want to leave you with a couple of things. One, we need a nominee who has the ability to prosecute the case against four more years of Donald Trump and I will do that. Second, this election is about you. This is about your hopes and your dreams and your fears and what wakes you up at 3:00 in the morning. And that's why I have what I call a 3:00 a.m. agenda that is about everything from what we need to do to deliver healthcare to how you will be able to pay the bills by the end of the month.

And when I think about what our country needs, I promise you I will be a president who leads with a sense of dignity, with honest, speaking the truth, and giving the American family all that they need to get through the end of the month in a way that allows them to prosper. So, I hope to own--earn your support. Please join us at kamalaharris.org.

GUTHRIE:

Senator, thank you.

(APPLAUSE)

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HOLT:

Mayor Buttigieg--

(APPLAUSE)

--45 seconds.

(APPLAUSE)

BUTTIGIEG:

Nothing about politics is theoretical for me. I've had the experience of writing a letter to my family, putting it in an envelope marked just in case and leaving it where they would know where to find it in case I didn't come back from Afghanistan.

BUTTIGIEG:

I have the experience of being in a marriage that exists by the grace of a single vote on the U.S. Supreme Court and I have the experience of guiding a community where the per capita income was below \$20,000 when I took office into a brighter future. I am running because the decisions we make in the next three or four years are going to decide how the next 30 or 40 go and when I get to the current age of the current President in the year 2055 I want to be able to look back on these years and save my generation delivered climate solutions, racial equality and an end to endless war. Help me deliver that new generation to Washington before it's too late.

TODD:

Thank you. Senator Sanders, 45 seconds to close here.

(APPLAUSE)

SANDERS:

I suspect people all over the country who are watching this debate are saying these are good people, they have great ideas but how come nothing really changes? How come for the last 45 years wages have been stagnant for the middle class? How come we have the highest rate of childhood poverty? How come 45 million people still have student debt West Denmark how can three people own more wealth than the bottom half of America? And here is the answer, nothing will change unless we have the guts to take on Wall Street, the insurance industry, the pharmaceutical industry, the military industrial complex in the fossil fuel industry. If we don't have the guts to take them on we will continue to have plans, we will continue to have talk and rich will get richer and everybody else will be struggling.

(APPLAUSE)

TODD:

Thank you, Senator.

MADDOW:

And lastly we will hear from Vice President Biden. Sir, you have 45 seconds.

BIDEN:

Thank you very much. I am running to leave this country because I think it is important we restore the soul of this nation. This President has ripped it out. He is the only President in our history who has equated racist and--and white supremacist with ordinary decent people. He is the only President who is that in engaged and embraced dictators and thumb their nose at our allies.

I am secondly running for President because I think we have to restore the backbone of America. The poor and hard-working middle-class people. You can't do that without replacing them with the dignity they once had.

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Lastly, we've got to unite the United States of America as much as anybody says we can't. If we do, there's not a single thing the American people can't do. This is the United States of America. We can do anything if we're together, together. So, God bless you all and may God protect our troops.

(APPLAUSE)

GUTHRIE:

(INAUDIBLE) we want to thank your candidates. We had two nights of spirited debate on a range of issues, 20 candidates in all. We want to thank all the candidates last night and tonight.

TODD:

Seriously it takes guts to run and stick your neck out like this to you guys and to the 10 last night. Thanks for having the guts to do it.

MADDOW:

I would also like to thank the audience for completely ignoring our suggestion not to react.

(APPLAUSE)

(LAUGHTER)

DIAZ-BALART:

Also, the Democratic National Committee and the Florida Democratic Party.

HOLT:

(INAUDIBLE) thank you to everyone in the Adrian (PH) Arts Center for hosting us here and our terrific audiences.

(LAUGHTER)

MADDOW:

Oh, how terrific.

HOLT:

For Savannah, Jose, Chuck and Rachel, I'm Lester Holt. Good night, everyone, from Miami.

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<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/28/us/politics/full-transcript-democratic-debate.html>

Load-Date: June 28, 2019

Summer Reading Contest, Week 3: What Interested You Most in The Times This Week?; Student Opinion

The New York Times

June 28, 2019 Friday 10:40 EST

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Section: LEARNING

Length: 959 words

Byline: The Learning Network

Highlight: To participate, just post a comment here by July 5 at 9 a.m. Eastern. This week's winners will be announced on July 16.

Body

Update, July 16: Winners have been announced!

Welcome to Week Three of our Tenth Annual Summer Reading Contest.

To participate, just post a comment here by 9 a.m. Eastern on July 5 that answers the questions “What interested you most in The Times this week? Why?”

What should you choose? Well, as you know from the rules we’ve posted, you can pick anything published on NYTimes.com in 2019, including articles, essays, Op-Eds, videos, photos, podcasts or infographics.

So what did you read, watch or listen to this week?

We hope you’ll click around NYTimes.com and find your own great articles, features and multimedia, but we know that not everyone who participates has a Times subscription. Because all links to Times content from the student features on our site are free, every week we’ll try to help by posting interesting pieces from a variety of sections.

For example, this week you may have read front-page news articles like ...

Why the Supreme Court’s Rulings Have Profound Implications for American Politics

‘There Is a Stench’: Soiled Clothes and No Baths for Migrant Children at a Texas Center

U.S. Women’s Team and U.S. Soccer Agree to Mediation Over Gender Discrimination Claim

‘She’s Not My Type’: Accused Again of Sexual Assault, Trump Resorts to Old Insult

Turkey’s President Suffers Stinging Defeat in Istanbul Election Redo

NASA Rover on Mars Detects Puff of Gas That Hints at Possibility of Life

Mueller to Testify to Congress, Setting Up a Political Spectacle

Summer Reading Contest, Week 3: What Interested You Most in The Times This Week?; Student Opinion

7 Takeaways from the First Democratic Debate

What We Learned From Night 2 of the Democratic Debates

Alabama Woman Who Was Shot While Pregnant Is Charged in Fetus's Death

Or, maybe you discovered articles in the other sections like ...

The Short Rise and Long Tail of Lil Nas X

Student Journalist Uncovers High School's Use of Prison Labor

About the Idea That You're Growing Horns From Looking Down at Your Phone ...

Helping Students With Test Anxiety

Would You Return This Lost Wallet?

What Is the G20?

How Will the Movies (As We Know Them) Survive the Next 10 Years?

She's 103 and Just Ran the 100-Meter Dash. Her Life Advice? 'Look for Magic Moments'

Mayor Pete's Ties, Kamala's Pearls, Biden's Aviators: It's All Up for Debate

Forget Tanning Beds. College Students Today Want Uber Parking.

A Machine May Not Take Your Job, but One Could Become Your Boss

2019 N.B.A. Draft Results: Analysis of Every Pick in Round 1

Who Gets to Own the West?

A School With No Heat or Computers but Many College-Bound Students. Mostly Girls.

For Cephalopod Week, Dive Into the World of Octopuses, Squids and More

Yewande Komolafe's 10 Essential Nigerian Recipes

When Did We Start Taking Famous People Seriously?

San Francisco Bans Sale of Juul and Other E-Cigarettes

These Kids Know 'Stranger Things.' But What's Stranger Than Growing Up?

Does Fluffy Really Want to Be an Adventure Cat?

Why So Many Horses Have Died at Santa Anita

The Night the Stonewall Inn Became a Proud Shrine

Cancelling **Student Loan** Debt Doesn't Make Problems Disappear

Why Is Everyone Drinking Celery Juice as if It Will Save Them From Dying?

For Megan Rapinoe, Boldness in the Spotlight Is Nothing New

If photos, videos, graphics or podcasts are more your style, maybe these got your attention ...

Summer Reading Contest, Week 3: What Interested You Most in The Times This Week?; Student Opinion

Watch Soap Bubbles Turn Into Tiny Snow Globes as They Freeze

The ‘Euphoria’ Teenagers Are Wild. But Most Real Teenagers Are Tame.

The Danger Migrants Confront at the Rio Grande

What Are You Doing for Lunch?

What It’s Like To Be a Teenager in Putin’s Russia

For One Los Angeles Artist, Cars Are Her Canvas and Rainbows Are Her Brush

The Pianist and the Lobster

Which Candidates and Topics Got the Most Time During the Democratic Debate

Popcast | Why Are the Movies So Obsessed With Pop Stars?

Or, maybe you came across something interesting in the Opinion section, like ...

You Are Doing Something Important When You Aren’t Doing Anything

Trump’s ‘Concentration Camps’

Fake Meat Will Save Us

Black People’s Land Was Stolen

Don’t Tell Me When I’m Going to Die

I’m in the 1 Percent. Please, Raise My Taxes.

How Artificial Intelligence Can Save Your Life

The Land Where the Internet Ends

An Excitingly Simple Solution to Youth Turnout, for the **Primaries** and Beyond

Here Is Every 2020 **Democrat**, Roasted by Haiku

Whatever caught your eye, tell us about it in the comments.

Need more details? The contest rules are all here, and you can read the work of last year’s winners [here](#). A quick overview, though:

You can choose from anything published in the print paper or on NYTimes.com in 2019, including videos, graphics and photographs. (In your response, please include the URL or headline of the piece you pick.)

We’ll post this question each Friday from today through Aug. 16, and you’ll have until the next Friday morning to respond with your picks. Then we’ll close that post and open a new one with the same question.

We’ll choose at least one favorite answer to feature on our site each week. Winners from this week will be announced on July 16.

Feel free to participate each week, but we allow only one submission per person per week.

Summer Reading Contest, Week 3: What Interested You Most in The Times This Week?; Student Opinion

New for 2019: Students in the United States and the United Kingdom must be between 13 to 19 years old to participate. However, if you are submitting from anywhere else in the world, you must be between 16 to 19 years old. Please see The New York Times's terms of service for more details.

While this is the only Student Opinion question we'll be asking this summer, here is our section that features hundreds of writing prompts still open to comment.

PHOTO: A border station in Clint, Tex., where hundreds of migrant children are being held. https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/21/us/migrant-children-border-soap.html](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/21/us/migrant-children-border-soap.html)">Related Article
(PHOTOGRAPH BY Cedar Attanasio/Associated Press FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Load-Date: July 17, 2019

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Jessica Cisneros on Challenging an Incumbent Democrat: ‘There’s a Lot He Has Never Had to Justify’

The New York Times

July 3, 2019 Wednesday 21:46 EST

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Section: US; politics

Length: 1253 words

Byline: Jennifer Medina

Highlight: Ms. Cisneros, a 26-year-old immigration lawyer, is running against a Texas lawmaker who has taken donations from immigrant detention centers. If she wins, she would be the youngest woman ever elected to Congress.

Body

Last month, Jessica Cisneros, a 26-year-old native of South Texas and immigration lawyer, announced her ***primary*** challenge against Representative Henry Cuellar, a ***Democrat*** who represents Texas’s 28th District. Just five years ago, Ms. Cisneros worked as an intern in Washington for Mr. Cuellar, whom she now refers to as “Trump’s favorite Democrat.”

With the help of Justice Democrats, which supported Representatives Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and Ayanna Pressley in their successful bids to oust longtime Democratic incumbents last year, Ms. Cisneros raised more than \$100,000 in the first 48 hours of her campaign, she said. Since then, she has raised \$47,000 more, with donations averaging about \$23.

Mr. Cuellar, an eight-term congressman who won in 2018 with 84 percent of the vote, stood with moderate Democrats and Republicans last week in approving a \$4.6 billion emergency aid package for border states without the restrictions sought by the Congressional Hispanic Caucus and others. Ms. Cisneros said his vote offered “a blank check to Trump and the Republicans’ anti-immigrant agenda.”

As controversies continue to surround immigrant detention centers, Ms. Cisneros has made Mr. Cuellar’s donations from companies that run the centers and private prisons a central issue of her campaign. Since he was first elected to Congress in 2004, Mr. Cuellar has received donations from the Koch brothers, been given an “A” rating by the National Rifle Association and co-sponsored anti-abortion legislation, prompting criticism from some ***Democrats***.

Ms. Cisneros was the first of two ***primary*** challengers to be endorsed by Justice ***Democrats*** so far this cycle. Jamaal Bowman, a school principal from the Bronx running against a 16-term incumbent, was the second.

If she wins, Ms. Cisneros would be the youngest woman ever elected to Congress. She is just one year older than the minimum age required to run, a fact she considers an asset. Like some other liberal Democrats, she supports the idea of free public ***college***, and she is still paying off six-figure ***loans*** from law school at the University of Texas at Austin.

We spoke to Ms. Cisneros about her background and campaign to represent the 28th District, which stretches from south of San Antonio down to the border. The interview has been edited and condensed for clarity.

Q: You grew up along the border in Laredo, Tex., and are a child of Mexican immigrants. How did that shape your political views?

A: My parents came from Nuevo Laredo, just across the bridge. I can see the Mexican side of the border right now, while I’m sitting at a friend’s house.

Jessica Cisneros on Challenging an Incumbent Democrat: "There's a Lot He Has Never Had to Justify"

When I was 7, I would see families crossing, and I would see that they were terrified. I didn't know what it was, but felt like something was wrong. I felt kind of powerless — I couldn't spot the differences between their families and ours in what they experienced.

At that point I committed that one day I was going to be an abogada. I felt like all my experiences were leading me to be an immigration lawyer. The culture down here is that everyone is bilingual — the default is Spanish.

My family came here because my sister had a medical issue. We were just like other Latino families I always saw. My parents sacrificed so much just for their kids to be happy here. Having that shared experience of growing up here, on two sides of the border, led me to think constantly about what immigrants experience.

So you were convinced you wanted to be a lawyer, but how did you decide that you wanted to run for office?

Back in 2011, when I was in college at University of Texas at Austin, the debate around immigration wasn't as heated as it is now. Under the Obama administration, we saw him as deporter in chief. He also brought back family detention. At UT, law students and professors were definitely focused on trying to end family detention.

Most of the debate as we see it now started once I was in law school. When Trump was elected, I was in my second year. I knew I wanted to do immigration law, so in the fall of 2016, I signed up for as many human rights law classes as I could. We were asking ourselves: Where are we going? What are going to be the asks for the next administration? We thought, why stop at ending family detention? Let's push for the end of detention, period.

Then Trump gets elected and our ideas went from being on the offensive — as in, what are we going to ask for? — to being on major defense. How are we going to protect what we fought for? How will we help our clients and their rights when there are family separations and children dying in custody?

How did you see the debate around immigration as a college student?

DACA came around 2012, and it wasn't so much that it was all peace and tranquillity in my circles. I hung out with a lot of other Latina women, many of whom were undocumented or had parents who were. We didn't really think this was a big celebration. It was more like, awesome, of course, this is the way it should be. This is the way it should work — you are American, you just don't have the paperwork.

And what was your experience when you first started working as a lawyer?

I started as a lawyer doing a fellowship. The people I was representing were detained as their cases go through the immigration system. I thought: Finally, this is what I have been waiting for. I was so ready to use that experience to help people who look like me and my parents.

Then I began facing the cold reality that it doesn't matter how great a case you present. I would have stacks and stacks of evidence as to why this person deserves asylum, because they face the real possibility of death if they go back. But the laws just aren't there yet. You have to be pigeonholed in a certain category to say, yes, you are going to get killed, to get asylum. That's just how nonsensical our laws are.

I realized that if the laws are the problem, then I am going to have to go to Congress to fix that.

You interned with the lawmaker you are now running against, Henry Cuellar. He was one of the first members of Congress liberal Democrats identified as a target for 2020. What was the internship like?

When I started, I was very, very excited, because I thought it would be a great insight to the legislative process, and maybe it would be an effective way to serve my people.

Once I got there, I noticed his silence on a lot of things I care about: women's rights, poverty, health care. People I know with diabetes have to go to Nuevo Laredo for medications because it's so expensive.

He knew I was from the district. Never once did he come up to me and say: "What do you think I should be doing?"

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He is from here, yet he is getting money from private prisons and immigrant detention centers. That is going to be a big part of our campaign. Because he has not had a primary since 2006, his record hasn't been an issue. There's a lot he has never had to justify before this.

When you first announced your campaign, several people compared you to Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, who defeated a longtime incumbent in a **Democratic primary**. What did you think of that comparison?

People think because I am a young Latina who is trying to help the Democratic Party I am just like her. I have a lot of admiration for her, but that doesn't mean we're the same. I am trying to be the first Jessica Cisneros, and just do that well.

PHOTO: Jessica Cisneros is running with the support of the group Justice Democrats. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Ilana Panich-Linsman for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Load-Date: July 10, 2019

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She Used to Be His Intern. Now She Wants His Job.

The New York Times

July 4, 2019 Thursday, Late Edition - Final

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Section: Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 17

Length: 1234 words

Byline: By JENNIFER MEDINA

Body

Last month, Jessica Cisneros, a 26-year-old native of South Texas and immigration lawyer, announced her ***primary*** challenge against Representative Henry Cuellar, a ***Democrat*** who represents Texas's 28th District. Just five years ago, Ms. Cisneros worked as an intern in Washington for Mr. Cuellar, whom she now refers to as "Trump's favorite Democrat."

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<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/03/us/politics/jessica-cisneros-2020.html>

Graphic

PHOTO: Jessica Cisneros, a 26-year-old Democrat who is challenging Representative Henry Cuellar of Texas, sees her youth as an asset. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ILANA PANICH-LINSMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Load-Date: July 4, 2019

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“Trump’s Going to Get Re-elected, Isn’t He?”

The New York Times

July 16, 2019 Tuesday 09:16 EST

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Section: OPINION

Length: 1279 words

Byline: Thomas L. Friedman

Highlight: Voters have reason to worry.

Body

I’m struck at how many people have come up to me recently and said, “Trump’s going to get re-elected, isn’t he?” And in each case, when I drilled down to ask why, I bumped into the Democratic presidential debates in June. I think a lot of Americans were shocked by some of the things they heard there. I was.

I was shocked that so many candidates in the party whose nominee I was planning to support want to get rid of the private health insurance covering some 250 million Americans and have “Medicare for all” instead. I think we should strengthen Obamacare and eventually add a public option.

I was shocked that so many were ready to decriminalize illegal entry into our country. I think people should have to ring the doorbell before they enter my house or my country.

I was shocked at all those hands raised in support of providing comprehensive health coverage to undocumented immigrants. I think promises we’ve made to our fellow Americans should take priority, like to veterans in need of better health care.

And I was shocked by how feeble was front-runner Joe Biden’s response to the attack from Kamala Harris — and to the more extreme ideas promoted by those to his left.

So, I wasn’t surprised to hear so many people expressing fear that the racist, divisive, climate-change-denying, woman-abusing jerk who is our president was going to get re-elected, and was even seeing his poll numbers rise.

Dear Democrats: This is not complicated! Just nominate a decent, sane person, one committed to reunifying the country and creating more good jobs, a person who can gain the support of the independents, moderate Republicans and suburban women who abandoned Donald Trump in the midterms and thus swung the House of Representatives to the Democrats and could do the same for the presidency. And that candidate can win!

But please, spare me the revolution! It can wait. Win the presidency, hold the House and narrow the spread in the Senate, and a lot of good things still can be accomplished. “No,” you say, “the left wants a revolution now!” O.K., I’ll give the left a revolution now: four more years of Donald Trump.

That will be a revolution.

Four years of Trump feeling validated in all the crazy stuff he’s done and said. Four years of Trump unburdened by the need to run for re-election and able to amplify his racism, make Ivanka secretary of state, appoint even more crackpots to his cabinet and likely get to name two right-wing Supreme Court justices under the age of 40.

"Trump's Going to Get Re-elected, Isn't He?"

Yes sir, that will be a revolution!

It will be an overthrow of all the norms, values, rules and institutions that we cherish, that made us who we are and that have united us in this common project called the United States of America.

If the fear of that doesn't motivate the Democratic Party's base, then shame on those people. Not all elections are equal. Some elections are a vote for great changes — like the Great Society. Others are a vote to save the country. This election is the latter.

That doesn't mean a Democratic candidate should stand for nothing, just keep it simple: Focus on building national unity and good jobs.

I say national unity because many Americans are terrified and troubled by how bitterly divided, and therefore paralyzed, the country has become. There is an opening for a unifier.

And I say good jobs because when the wealth of the top 1 percent equals that of the bottom 90 percent, we do have to redivide the pie. I favor raising taxes on the wealthiest Americans to subsidize universal pre-K education and to reduce the burden of **student loans**. Let's give kids a head start and **college** grads a fresh start.

But I'm disturbed that so few of the Democratic candidates don't also talk about growing the pie, let alone celebrating American entrepreneurs and risk-takers. Where do they think jobs come from?

The winning message is to double down on redividing the pie in ways that give everyone an opportunity for a slice while also growing the pie sustainably.

Trump is growing the pie by cannibalizing the future. He is creating a growth spurt by building up enormous financial and carbon debts that our kids will pay for.

Democrats should focus on how we create sustainable wealth and good jobs, which is the American public-private partnership model: Government enriches the soil and entrepreneurs grow the companies.

It has always been what's made us rich, and we've drifted away from it: investing in quality education and basic scientific research; promulgating the right laws and regulations to incentivize risk-taking and prevent recklessness and monopolies that can cripple free markets; encouraging legal immigration of both high-energy and high-I.Q. foreigners; and building the world's best enabling infrastructure — ports, roads, bandwidth and basic social safety nets.

Ask Gina Raimondo, Rhode Island's governor, and my kind of Democrat. She was just elected in 2018 for a second term. In both her elections she had to win a **primary** against a more-left **Democrat**. When Raimondo took office in 2015, Rhode Island had unemployment near 7 percent, and over 20 percent in some of the building trades.

"When I ran in 2014, there was a temptation to appeal to particular constituencies — gun safety, choice, all things that I believe in," Raimondo recalled. "I resisted that temptation because I felt the single greatest issue was economic insecurity and people who were afraid they were never going to get a job. So I said there are not three or four issues, there's one issue: jobs." Unemployment in Rhode Island today is about 3.6 percent.

Raimondo has faced a constant refrain from critics on her left that she is too close to business. "I created an incentive program for companies to get a tax subsidy if they created jobs that pay above our state's median income or jobs in advanced industries," she noted. "I have cut small-business taxes two years in a row since 2015. I am not ashamed of any of that."

Because, she continued, "I listen to people every day, and you hear what they are worried about. People say to me, 'Governor, I just got a real job.' And I'd ask them, 'What is a real job?' And they'd say, 'It's a job where I can support my family with real benefits.' So I named our state job-training program 'Real Jobs Rhode Island.'" It will be impossible to "sustain a vibrant democracy with this level of inequality."

The right answer is to reinvigorate the key elements of a healthy public-private partnership, said Raimondo: higher taxes on wealthier people, more investments in affordable housing, infrastructure and universal pre-K, and empowering the private sector to

"Trump's Going to Get Re-elected, Isn't He?"

create more real jobs — "so that no one who is working full time at any job should have to collect Medicaid and need food stamps to make ends meet."

Concluded Raimondo: "I am no apologist for a brand of capitalism that leads to unsustainable inequality. But I do believe a more responsible capitalism is necessary for growth. We need to redivide the pie and grow the pie. I am a 'pro-growth Democrat.' I am for growing the pie as long as everyone has a shot at getting their slice."

That's a simple message that can connect with enough Democrats — as well as independents, moderate Republicans and suburban women — to win the White House.

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Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTopinion) and Instagram.

PHOTO: President Trump in June at the launch of his 2020 campaign in Orlando, Fla. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Damon Winter/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Load-Date: July 20, 2019

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'Trump Will Be Re-elected, Won't He?'

The New York Times

July 17, 2019 Wednesday, Late Edition - Final

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Section: Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 31

Length: 1268 words

Byline: By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Body

I'm struck at how many people have come up to me recently and said, "Trump's going to get re-elected, isn't he?" And in each case, when I drilled down to ask why, I bumped into the Democratic presidential debates in June. I think a lot of Americans were shocked by some of the things they heard there. I was.

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It has always been what's made us rich, and we've drifted away from it: investing in quality education and basic scientific research; promulgating the right laws and regulations to incentivize risk-taking and prevent recklessness and monopolies that can cripple free markets; encouraging legal immigration of both high-energy and high-I.Q. foreigners; and building the world's best enabling infrastructure -- ports, roads, bandwidth and basic social safety nets.

Ask Gina Raimondo, Rhode Island's governor, and my kind of Democrat. She was just elected in 2018 for a second term. In both her elections she had to win a primary against a more-left Democrat. When Raimondo took office in 2015, Rhode Island had unemployment near 7 percent, and over 20 percent in some of the building trades.

"When I ran in 2014, there was a temptation to appeal to particular constituencies -- gun safety, choice, all things that I believe in," Raimondo recalled. "I resisted that temptation because I felt the single greatest issue was economic insecurity and people who were afraid they were never going to get a job. So I said there are not three or four issues, there's one issue: jobs." Unemployment in Rhode Island today is about 3.6 percent.

Raimondo has faced a constant refrain from critics on her left that she is too close to business. "I created an incentive program for companies to get a tax subsidy if they created jobs that pay above our state's median income or jobs in advanced industries," she noted. "I have cut small-business taxes two years in a row since 2015. I am not ashamed of any of that."

Because, she continued, "I listen to people every day, and you hear what they are worried about. People say to me, 'Governor, I just got a real job.' And I'd ask them, 'What is a real job?' And they'd say, 'It's a job where I can support my family with real benefits.' So I named our state job-training program 'Real Jobs Rhode Island.'" It will be impossible to "sustain a vibrant democracy with this level of inequality."

The right answer is to reinvigorate the key elements of a healthy public-private partnership, said Raimondo: higher taxes on wealthier people, more investments in affordable housing, infrastructure and universal pre-K, and empowering the private sector to create more real jobs -- "so that no one who is working full time at any job should have to collect Medicaid and need food stamps to make ends meet."

Concluded Raimondo: "I am no apologist for a brand of capitalism that leads to unsustainable inequality. But I do believe a more responsible capitalism is necessary for growth. We need to redivide the pie and grow the pie. I am a 'pro-growth Democrat.' I am for growing the pie as long as everyone has a shot at getting their slice."

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At Tonight's Democratic Debate, Black Voters Will Be the Focus

The New York Times

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Byline: Astead W. Herndon

Highlight: With Joseph R. Biden Jr., Kamala Harris, and Cory Booker all onstage, candidates are likely to make direct appeals to the Democratic Party's most loyal constituency.

Body

With Joseph R. Biden Jr., Kamala Harris, and Cory Booker all onstage, candidates are likely to make direct appeals to the Democratic Party's most loyal constituency.

DETROIT — While the first night of the second round of Democratic debates showed off the party's ideological diversity, the second night will look more like the Democratic base.

A random drawing led to an all-white debate stage on Tuesday, featuring the Democrats' most ardent liberal voices, Senators Bernie Sanders of Vermont and Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts, and an assortment of moderates.

[Follow our live coverage of Democratic debate Night 2]

But half of Wednesday night's lineup will be candidates of color, including the race's two leading black candidates, Senators Kamala Harris of California and Cory Booker of New Jersey, and former Housing Secretary Julián Castro, Representative Tulsi Gabbard of Hawaii and the entrepreneur Andrew Yang.

At the center of the stage will be the candidate who is currently drawing the support of the most black voters, former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr.

The setting could not be more apt. For Mr. Biden, Ms. Harris and Mr. Booker, who have most clearly pinned their primary hopes on earning the support of black voters, Detroit is emblematic of the case they've made for beating President Trump in a general election. It relies on exciting the coalition that previously supported Barack Obama, mainly young people and voters who are racial minorities.

This differs slightly from the arguments of some other Democrats, who tend to focus on winning back white working class voters who backed Mr. Trump in 2016, particularly in states critical to the Electoral College like Michigan, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania.

But before any of them can get to the general election, they have to stand out in the primary. Here's what to watch for tonight.

Biden, Biden, Biden

This much is true: Mr. Biden remains the early front-runner in the *Democratic primary*, bolstered by overwhelming support from black voters. What's unknown: If Mr. Biden has a repeat of his performance in the first debate, in which he was visibly put off by pointed attacks from Ms. Harris, can that support hold?

At Tonight's Democratic Debate, Black Voters Will Be the Focus

Like Ms. Harris did in the first debate, when she challenged Mr. Biden on his resistance to court-ordered busing to desegregate schools in the 70s, rivals will likely focus on the more controversial parts of Mr. Biden's decades-long career in the United States Senate. Besides his opposition to busing, they include his championing of several bills in the 1980s and 1990s that imposed tough-on-crime measures that directly impacted black communities.

[Read about when Ms. Harris and Mr. Biden clashed on busing and integration.]

Two exhaustive investigations by The New York Times showed Mr. Biden has mis-characterized his record on both crime and busing while on the 2020 campaign trail.

At other points in the primary, Mr. Biden has faced sharp criticism from Ms. Harris and Mr. Booker for his willingness to speak positively about lawmakers with a history of being racist, including segregationists he worked with in the Senate.

Mr. Biden has, in response, touted his political origin story as a civil rights activist and highlighted his relationship with Mr. Obama, the country's first black president.

In the lead-up to the debate, Mr. Biden has promised he will be on the attack. A spokeswoman released a scathing statement this week about Ms. Harris's newly announced health care plan, which seeks to provide Medicare for all Americans while retaining a role for private insurers. Mr. Biden also skewered Mr. Booker over his criminal justice record as mayor of Newark.

Mr. Biden has been buoyed in particular by support among the older black voters that dominate the Southern primaries. Last week, at the annual conference of N.A.A.C.P. delegates, Mr. Biden received a warm ovation and vocal support from the audience. In interviews following his speech, voters consistently cited his tenure as Mr. Obama's vice president as the source of the good will, and argued that he was best suited to defeat Mr. Trump in a general election.

The challengers: Harris and Booker

Mr. Biden will be sandwiched between Ms. Harris and Mr. Booker in the center of the stage.

Both have made repeated trips to South Carolina, the early primary state where black voters make up the overwhelming share of the **Democratic primary** electorate. Both have experienced their best moments of the campaign when hitting Mr. Biden's record on race and racial equality. Both see themselves as well-positioned, should Mr. Biden fade, to pick up the black voters that currently support him.

In recent interviews, Mr. Booker has telegraphed his intention to go directly at Mr. Biden during the debate. The New Jersey senator has struggled to break into the top tier of candidates, but his advisers say they are confident that they can draw an effective contrast on criminal justice reform.

Mr. Booker, more than Mr. Biden or Ms. Harris, has also received plaudits from progressive economists for his baby bonds policy, which would take aim at the racial wealth gap by creating government-run savings accounts for every child born in the United States.

Ms. Harris has the fortunate problem of sky-high expectations going into the second debate, because — just as in the televised Judiciary Committee hearings that launched her into the national consciousness — she seemed at her prosecutorial best in the first one.

In its aftermath, her fund-raising picked up, and she has embraced speaking more about her biography. She has also now surpassed Mr. Biden in endorsements from members of the Congressional Black Caucus.

But Ms. Harris has yet to round out her policy platform, and in a recent interview with The Times, she said she wasn't trying to "restructure society," widening the distance between herself and the party's left wing. A recent proposal about **student loan** forgiveness was met with derision online.

Where she succeeds, her campaign argues, is focusing on policies that will tangibly improve black voters' lives. These include proposals to expand access to safe drinking water, grow minority businesses and decriminalize marijuana.

At Tonight's Democratic Debate, Black Voters Will Be the Focus

What about the rest?

This will not be a three-person debate, and other candidates will be confident that, despite so much focus on Mr. Biden, Ms. Harris, and Mr. Booker, they can also make an impression with black voters.

Two candidates to watch outside of the top three — Mayor Bill de Blasio of New York and Mr. Castro.

Mr. de Blasio, who can tout executive experience in America's largest city, has been criticized by social justice activists for his handling of police abuse cases. But crime has continued to drop on his watch, and he has also invoked his interracial family to project himself as a candidate who understands black people's concerns.

Mr. Castro and his focus on policies, conversely, have made him a stealth darling of progressive activists in recent months. He has repeatedly used major speeches to highlight causes that are particularly important to young black voters, and he was the first major candidate to put out a police reform platform. Onstage, he will stand next to Mr. Booker.

PHOTO: Phyllis Ellis, left, and Roenita Harris cheered for Joseph R. Biden Jr. during the N.A.A.C.P.'s national convention in Detroit last week. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Erin Kirkland for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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New Mexico Announces Plan for Free College for State Residents

The New York Times

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Highlight: Under the plan, tuition to all state colleges would be free for students regardless of family income.

Body

Under the plan, tuition to all state colleges would be free for students regardless of family income.

ALBUQUERQUE — In one of the boldest state-led efforts to expand access to higher education, New Mexico is unveiling a plan on Wednesday to make tuition at its public colleges and universities free for all state residents, regardless of family income.

The move comes as many American families grapple with the rising cost of higher education and as discussions about free public college gain momentum in state legislatures and on the presidential debate stage. Nearly half of the states, including New York, Oregon and Tennessee, have guaranteed free two- or four-year public college to some students. But the New Mexico proposal goes further, promising four years of tuition even to students whose families can afford to pay the sticker price.

The program, which is expected to be formally announced by Gov. Michelle Lujan Grisham on Wednesday and still requires legislative approval, would apply to all 29 of the state's two- and four-year public institutions. Long one of the poorest states in the country, New Mexico plans to use climbing revenues from oil production to pay for much of the costs.

Some education experts, presidential candidates and policymakers consider universal free college to be a squandering of scarce public dollars, which might be better spent offering more support to the neediest students.

But others say college costs have become too overwhelming and hail the many drives toward free tuition.

“I think we’re at a watershed moment,” said Caitlin Zaloom, a cultural anthropologist at New York University who has researched the impact of college costs on families. “It used to be that a high school degree could allow a young adult to enter into the middle class. We are no longer in that situation. We don’t ask people to pay for fifth grade and we also should not ask people to pay for sophomore year.”

By some measures, the tuition initiative will be the most ambitious in a growing national movement. College costs and student debt have emerged as major issues in the **Democratic primary**, with two of the leading contenders for the nomination — Senators Bernie Sanders and Elizabeth Warren — promising to make all public colleges and universities free. Former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. has a more limited proposal to eliminate community college tuition.

So far, states, not the federal government, have led the way — sometimes out of a hope that a more educated work force would attract businesses and improve local economies. As of 2018, 17 states had programs promising free college to at least some students, according to an analysis by the National Conference of State Legislatures. Most of those programs cover tuition only at two-year institutions.

New Mexico Announces Plan for Free College for State Residents

New York's Excelsior Scholarship, championed by Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo and enacted in 2017, illustrates some of the challenges New Mexico will face. Excelsior promises free tuition at public two- and four-year colleges to families making up to \$125,000, but requires that students have no gaps in their education — meaning no time away from the lecture hall to work or to care for children or aging relatives. And the scholarship money cannot be used on books, housing costs, child care or any of the other living expenses that can quickly pile up, and eventually cause many to drop out of school.

"If you call it free and don't provide the supports for students once they get there, then you still don't set them up for success," said Wesley Whistle, a senior adviser on higher education at New America, a Washington think tank.

He said he favored plans such as the 21st Century Scholarship Program in Indiana, which covers the cost of public college tuition for students from low-income families, allowing them to spend their federal Pell grant funds on nontuition expenses.

Like the New York program, the New Mexico plan would cover only tuition, not living expenses, and the funds would be available only after a student drew from existing state aid programs and from federal grants.

But the New Mexico proposal does go further than New York's Excelsior Scholarship in two regards: It is available to all students, regardless of family income, and it includes funds for adults looking to return to school at community colleges.

"This program is an absolute game changer for New Mexico," Governor Lujan Grisham said in a statement. "In the long run, we'll see improved economic growth, improved outcomes for New Mexican workers and families and parents."

Officials contend that New Mexico would benefit most from a universal approach to tuition assistance. The state's median household income is \$46,744, compared with a national median of \$60,336. Most college students in the state also come from relatively disadvantaged backgrounds; almost 65 percent of New Mexico undergraduates are among the nation's neediest students, according to the state's higher education department.

The new program in New Mexico would be open to recent graduates of high schools or high school equivalency programs in the state, and students must maintain a 2.5 grade point average. In contrast to other states, like Georgia, that have curbed access to public colleges by unauthorized immigrants, New Mexico would open the tuition program to all residents, regardless of immigration status.

Carmen Lopez-Wilson, the deputy secretary of New Mexico's Higher Education Department, said the program would benefit about 55,000 students a year at an annual cost of \$25 million to \$35 million. She added that the state was trying to bolster its higher education system, which endured spending cuts of more than 30 percent per student from 2008 to 2018.

"We're giving money directly to students," Ms. Lopez-Wilson said. "This is the best way to begin rebuilding the infrastructure of higher education in New Mexico."

Ms. Lopez-Wilson said the relatively low cost of the program reflected low tuition costs in the state, with many students already receiving forms of assistance. Other states that have less extensive tuition assistance proposals are spending far more.

A year of tuition at the state's flagship campus, the University of New Mexico, costs \$7,556 for state residents. At the state's largest community college, Central New Mexico Community College, tuition costs are generally less than \$3,000 per year.

New Mexico already has some of the lowest debt rates for graduates of four-year colleges. In the class of 2017, they owed \$21,237 on average, compared with a national average of \$28,650, according to the Institute for College Access & Success.

The program will rely on approval and appropriations from the State Legislature if it is to commence as expected in 2020.

"This will take some high-quality politicking from the governor and others to make it happen," said Tripp Stelnicki, a spokesman for Governor Lujan Grisham, a Democrat.

But both chambers in New Mexico are controlled by Democrats, and while fiscal conservatives still have considerable sway in the state, legislators have already shown willingness recently to increase spending on public education. State and federal spending on early childhood programs, including prekindergarten, is climbing to \$546 million this year in New Mexico, a \$135 million increase from the previous year.

New Mexico Announces Plan for Free College for State Residents

In a departure from the belt-tightening after the 2008 financial crisis, New Mexico also gave raises to public-school teachers and the faculty and staff of the University of New Mexico this year.

The free-tuition plan points to the shifting political landscape in New Mexico, traditionally a swing state that was up for grabs by both major parties. It is now emerging as a bastion of Democratic power in the West, standing in contrast to other large oil-producing states controlled by Republicans. At the same time, an oil boom in the Permian Basin shared by New Mexico and Texas is lifting the state's revenues.

In some ways, the burst of interest in free public college is a return to the nation's educational past. As recently as the 1970s, some public university systems remained largely tuition-free.

As a bigger and more diverse group of undergraduates entered college in recent decades, costs rose, and policymakers began to promote the idea of a degree as less of a public benefit than a private asset akin to a mortgage, according to Professor Zaloom, of N.Y.U. Many states raised tuition, and students became more reliant on grants and loans.

"We should be looking at the examples from our own history," Professor Zaloom said. Free college educations from the University of California, the City University of New York and other public systems, she added, have been "some of the most successful engines of mobility in this country."

Simon Romero reported from Albuquerque and Dana Goldstein from New York. Patrick J. Lyons contributed reporting from New York.

PHOTO: The campus of New Mexico State University in Las Cruces, one of the state's 29 public institutions. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CENGIZ YAR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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New Mexico May Provide Free Tuition to Residents

The New York Times

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Byline: By SIMON ROMERO and DANA GOLDSTEIN

Body

ALBUQUERQUE -- In one of the boldest state-led efforts to expand access to higher education, New Mexico is unveiling a plan on Wednesday to make tuition at its public colleges and universities free for all state residents, regardless of family income.

The move comes as many American families grapple with the rising cost of higher education and as discussions about free public college gain momentum in state legislatures and on the presidential debate stage. Nearly half of the states, including New York, Oregon and Tennessee, have guaranteed free two- or four-year public college to some students. But the New Mexico proposal goes further, promising four years of tuition even to students whose families can afford to pay the sticker price.

The program, which is expected to be formally announced by Gov. Michelle Lujan Grisham on Wednesday and still requires legislative approval, would apply to all 29 of the state's two- and four-year public institutions. Long one of the poorest states in the country, New Mexico plans to use climbing revenues from oil production to pay for much of the costs.

Some education experts, presidential candidates and policymakers consider universal free college to be a squandering of scarce public dollars, which might be better spent offering more support to the neediest students.

But others say college costs have become too overwhelming and hail the many drives toward free tuition.

"I think we're at a watershed moment," said Caitlin Zaloom, a cultural anthropologist at New York University who has researched the impact of college costs on families. "It used to be that a high school degree could allow a young adult to enter into the middle class. We are no longer in that situation. We don't ask people to pay for fifth grade and we also should not ask people to pay for sophomore year."

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So far, states, not the federal government, have led the way -- sometimes out of a hope that a more educated work force would attract businesses and improve local economies. As of 2018, 17 states had programs promising free college to at least some students, according to an analysis by the National Conference of State Legislatures. Most of those programs cover tuition only at two-year institutions.

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New Mexico May Provide Free Tuition to Residents

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Simon Romero reported from Albuquerque and Dana Goldstein from New York. Patrick J. Lyons contributed reporting from New York.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/18/us/new-mexico-free-college-tuition.html>

Graphic

PHOTO: The campus of New Mexico State University in Las Cruces, one of the state's 29 public institutions. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CENGIZ YAR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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Does Elizabeth Warren Have a Critical Vulnerability?

The New York Times

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Highlight: She has struggled with white, working-class voters like those important to winning Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin.

Body

She has struggled with white, working-class voters like those important to winning Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin.

ORLEANS, Mass. — I have voted two times for Elizabeth Warren to represent Massachusetts in the Senate. I would certainly vote for her for president over Donald Trump. But as the *Democratic primary* unfolds and she extends a steady rise in the polls, I keep coming back to a political vulnerability of which many followers of Massachusetts politics are aware but others may not be.

The problem is that she has a relatively weak standing in Massachusetts with non-college-educated working-class voters, and especially white workers. These voters are critical, especially in the Midwest and in states crucial to Mr. Trump's victory like Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin.

You might call it the Warren Paradox. Her core message as a politician — that America has become rigged in favor of the very wealthy, and the rich get richer as the rest of us get shafted — is very much aimed at the working class. What's more, her personal narrative, of her rise from “the ragged edge of the middle class” in her native Oklahoma, as she has put it, to professional success and acclaim in the fields of education and government might seem to embody a character trait of grit that appeals to blue-collar workers.

Yet while all of the major Democratic presidential candidates face difficulty with this constituency, polls suggest that this is especially a problem for Ms. Warren. For example, in a Fox survey, she drew 33 percent of white, non-college respondents in a matchup against President Trump, versus 38 percent for Joe Biden and 37 percent for Bernie Sanders. For Democrats to feel fully confident about nominating Ms. Warren as their standard-bearer, she needs to figure out this puzzle.

In Massachusetts, the Warren Paradox can be glimpsed in towns like Rockland, population near 18,000, a suburb about 20 miles south of Boston, overwhelmingly white and working class. In her November 2018 Senate race against a pro-Trump Republican, Ms. Warren won 60 percent of the vote statewide but only 44 percent of the vote in Rockland. By contrast, northwest of Boston, in the upscale suburb of Lexington, where the median home value is \$1.15 million, (compared with \$340,000 in Rockland), Ms. Warren took 74 percent of the vote.

On a recent visit to Rockland, I encountered a sentiment that her policies to address economic hardships might actually penalize those who have played by the rules. In a conversation in the parking lot of a McDonald's, a young mother, after depositing her two children into the back seat of her car, said she viewed as unfair Ms. Warren's proposal to forgive *college student loans* for most people carrying such debt. Now a manager at a local restaurant, she said she had attended a technical institute after high school and duly paid off her loans. “Probably,” she told me, she would vote for Mr. Trump for delivering on his promise to create more jobs.

Does Elizabeth Warren Have a Critical Vulnerability?

I also came across what certainly sounded like, although it was not overtly expressed, reluctance to embracing her because she is a woman. “I can’t even listen to her. I just shut it off” — the television — “when she comes on,” a man at Uptown’s Finest Barbershop told me.

In part, Ms. Warren is afflicted by an authenticity problem with these voters. A former Harvard law professor, she is viewed by some, whatever her declared agenda, as typical of an elite that is out of touch with the concerns of ordinary working people. Doubts about her genuineness are nourished by her claim of Native American ancestry — which her detractors in Massachusetts have long framed as a dubious attempt to elevate her career prospects over equally qualified white job candidates. In 2012, Scott Brown, her Republican opponent in her first Senate race, tried to use this issue against her.

These misgivings feed a conviction that she doesn’t have Rockland’s back — a belief common to white non-college voters, often held against the Democratic Party in general. “She’ll tax me,” insisted a 49-year-old high school graduate who works at a town agency. (Ms. Warren’s proposed wealth tax targets only households with assets exceeding \$50 million.)

“She wants to have open borders,” he added, voicing another reason that some people in Rockland think a President Warren won’t protect them. (Like a number of the Democratic presidential candidates, Ms. Warren is in favor of decriminalizing unauthorized border crossings.) And the sense that Ms. Warren, who has voted in Congress for a ban on assault weapons, is soft on gun rights also plays into the notion that she would leave Rockland unprotected. The 49-year-old voted for Mr. Trump in 2016 and fully plans to do so again in 2020, with the “good job” the president is doing on the economy. (After speaking to me, he climbed into a car with a National Rifle Association sticker affixed to the back windshield.)

As Ms. Warren’s Senate campaigns attest, she is by no means uniformly unpopular in Rockland or, for that matter, in neighboring communities with a similar socio-economic profile.

“I love Elizabeth Warren,” said a welder and member of a plumbers union local, age 68, by phone. “She’s my bulldog. She is 100 percent for us — for the working man, the exploited person, the underdog.” He is from Weymouth, next door to Rockland. “If she were a man, they would love her.” He paused. “Or they would like her more.”

As he explained, places like Rockland, on the South Shore of Massachusetts, need to be understood as products of “white flight” from Boston, following court-ordered school busing in the mid-1970s.

Should she win the Democratic nomination, it’s easy to see the difficulties she will face in gaining the allegiance of the white working class in a matchup with Mr. Trump. White flight also defines a number of working-class suburbs in the Midwest, as in the metropolitan Detroit region.

But even though the Warren Paradox will be a real challenge, she still has the opportunity to impress potentially unreceptive voters with her “bulldog” tenacity, as in her visit this year to a small town in West Virginia to talk about the opioid crisis — a state, 93 percent white, taken by Mr. Trump in 2016 by nearly 42 points. She has also put gut economic issues at the centerpiece of her agenda: For instance, her “Plan for Economic Patriotism,” an industrial-policy tack calling for such steps as “more actively managing” the currency value of the dollar “to promote exports and domestic manufacturing” and a tenfold increase in government spending on job apprenticeship programs, won praise from the Fox News commentator Tucker Carlson. “It’s just pure old-fashioned economics: how to preserve good-paying American jobs,” he told his audience, a form of “economic nationalism.”

And to be sure, while white working-class voters get a great deal of attention in battleground states like Michigan, if Democrats can increase turnout among African-American voters in 2020, that would help counterbalance any weakness among white working-class voters.

As I was reminded in Rockland, the task of beating Mr. Trump doesn’t require passion for the president’s challenger, whoever that may be. The president, too, arouses a visceral dislike among some people there. One man, a Vietnam veteran who works at the American Legion post in Rockland, screwed up his face at my mention of the president. Among the things he finds unappealing is Mr. Trump’s disdainful posture toward the news media. We chatted about the fractious state of American politics at the Rockland Bar and Grill, as he sipped his Guinness. “If it’s down to Trump and Warren, it’s definitely Warren,” he declared without hesitation. Ms. Warren versus Mr. Trump would be a grind, but that, it might be said, is the story of her life.

Does Elizabeth Warren Have a Critical Vulnerability?

Paul Starobin is a journalist based in Orleans, Mass., and the author, most recently, of “Madness Rules the Hour: Charleston, 1860 and the Mania for War.”

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PHOTO: Elizabeth Warren listened to a question during an American Federation of Teachers town hall event in Philadelphia in May. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Matt Rourke/Associated Press FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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How Do You Fix ... All of It?

The New York Times

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Section: BUSINESS; dealbook

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Highlight: At the DealBook DC Strategy Forum a group of leaders in business, politics and academia gathered to try to solve problems from student debt to carbon emissions. Here are their recommendations.

Body

At the inaugural conference, sponsored by The New York Times, influential leaders in academia, business and politics gathered to discuss and debate provocative issues, and provide innovative solutions to some of our nation's top policy agenda challenges. Task forces developed recommendations for businesses and policymakers, identifying some central questions that will be driving conversations through the 2020 election.

Can Taxing the Wealthy Fix the Economy?

Taxing the rich is having a moment in American politics, even more than usual.

For decades, Democrats and Republicans in Washington have battled over how much money the highest-earning Americans should send to the federal government each year — a fight that has mostly played out between a few percentage points of the top marginal rate of income taxes. President Bill Clinton raised that rate, George W. Bush lowered it, and Barack Obama raised it again. President Trump's 2017 tax cuts lowered it. It was the political equivalent of watching two football teams push the ball back and forth between the 40 yard lines.

As the 2020 election approaches, a new crop of Democratic candidates has opened a much larger field of play on the issue, cheered by voters who tell pollsters the economy is stacked against the working class and in favor of the rich. Those candidates are looking beyond the income tax — which many of them would increase for the rich, to be clear — and offering plans to tax wealth, investments and a variety of other hallmarks of the economic top 1 percent.

Senator Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts suggests a tax on the 75,000 wealthiest American households, as well as a suite of increased investment and payroll taxes on high earners. Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont wants to increase significantly the tax rate that heirs must pay when inheriting large estates, to raise the top income tax rate above 50 percent and to increase taxes for businesses and for wealthy investors who earn money from dividends and capital gains.

The flurry of proposals are entwined with questions of economic fairness, mobility and efficiency. JIM TANKERSLEY

Recommendations

CLOSE INHERITANCE LOOPHOLES The government should eliminate the so-called “step-up in basis” for assets that are passed on at death, which allows wealthy heirs to avoid taxes.

INCREASE TAX COMPLIANCE More funding should be allocated for tax enforcement to increase compliance and raise more tax revenue.

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Disputes

Some members of the panel, including James Pethokoukis, a fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, viewed the proposal of a wealth tax as simply punitive, arguing that it targeted the wealthy without accomplishing larger aims like fairness or social mobility. Other members, including Gene Sperling, a former economic adviser to Presidents Obama and Clinton, argued that this is an important moment in which the concept of fairness and economic dignity has become central to the larger debate around tax reform. Abigail Disney argued it was wrong for people like her, who inherit wealth, to pay lower taxes than people who work for their income.

Task Force Moderator: Jim Tankersley, economic and tax policy correspondent, The New York Times. Participants: Lily Batchelder, Frederick I. and Grace Stokes Professor of Law, N.Y.U. Law School; Abigail Disney, filmmaker and activist, Fork Films and Level Forward; John Bryant, founder, chairman and chief executive, Operation HOPE; Robert Glenn Hubbard, dean emeritus and Russell L. Carson Professor of Economics and Finance and Professor of Economics; Columbia University; Stephanie Kelton, professor of economics and public policy, Stony Brook University; Jacob Leibenstein, executive vice president for policy, Center for American Progress; Grover Norquist, president, Americans for Tax Reform; James Pethokoukis, DeWitt Wallace Fellow, American Enterprise Institute; Kyle Pomerleau, chief economist, Tax Foundation; Steven Rattner, chairman and chief executive, Willett Advisors; Tiffany Smith, chief tax counsel, Senate Finance Committee; Gene B. Sperling, former national economic adviser, presidents Obama and Clinton; G. Warren Whitaker, partner, Day Pitney; Vanessa Williamson, senior fellow, Brookings Institution; Kathryn Wylde, president and chief executive, Partnership for New York City; Mark Zandi, chief economist, Moody's Analytics.

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Six months after Canada legalized pot for recreational use, more than 40 percent of Canadian cannabis users said they bought it from illegal sources, according to a recent report from Canada's national statistics office. Proponents of legalization argue that it is far too early to pass judgment; it took several years for legal sales in Colorado to surpass 70 percent, for example. DAN BILEFSKY

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Normalizing banking industry relations with cannabis companies, growers and retailers will help bring businesses out of the illicit market.

How Do You Fix ... All of It?

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Some members of the panel did not agree that cannabis should be legal, given its illegality at the federal level. While most people agreed with the necessity of some amnesty, as the criminal justice system disproportionately affects people from marginalized communities, there was little agreement on what decriminalization should look like.

Task Force Moderator: Dan Bilefsky, Canada correspondent, The New York Times. Participants: Alex Berenson, author of “Tell Your Children”; Hilary Black, chief advocacy officer, Canopy Growth Corporation; David Damschen, state treasurer, Utah; Cassandra Frederique, New York State director, Drug Policy Alliance; Sion Harris, director of Center for Adolescent Substance Use and Addiction Research, Boston Children’s Hospital; Steve Hawkins, executive director, Marijuana Policy Project; Rob Nichols, president and chief executive, American Bankers Association; Emily Paxhia, co-founder and managing director, Poseidon; Michelle Peace, associate professor department of forensic science, Virginia Commonwealth University; Kevin Sabet, president, SAM; Steve White, chief executive, Harvest Health & Recreation; Hope Wiseman, chief executive, Mary and Main.

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The federal government is the primary lender for those who borrow for college, and the Education Department has effectively become one of the nation’s biggest banks. It directly holds more than \$1.2 trillion in loans owed by 34 million people.

There are signs that the burden is weighing on the broader economy. Homeownership rates among those under 32 dropped significantly over the last decade, which is partly attributable to their **student loan** debts, Federal Reserve researchers said in a recent report. The increase in debt has also hindered small business formation, reduced young adults’ retirement savings and contributed to lower marriage rates, economists have found.

The issue has become a signature policy point for some 2020 presidential hopefuls. STACY COWLEY

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EXPAND FREE PUBLIC EDUCATION; ASK MORE OF STATES AND BUSINESSES Students are guaranteed a free education from kindergarten through high school, but that education is no longer sufficient for many jobs. Offering free higher education — as more than a dozen states have done, to varying degrees — can keep students out of debt and improve the nation’s work force. But successful outcomes require a sustained and nuanced commitment from states and, ideally, from employers, too.

Disputes

The panel broadly agreed that student lending should be restructured to make the amount students repay for higher education more contingent on their post-college income. But there was strong disagreement about whether the approach should focus on improved income-based repayment options or should shift to income-share agreements, in which students agree to pay a portion of their future income to a financier in exchange for an education. Some panel participants said they wanted the federal government to exit student lending entirely.

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How Do You Fix ... All of It?

Gov. Gina Raimondo of Rhode Island; James Runcie, president and executive director, The Education Finance Institute; Mark Schlissel, president, University of Michigan; Benjamin Wiseman, director, office of consumer protection, Office of the Attorney General for the District of Columbia; Daniel Zibel, vice president and chief counsel, National Student Legal Defense Network.

Can Pricing Carbon Stall Climate Change?

Earlier this month, the 10 top-polling ***Democratic primary*** candidates took part in a CNN town hall event on climate change, the first prime-time televised forum devoted to the issue in a presidential campaign.

In perhaps the most significant development of that night, nine of the 10 candidates openly embraced the idea of putting a tax or fee on carbon dioxide pollution. While most economists agree it is the best way to cut emissions, it has drawn intense political opposition, such as from the so-called yellow-vest protesters in France last winter, when protests shut down the Louvre and the Eiffel Tower.

And this year, even as the issue of climate change gained political prominence, progressive lawmakers did not include a carbon tax or price in the Green New Deal.

Still, recent scientific reports, which have concluded that the impacts of climate change — stronger storms, droughts, heat waves, rising sea levels and flooding — are already being felt, have also called more explicitly on governments to respond by pricing carbon.

Polls have shown that rising numbers of ***Democratic primary***, millennial and independent voters see climate change as an increasingly important issue. But the political path for the promise of turning that pledge into legislation remains steep and tricky.

CORAL DAVENPORT

Recommendations

NET ZERO EMISSIONS Although the panel could not reach consensus on how exactly we would get here, they agreed the federal government needs to place a limit on greenhouse gases with the goal of net zero emissions by no later than 2050, combined with carbon pricing.

REDIRECT FUNDS IN POSITIVE WAYS A portion of the revenue from carbon pricing should go toward underserved and low-income communities, supporting them in a just and equitable transition away from fossil fuels.

Disputes

Members of the panel were divided on whether trading a carbon tax in exchange for stripping away regulations would be the most effective way to lower emissions. While most members of the panel agreed with the necessity of a price on carbon in general, there was little agreement on how to make a price on carbon palatable to Republicans and businesses, or even whether appealing to them is an important element to consider.

Task Force Moderator: Coral Davenport, energy and environmental policy correspondent, The New York Times. Participants: Vicki Arroyo, executive director, Georgetown Climate Center; Jason Bordoff, founding director of Center on Global Energy Policy, professor of professional practice in international and public affairs, Columbia University; Carlos Curbelo, principal, Vocero; United States Representative Ted Deutch, Florida; Rhiana Gunn-Wright, policy director, New Consensus; Ted Halstead, chief executive and chairman, Climate Leadership Council; Nate Hurst, chief sustainability social impact officer, HP; Fred Krupp, president, Environmental Defense Fund; Erich Pica, president, Friends of the Earth U.S.; Mary Powell, chief executive and president, Green Mountain Power; Barry Rabe, professor of public policy, University of Michigan; Valerie Smith, managing director and global head, corporate sustainability, Citi; William Snape III, senior counsel Center for Biological Diversity, professor American University Law School; Alison Taylor, chief sustainability officer, Archer Daniels Midland Company; Daniel Zarrilli, chief climate policy adviser and OneNYC director, New York City Office of the Mayor.

How to Keep Private Data Private

How Do You Fix ... All of It?

New revelations seem to emerge every month or so about privacy violations by the internet's biggest platforms. With concerns over online privacy increasing, United States regulators and lawmakers are scrambling to create laws and regulations to protect internet users.

The result so far has amounted to a fractured and often dizzying regulatory landscape for businesses trying to navigate the limits of their ability to collect, share and protect user data.

It has been a striking turn of events for Silicon Valley, which Democrats and Republicans had for years sought to bolster by limiting laws that could curb the growth of America's brightest engine of economic growth. But with Europe's implementation last year of a privacy law known as the General Data Protection Regulation and issues like Facebook's mishandling of data harvested by the political consulting firm Cambridge Analytica, the question for lawmakers is not whether to regulate, but how forcefully.

Members of Congress have promised a new comprehensive federal privacy law to keep in step with Europe's groundbreaking law. There are even state and federal proposals to put a price on the value of personal data, and internet companies would have to pay users in order to profit from their information. CECILIA KANG

Recommendations

PASS A COMPREHENSIVE FEDERAL LAW The law would pre-empt (or nullify) one in California that is about to go into place, because the existence of state and federal laws creates a confusing regulatory landscape. This federal law must create baseline standards on the kind of data collection companies can pursue.

BETTER ENFORCEMENT OF REGULATIONS A federal law should include greater enforcement abilities on the federal level, specifically at the Federal Trade Commission. The F.T.C. should be given more resources with a bigger budget from Congress, as well as rule-making authority. States should still be able to enforce a federal law.

Disputes

One member, Gabriel Weinberg, the founder and chief executive of DuckDuckGo, proposed a law called Do Not Track that would enable consumers to limit data tracking, giving them more control over their data and also solving a problem with competition in the tech industry, where Google and Facebook command the online advertising industry. Several members disagreed with Mr. Weinberg's proposal because they said it was too narrow and could defeat the broader goal of a comprehensive federal law.

Task Force Moderator: Cecilia Kang, national technology correspondent, The New York Times. Participants: Michael Beckerman, president and chief executive, Internet Association; Patrick Berlinquette, search engine marketer, Berlin SEM; Lindsey Finch, executive vice president, global privacy & product legal and chief privacy officer, Salesforce; Joan Khouri, chief marketing officer, Oppenheimer & Company; Nicola McCormick, general counsel, GroupM Worldwide; Laura Pirri, senior director, legal — privacy, product & regulatory, Fitbit; Kalinda Raina, head of global privacy, LinkedIn; Jessica Rich, former director Bureau of Consumer Protection, Federal Trade Commission; Julian Sanchez, senior fellow, Cato Institute; Susan Shook, global privacy officer, director — associate general counsel, The Procter & Gamble Company; Gabriel Weinberg, founder and chief executive, DuckDuckGo.

Can Cyberattacks Be Prevented?

At the end of World War I, the airplane, invented to speed transport, suddenly looked fearsome. It had been turned into a weapon of war. It was still a matter of debate whether the aeroplane, as the British called it, could cause mass chaos or threaten entire cities. But that is what happened a quarter-century later.

The same debate now rages over cyberpower. Connectivity has changed our lives and made possible applications we never dreamed of decades ago — with many more to come. But we are way past the moment when the biggest fear is spies using cyber for espionage, or thieves draining our bank accounts because we clicked on the wrong link in a phishing scam. Cyberattacks can range from election interference, to the manipulation of financial or medical data, to the physical destruction of equipment, whether nuclear centrifuges or entire power grids.

How Do You Fix ... All of It?

A series of ransomware attacks this summer has proved that for all the talk about major advances in protecting ourselves, small towns, school boards and water districts are wildly vulnerable to extortion. With a few exceptions, the best protected have spent tens of millions of dollars on detection and deterrence.

And now there is another concern: New high-speed 5G networks will create all kinds of new applications, but they will also allow attacks to move much more quickly and create new vulnerabilities. “We can’t forget,” said Brad Smith, president of Microsoft, “that every better tool is also a better weapon.” DAVID E. SANGER

Recommendations

BAN THE TERM “CYBERSECURITY” There are huge differences between the theft of intellectual property, the breach of a bank account, a disinformation campaign and a state-sponsored attack to shut down a power plant or a missile launch. And protecting against each attack involves a radically different approach. Grouping them all as “cybersecurity” problems makes solving them harder. Instead, focus on the kind of problem we are trying to solve and think of comprehensive ways to approach them — some of which will involve cyber protections, but some of which won’t.

NONDIGITAL BACKUPS FOR ELECTIONS Some functions are too important to trust to the vulnerabilities of electronic manipulation. There is no excuse for not having a forensic trail for elections that is nondigital, and thus not subject to digital attacks. And these systems need resilience. At a moment when the government is worried about “ransomware” attacks on states, cities and town voter registration databases, make sure the voter rolls are backed up and printed out.

Disputes

Vast amounts of information about vulnerabilities is classified by the government — making it hard to discuss, much less protect against. Our experts disagreed on whether there could be a presumption that vulnerabilities are quickly, if not instantly, shared. The intelligence agencies fiercely want to protect their sources and methods, and the big users of this data say collecting it is useless if the government is going to spend weeks or months before sending up an alert.

Task Force Moderator: David E. Sanger, national security correspondent and senior writer, The New York Times. Participants: Dmitri Alperovitch, chief technology officer and co-founder, CrowdStrike; Neil Chatterjee, chairman, Federal Energy Regulatory Commission; Nicole Eagan, chief executive, Darktrace; Victoria Espinel, president and chief executive, BSA | The Software Alliance; United States Representative Michael Gallagher of Wisconsin; Avril Haines, former deputy director of the C.I.A.; Lorraine Hariton, president and chief executive, Catalyst. Ryan Macias, owner, RSM Election Solutions; Elizabeth Petrie, managing director, emerging technology risk & analytics, Citi; Neill Sciarrone, co-founder and president, Trinity Cyber; Nick Selby, director of cyber intelligence and investigations, New York City Police Department; Suzanne Spaulding, senior adviser, homeland security, international security program, Center for Strategic and International Studies; Phil Venables, senior adviser of risk and cybersecurity, and board director, Goldman Sachs Bank.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Kotryna Zukauskaite FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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Finding Solutions

The New York Times

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CORAL DAVENPORT

Recommendations

NET ZERO EMISSIONS Although the panel could not reach consensus on how exactly we would get here, they agreed the federal government needs to place a limit on greenhouse gases with the goal of net zero emissions by no later than 2050, combined with carbon pricing.

REDIRECT FUNDS IN POSITIVE WAYS A portion of the revenue from carbon pricing should go toward underserved and low-income communities, supporting them in a just and equitable transition away from fossil fuels.

Disputes

Members of the panel were divided on whether trading a carbon tax in exchange for stripping away regulations would be the most effective way to lower emissions. While most members of the panel agreed with the necessity of a price on carbon in general, there was little agreement on how to make a price on carbon palatable to Republicans and businesses, or even whether appealing to them is an important element to consider.

Task Force Moderator: Coral Davenport, energy and environmental policy correspondent, The New York Times. Participants: Vicki Arroyo, executive director, Georgetown Climate Center; Jason Bordoff, founding director of Center on Global Energy Policy, professor of professional practice in international and public affairs, Columbia University; Carlos Curbelo, principal, Vocero; United States Representative Ted Deutch, Florida; Rhiana Gunn-Wright, policy director, New Consensus; Ted Halstead, chief executive and chairman, Climate Leadership Council; Nate Hurst, chief sustainability social impact officer, HP; Fred Krupp, president, Environmental Defense Fund; Erich Pica, president, Friends of the Earth U.S.; Mary Powell, chief executive and president, Green Mountain Power; Barry Rabe, professor of public policy, University of Michigan; Valerie Smith, managing director and global head, corporate sustainability, Citi; William Snape III, senior counsel Center for Biological Diversity, professor American University Law School; Alison Taylor, chief sustainability officer, Archer Daniels Midland Company; Daniel Zarrilli, chief climate policy adviser and OneNYC director, New York City Office of the Mayor.

How to Keep Private Data Private

New revelations seem to emerge every month or so about privacy violations by the internet's biggest platforms. With concerns over online privacy increasing, United States regulators and lawmakers are scrambling to create laws and regulations to protect internet users.

The result so far has amounted to a fractured and often dizzying regulatory landscape for businesses trying to navigate the limits of their ability to collect, share and protect user data.

Finding Solutions

It has been a striking turn of events for Silicon Valley, which Democrats and Republicans had for years sought to bolster by limiting laws that could curb the growth of America's brightest engine of economic growth. But with Europe's implementation last year of a privacy law known as the General Data Protection Regulation and issues like Facebook's mishandling of data harvested by the political consulting firm Cambridge Analytica, the question for lawmakers is not whether to regulate, but how forcefully.

Members of Congress have promised a new comprehensive federal privacy law to keep in step with Europe's groundbreaking law. There are even state and federal proposals to put a price on the value of personal data, and internet companies would have to pay users in order to profit from their information. CECILIA KANG

Recommendations

PASS A COMPREHENSIVE FEDERAL LAW The law would pre-empt (or nullify) one in California that is about to go into place, because the existence of state and federal laws creates a confusing regulatory landscape. This federal law must create baseline standards on the kind of data collection companies can pursue.

BETTER ENFORCEMENT OF REGULATIONS A federal law should include greater enforcement abilities on the federal level, specifically at the Federal Trade Commission. The F.T.C. should be given more resources with a bigger budget from Congress, as well as rule-making authority. States should still be able to enforce a federal law.

Disputes

One member, Gabriel Weinberg, the founder and chief executive of DuckDuckGo, proposed a law called Do Not Track that would enable consumers to limit data tracking, giving them more control over their data and also solving a problem with competition in the tech industry, where Google and Facebook command the online advertising industry. Several members disagreed with Mr. Weinberg's proposal because they said it was too narrow and could defeat the broader goal of a comprehensive federal law.

Task Force Moderator: Cecilia Kang, national technology correspondent, The New York Times. Participants: Michael Beckerman, president and chief executive, Internet Association; Patrick Berlinquette, search engine marketer, Berlin SEM; Lindsey Finch, executive vice president, global privacy & product legal and chief privacy officer, Salesforce; Joan Khoury, chief marketing officer, Oppenheimer & Company; Nicola McCormick, general counsel, GroupM Worldwide; Laura Pirri, senior director, legal -- privacy, product & regulatory, Fitbit; Kalinda Raina, head of global privacy, LinkedIn; Jessica Rich, former director Bureau of Consumer Protection, Federal Trade Commission; Julian Sanchez, senior fellow, Cato Institute; Susan Shook, global privacy officer, director -- associate general counsel, The Procter & Gamble Company; Gabriel Weinberg, founder and chief executive, DuckDuckGo.

Can Cyberattacks Be Prevented?

At the end of World War I, the airplane, invented to speed transport, suddenly looked fearsome. It had been turned into a weapon of war. It was still a matter of debate whether the aeroplane, as the British called it, could cause mass chaos or threaten entire cities. But that is what happened a quarter-century later.

The same debate now rages over cyberpower. Connectivity has changed our lives and made possible applications we never dreamed of decades ago -- with many more to come. But we are way past the moment when the biggest fear is spies using cyber for espionage, or thieves draining our bank accounts because we clicked on the wrong link in a phishing scam. Cyberattacks can range from election interference, to the manipulation of financial or medical data, to the physical destruction of equipment, whether nuclear centrifuges or entire power grids.

A series of ransomware attacks this summer has proved that for all the talk about major advances in protecting ourselves, small towns, school boards and water districts are wildly vulnerable to extortion. With a few exceptions, the best protected have spent tens of millions of dollars on detection and deterrence.

And now there is another concern: New high-speed 5G networks will create all kinds of new applications, but they will also allow attacks to move much more quickly and create new vulnerabilities. "We can't forget," said Brad Smith, president of Microsoft, "that every better tool is also a better weapon." DAVID E. SANGER

Recommendations

BAN THE TERM "CYBERSECURITY" There are huge differences between the theft of intellectual property, the breach of a bank account, a disinformation campaign and a state-sponsored attack to shut down a power plant or a missile launch. And protecting against each attack involves a radically different approach. Grouping them all as "cybersecurity" problems makes solving them harder. Instead, focus on the kind of problem we are trying to solve and think of comprehensive ways to approach them -- some of which will involve cyber protections, but some of which won't.

NONDIGITAL BACKUPS FOR ELECTIONS Some functions are too important to trust to the vulnerabilities of electronic manipulation. There is no excuse for not having a forensic trail for elections that is nondigital, and thus not subject to digital attacks. And these systems need resilience. At a moment when the government is worried about "ransomware" attacks on states, cities and town voter registration databases, make sure the voter rolls are backed up and printed out.

Disputes

Vast amounts of information about vulnerabilities is classified by the government -- making it hard to discuss, much less protect against. Our experts disagreed on whether there could be a presumption that vulnerabilities are quickly, if not instantly, shared. The intelligence agencies fiercely want to protect their sources and methods, and the big users of this data say collecting it is useless if the government is going to spend weeks or months before sending up an alert.

Task Force Moderator: David E. Sanger, national security correspondent and senior writer, The New York Times. Participants: Dmitri Alperovitch, chief technology officer and co-founder, CrowdStrike; Neil Chatterjee, chairman, Federal Energy Regulatory Commission; Nicole Eagan, chief executive, Darktrace; Victoria Espinel, president and chief executive, BSA | The Software Alliance; United States Representative Michael Gallagher of Wisconsin; Avril Haines, former deputy director of the C.I.A.; Lorraine Hariton, president and chief executive, Catalyst. Ryan Macias, owner, RSM Election Solutions; Elizabeth Petrie, managing director, emerging technology risk & analytics, Citi; Neill Sciarrone, co-founder and president, Trinity Cyber; Nick Selby, director of cyber intelligence and investigations, New York City Police Department; Suzanne Spaulding, senior adviser, homeland security, international security program, Center for Strategic and International Studies; Phil Venables, senior adviser of risk and cybersecurity, and board director, Goldman Sachs Bank.

This is a more complete version of the story than the one that appeared in print.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/18/business/dealbook/dealbook-forum-task-force-recommendations.html>

Graphic

DRAWINGS (DRAWINGS BY KOTRYNA ZUKAUSKAITE) (F6

F7)

Load-Date: September 22, 2019

Young Black Voters to Their Biden-Supporting Parents: ‘Is This Your King?’

The New York Times

September 20, 2019 Friday 10:54 EST

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Section: US; politics

Length: 1610 words

Byline: Astead W. Herndon

Highlight: An organic effort by black millennials and Gen Z-ers to influence older family members against Mr. Biden may be important in the *Democratic primary*.

Body

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HOUSTON — A groan erupted at a debate watch party at Texas Southern University last week as former vice president Joseph R. Biden Jr. got a question about slavery and racism and gave an answer about Venezuela and record players.

But amid that exasperation, some students channeled their inner Beltway operatives and began a targeted rapid-response campaign.

Tyler Smith, 19, texted his grandmother after the debate, hopeful that Mr. Biden’s meandering answer may have swayed her from supporting him.

Amaya St. Romain, 19, mounted a three-day lobbying blitz on her mother and her great-grandmother, making sure they had seen the former housing secretary Julián Castro’s criticisms of Mr. Biden onstage.

In meme-speak, the efforts amounted to Killmonger, the villain in the Black Panther movie, challenging the people of Wakanda: “Is this your king?”

“I think I’m definitely influencing them,” Ms. St. Romain said of her family members. “But my dad is definitely still pro-Biden. And I don’t really argue with him.”

If Mr. Biden, 76, is going to win the Democratic nomination, it is likely to be because of the support of older black voters, a key constituency for the party and one that polls show is overwhelmingly supportive of the former vice president’s candidacy.

But if he is to be overtaken by one of his more progressive rivals, the most powerful tool against him may not be opposition research or negative advertisements. Instead, it may be an organic effort by younger black voters — concerned about Mr. Biden’s age and more moderate ideology — to sway their older family members.

Mr. Biden seems aware of this dynamic. In interviews, he has both acknowledged the generational gap among his black supporters and downplayed its importance, arguing that the support of older, more moderate black voters would be enough to give him an electoral advantage.

Still, Mr. Biden, by his own admission, would be unwise to underestimate the lobbying efforts of those who are young and politically engaged. At a gathering of the New Hampshire Young Democrats in July, Mr. Biden said the same phenomenon —

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young people converting their skeptical parents — had helped fuel his own ascension in politics almost 47 years ago, when he was elected to the Senate as a fresh-faced 29-year-old.

“The fact of the matter is, you have more influence on how your parents vote than they have on you,” Mr. Biden said in July. “You may sit at the dining room table, having dinner with your mom and dad, and say, ‘I met her and I really like her,’ or ‘I met him and I really like him.’ And your parents will pretend it didn’t matter much. But they’ll go up, not a joke, they’ll go up and say, ‘If my kid liked that person that much, and knew them, there must be something there.’”

At Texas Southern University, a historically black university founded in 1927 and the site of last week’s Democratic debate, dozens of students, ages 19 to 23, differed on their top candidate. Senators Bernie Sanders of Vermont, Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts, and Kamala Harris of California were among the favorites, as was one of the two Texans in the race, former Representative Beto O’Rourke.

For Mr. Biden, though, students carried mixed feelings. They respected his tenure as Barack Obama’s vice president, but implicitly rejected his campaign’s central premise, that the ***primary*** goal of ***Democrats*** in the 2020 election should be defeating President Trump.

They pointed to systemic problems they said the country must address, such as inequality, climate change and gun violence. The Democratic nominee, they said, should embrace progressive proposals like canceling ***student loan*** debt, the Green New Deal and gun buyback programs.

“Me and my dad have the debate all the time,” said Samantha Williams, 19, a sophomore. “We want a candidate that reflects us and what the world is going to look like when we run. But he says what we call ‘woke’ is really just sensitive.”

Jaylan Jones, 20, said, “Older people have that conservative outlook on things,” even older black Democrats.

“Young people don’t want Biden. We want Beto. We want Bernie,” said Ms. Jones, a junior. “I think we can convince them.”

The difference in opinion across generations speaks to the changing politics of black communities, said Rashad Robinson, the president of Color of Change, the racial justice organization. And the historically diverse Democratic field has given voters plentiful options to choose from: multiple black candidates, white progressives who openly back once-radical ideas like reparations, and Mr. Biden, who served as vice president to the first black president.

Black voters are overwhelmingly members of the Democratic Party, and polls show they have long regarded Mr. Trump as a racist president and individual whom they are desperate to replace. A recent national poll of ***Democratic primary*** voters from NBC and The Wall Street Journal showed Mr. Biden had the support of nearly 50 percent with black respondents, though others have shown a less commanding lead.

“Black people are strategic voters, particularly older black people,” Mr. Robinson said. “They’re thinking harm reduction. They’re doing a deep analysis about what they think white people will accept and won’t accept.”

He pointed to the last ***Democratic primary***, when younger black voters tracked more toward Mr. Sanders than their older counterparts, who overwhelmingly backed Hillary Clinton. In 2008, younger black voters supported Barack Obama in much bigger numbers than the electorate at large, until his victory in the Iowa Caucus led to a surge of support.

“Young people are constantly signaling what’s next and what’s possible,” Mr. Robinson said. “And while there’s some love for Biden, but sometimes you’re in a relationship because you’re comfortable and it’s what you know.”

Another Texas Southern student, Christopher Anwuri, 22, said the generational differences in how black voters saw the primary were fueled by opposing theories of political change: incrementalism versus immediate upheaval.

“This generation is looking for an instant, quick fix for problems,” he said. Older black people, meanwhile, think “these things need to take time.”

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It also comes back to Mr. Obama, and the long shadow he casts over national Democratic politics, particularly in black communities. Older black voters invoke his name in deference, and cite his embrace of Mr. Biden as something that helped him win the trust of skeptical white voters in 2008.

To younger generations, many of whom were in high school or younger at the time, Mr. Obama’s achievements exist on their own. Their first memories of Mr. Biden stem from his highly meme-able vice-presidential years. They are also more likely to hold his long and at times controversial record — on criminal justice, school segregation and the Clarence Thomas hearings, among other things — against him.

Jayla Lee, 19, said older black voters “like Biden because he was with Obama, and they feel like since they could trust Obama that means they can trust him.”

“But the things we endure are not the things they endured,” Ms. Lee said. “And I’m looking for someone who can change the things that affect me.”

Darren Black, 22, said older generations were always “going to ride” for Mr. Biden, because “Joe was there with Obama.”

“But the younger generation, we’ve seen mass shootings, we’re seeing more police brutality — we’re looking at different things,” Mr. Black said.

Yet contrary to their stereotype as idealistic and apathetic, and with the steely pessimism of seasoned political operatives, younger voters expressed a clear-eyed understanding that their efforts to lobby their relatives would not necessarily be successful.

Asked if she’d had any luck converting her family to more progressive candidates, Ms. Williams, a political science major, said, “I’m making no progress. None. Not even a tiny bit. I wish.”

Ms. Williams called her pro-Biden father a lost cause. “We’re both opinionated and headstrong people, and I just don’t have the energy to go back and forth,” she said.

Mr. Smith, a member of the school’s College Democrats, said he liked Mr. Biden, but preferred his more left-wing rivals, such as Mr. O’Rourke, Mr. Castro, Ms. Harris or Ms. Warren.

After the debate, he thought about further pestering his grandmother over her support for Mr. Biden, but he reconsidered out of fear of coming off as pushy.

“You know, it’s grandma, so you got to let her have it,” Mr. Smith said.

When reached by phone, however, Mr. Smith’s grandmother, Alice Varnado, said his previous lobbying efforts had been more successful than he may have realized.

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Her family members — Mr. Smith and his uncle — had convinced her.

“You know, since talking with my grandson and my son, I think I can go with her,” said Ms. Varnado. “I’m starting to like her. There’s been a turning point.”

Katie Glueck contributed reporting.

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PHOTOS: Amaya St. Romain, left, made sure her relatives were aware of Julián Castro’s criticisms of Joe Biden during the debate. Below left, Tyler Smith’s efforts may actually be working. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY TODD SPOTH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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Load-Date: September 22, 2019

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Trying to Get Their Elders To Turn Away From Biden

The New York Times

September 21, 2019 Saturday, Late Edition - Final

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Section: Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 22

Length: 1576 words

Byline: By Astead W. Herndon

Body

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<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/20/us/politics/joe-biden-black-voters.html>

Graphic

PHOTOS: Amaya St. Romain, left, made sure her relatives were aware of Julián Castro's criticisms of Joe Biden during the debate. Below left, Tyler Smith's efforts may actually be working. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY TODD SPOTH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Trying to Get Their Elders To Turn Away From Biden

Load-Date: September 22, 2019

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How Similar Are Your Political Views to Those of Your Parents?; student opinion

The New York Times

September 24, 2019 Tuesday 05:00 EST

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Section: LEARNING

Length: 891 words

Byline: Natalie Proulx

Highlight: On which specific candidates, issues, policies or political theories do you agree? On which do you disagree?

Body

On which specific candidates, issues, policies or political theories do you agree? On which do you disagree?

Find all our Student Opinion questions here.

How often do you discuss politics with your parents or other adults in your life? What are these discussions like? In general, are your political views aligned? Or are they drastically different?

In “Young Black Voters to Their Biden-Supporting Parents: Is This Your King?,” Astead W. Herndon writes about the difference in opinion across generations of black voters on former vice president and Democratic presidential candidate Joseph R. Biden Jr.:

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How Similar Are Your Political Views to Those of Your Parents?; student opinion

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“This generation is looking for an instant, quick fix for problems,” he said. Older black people, meanwhile, think “these things need to take time.”

Students, read the entire article, then tell us:

- How similar are your political views to those of your parents or other adults in your life? On which specific candidates, issues, policies or political theories do you agree? On which do you disagree?
- The article mentions several reasons that young black voters’ politics might differ from those of their parents and grandparents. Are there major differences in opinion between the younger and older generations in your community about the issues that affect you and how to address them? If so, what are they? Why do you think these differences exist?
- Have you ever tried to change an adult’s opinion about politics? What strategies did you use to persuade them? How successful were your efforts?
- Who or what influences your political opinions most? Your parents? Your peers? Social media? Something or someone else? Why do you trust these sources?

Students 13 and older are invited to comment. All comments are moderated by the Learning Network staff, but please keep in mind that once your comment is accepted, it will be made public.

PHOTO: Tyler Smith, 19, is lobbying his grandmother to shift her support from Joe Biden to one of his more progressive rivals. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Todd Spoth for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Load-Date: September 25, 2019

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Warren's Education Plan Promises Billions for Low-Income Schools and Desegregation

The New York Times

October 21, 2019 Monday 00:10 EST

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Section: US

Length: 1177 words

Byline: Dana Goldstein and Thomas Kaplan

Highlight: The long-awaited proposal breaks from Obama-era Democratic priorities by critiquing charter schools and testing.

Body

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Senator Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts had released dozens of policy plans before tackling K-12 education, making her the last leading **Democratic primary** contender to do so.

But on Monday, the candidate who speaks frequently about her time as a public-school teacher offered her long-awaited proposal: a characteristically dense white paper that promises to quadruple federal funding for schools that serve low-income students, and to pump tens of billions of new dollars per year into desegregation, special education, bilingual programs and mental health support, while increasing federal oversight of racial and gender discrimination in schools.

The plan would be paid for by Ms. Warren's signature wealth tax on net worth over \$50 million. To encourage states to spend more on low-income students, those that fund poor and rich schools more equally would be awarded new federal dollars. And it proposes a mix of housing and educational strategies to racially integrate schools, such as inclusive zoning to make it easier to build affordable housing in areas with quality schools, and magnet schools to draw students outside their neighborhoods.

Many of these policies enjoy wide support among Democrats. But the Warren campaign also chose a clear side in the party's long-running education war by vowing to end "high-stakes testing" and federal funding for opening new charter schools, and to ban for-profit charters, which make up about 15 percent of the sector.

"Public education is for everyone, and I believe in it," she said on Monday, speaking to students at Theodore Roosevelt High School in Des Moines. She added, "Let's make every school in America a great school."

Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont issued a similar proposal on charters in May. Charter schools are publicly funded but privately managed, and most are not unionized.

Like Mr. Sanders, Ms. Warren offers little to the bipartisan group of school reformers who fought, under Presidents Barack Obama and George W. Bush, to support the charter school movement and to hold schools and teachers accountable for student test scores.

Those policies have become less popular in recent years, as a coalition of parent activists and restive teachers protested, saying they drew tax dollars away from traditional schools and put pressure on educators to spend too much time preparing students for exams.

In his own education plan, former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. did not mention charter schools or testing, a sign, perhaps, of the sensitivity of those subjects among Democrats. Mr. Biden proposed tripling federal funding for low-income schools and, like Ms. Warren and Mr. Sanders, supported bringing health services into schools.

Warren's Education Plan Promises Billions for Low-Income Schools and Desegregation

Democrats for Education Reform, a group that supports charters and tougher accountability for teachers and schools, has met with most of the leading candidates. Charles Barone, the group's chief policy officer, said that while he welcomed big new investments in education, including in teacher pay, he was disappointed that the primary contenders had not tackled specific problems such as weaknesses in how educators are trained to teach children to read.

"There is a political tension between spreading the money around and trying to make strategic investments in certain areas," he said. "There's a lot of meat and potatoes, but not a lot of spinach-eating getting proposed."

Before she entered politics, Ms. Warren suggested a program allowing parents to choose any public school for their children, regardless of where the family lived.

That vision aligned with many in the charter school movement, who see their schools as lifelines for families who cannot afford private school tuition or a home in a coveted school zone.

But in 2016, Ms. Warren, then in her first term as a senator from Massachusetts, spoke out against a ballot referendum that would have raised the cap on the number of charters that could open each year in her home state. She acknowledged that many Massachusetts charter schools were high-performing, but said that opening too many additional charters could reduce funding for traditional public schools.

Ms. Warren and her Democratic rivals are vying for endorsements from teachers' unions, which generally oppose the expansion of the charter sector. "The focus is on making sure every single neighborhood public school is a great school," said Bharat Ramamurti, an economic policy adviser to Ms. Warren.

The unions have experienced a burst of energy and public support over the past two years, as teachers in a string of states and cities mounted walkouts in favor of higher pay and more school funding, and against competition from charters.

Teachers in Chicago, the nation's third-largest school district, are now on strike, and Ms. Warren has offered her support. She has proposed policies that would make it easier for unions to organize teachers and other workers, and easier for employees to strike.

On teacher pay, Ms. Warren's plan promises new federal funding but does not offer as much detail as a proposal by Senator Kamala Harris of California, which supports an average teacher raise of \$13,500 per year, with more money for teachers in low-income schools.

"We have to get a little edgier than just, 'Pay teachers more,'" said Paul Reville, a professor at the Harvard Graduate School of Education and a former Massachusetts secretary of education. He suggested that in addition to a broad anti-poverty agenda, candidates should support a longer school day and year, with afternoon and summer enrichment activities that could help children from low-income families keep up with more affluent peers.

"We have millions of children who are being grossly underprepared for the 21st-century labor market, to say nothing of citizenship in a complex democracy," he said.

Ms. Warren has steadily gained momentum in the ***Democratic primary*** contest, and she now stands as a front-runner alongside Mr. Biden. Last week's debate, in which she was the target of a barrage of attacks from other candidates, was indicative of her perceived strength in the race.

On the campaign trail, Ms. Warren often tells crowds that she had dreamed of becoming a public-school teacher ever since the second grade, recounting how she lost her job after her first year as a special needs teacher because she became pregnant. She has said she would appoint a former public-school teacher as education secretary and, six months ago, Ms. Warren released a higher education plan that calls for canceling ***student loan*** debt and eliminating tuition at public ***colleges***. She has also proposed expanding access to free preschool and capping child care expenses at 7 percent of parents' income, with free child care for low-income families.

PHOTO: Senator Elizabeth Warren after an event at Simpson College in Indianola, Iowa, on Sunday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DEMETRIUS FREEMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Load-Date: October 23, 2019

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Warren's Education Plan Promises Billions for Low-Income Schools

The New York Times

October 22, 2019 Tuesday, Late Edition - Final

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Section: Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 19

Length: 1152 words

Byline: By Dana Goldstein and Thomas Kaplan

Body

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<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/21/us/elizabeth-warren-education-plan.html>

Graphic

Warren's Education Plan Promises Billions for Low-Income Schools

PHOTO: Senator Elizabeth Warren after an event at Simpson College in Indianola, Iowa, on Sunday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DEMETRIUS FREEMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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In Scranton Stop, Biden Says Trump Owes Fit Economy to Obama

The New York Times

October 23, 2019 Wednesday, Late Edition - Final

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Section: Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 18

Length: 1158 words

Byline: By Trip Gabriel and Katie Glueck

Body

In a speech that was billed as an outline of Mr. Biden's economic policy, the former vice president attacked President Trump's biggest argument for re-election.

SCRANTON, Pa. -- Joseph R. Biden Jr. returned to his native city on Wednesday seeking to undermine President Trump's strongest argument to voters for re-election: the resilient economy. He accused Mr. Trump of inheriting an economic upturn, but "just like everything else he inherited, he's in the midst of squandering it."

Mr. Biden's speech was billed as an economic policy address, yet it was light on new plans; he repeated many ideas he has previously advanced. Instead, he made an emotional appeal rooted in his middle-class biography to restore the "values" of an American compact, in which hard work allowed average families to afford a home, higher education and health care.

"There used to be a basic bargain in America: If you contribute to the well-being of the outfit you work with, you got to share in the benefits," Mr. Biden said, speaking to a few hundred in a downtown auditorium. "That bargain's been broken."

Although corporate profits are up, Mr. Biden said, middle-class wages are stagnant and families are buckling under the burden of health bills and college. He promised to undo Republican tax cuts on corporations and the wealthy.

The former vice president spoke in a region where in 2016 Democrats abandoned the party in droves for Mr. Trump's economic populism and nativism.

Winning back at least a share of those voters in Scranton -- and in dozens of "Scrantons" across the northern industrial states -- is most likely the key for Democrats in depriving Mr. Trump of a second term.

Mr. Biden hit many of the same themes later in a lengthy speech he gave in West Point, Iowa, where he again talked about his family story and cast Mr. Trump as impervious to the needs of the middle class. He also took several veiled swipes at Senator Elizabeth Warren, who has said she will soon detail her plans to pay for "Medicare for all."

Mr. Biden supports building on the Affordable Care Act and adding a public option, but has suggested Medicare for all is unrealistic and too expensive.

"My competitors are really well-meaning people," he said, but added: "None of them told you how Medicare for all is going to be paid for."

After the event, Mr. Biden, in response to a question from a reporter, again expressed regret for his 1998 use of the term "partisan lynching" in a discussion about impeachment proceedings against President Bill Clinton. Mr. Biden had also tweeted an apology on Tuesday for using the term.

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"When has he ever taken, when has he ever said a negative thing about a white supremacist?" Mr. Biden said of the president. "Have you heard him say anything? I haven't."

Mr. Biden's appearance in Scranton came the same day that a new CNN national poll showed him with a commanding lead in the **Democratic primary**, with the support of 34 percent of **Democrats** and **Democratic**-leaning registered voters, followed by Ms. Warren at 19 percent and Senator Bernie Sanders at 16 percent. It is Mr. Biden's widest lead in the CNN survey since shortly after he announced his bid for president.

But there is no national primary, of course, and Mr. Biden's advantage in the early-primary states Iowa and New Hampshire has ebbed or evaporated. The CNN survey is a sign that nationally he has retained strong support despite facing weeks of unproven attacks by Mr. Trump on him and his son Hunter over their activities in Ukraine, an issue driving the Democrats' impeachment inquiry.

Mr. Biden's economic prescriptions, less sweeping than those of other leading Democrats seeking the nomination, include a \$15 federal minimum wage, tripling funding for schools with at-risk students, free community college and a plan for students to pay down their college debt by committing to community service.

Pennsylvania's unemployment rate is only 3.9 percent, though it is 5.2 percent in Lackawanna County, where Scranton is. But a manufacturing downturn may be underway statewide, with 8,100 jobs lost this year so far, an issue that could cut into the president's 2016 promises to restore industry in the Rust Belt.

While Mr. Biden visited Scranton, in northeast Pennsylvania, Mr. Trump was scheduled to be in Pittsburgh, in the western part of the state, on Wednesday afternoon, to address natural gas drillers. The president's visit comes close to the first anniversary of the Tree of Life Synagogue shooting in that city, when a gunman killed 11 worshipers.

Though Democrats made strong gains in the 2018 midterms in Pennsylvania, it is very much up in the air whether they will carry the state next year, and who would be their most formidable opponent to the president. Mr. Trump has held rallies both before and after his election at an arena in nearby Wilkes-Barre that drew some 10,000 people.

Although Hillary Clinton narrowly carried Lackawanna County, Mr. Trump cut deeply into the Democratic margin of more than 26,000 votes that Barack Obama piled up here in 2012.

Democrats have been arguing ever since about how to recapture those voters, mostly white and working class, and how much to focus on them. Mr. Biden, who is regarded warmly by many Pennsylvanians thanks to his history here, spent many minutes recounting family stories he has told regularly: his father moving alone to Delaware for a job but promising to send for the family when he could afford to; his father feeling ashamed when a bank turned him down for a **loan** to pay for his son's **college**. His father telling young "Joey" that "the measure of success is not whether you get knocked down, it's how quickly you get up."

The split-screen moment in Pennsylvania comes after weeks of clashes between the Trump and Biden camps. In the last month, Mr. Biden has faced concerns from some Democrats over whether he was responding quickly and aggressively enough to Mr. Trump's attacks. His campaign has settled on a strategy of frequently criticizing Mr. Trump and seeking to discredit his messages, while also focusing on policy matters -- health care in particular.

Jim Connors, a former Democratic mayor of Scranton, who attended Mr. Biden's speech, maintained that despite Mr. Trump's 2016 strength in the region, disillusionment has set in with some who voted for him.

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<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/23/us/politics/joe-biden-scranton-speech.html>

In Scranton Stop, Biden Says Trump Owes Fit Economy to Obama

Graphic

PHOTO: In attacking the president's top argument for re-election, Joseph R. Biden Jr. accused him of "squandering" the economy he inherited. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHELLE GUSTAFSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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Joe Biden, in Scranton, Says Trump Owes Current Economy to Obama Years

The New York Times

October 23, 2019 Wednesday 00:06 EST

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Section: US; politics

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Byline: Trip Gabriel and Katie Glueck

Highlight: In a speech that was billed as an outline of Mr. Biden's economic policy, the former vice president attacked President Trump's biggest argument for re-election.

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The Danger of Elizabeth Warren

The New York Times

November 20, 2019 Wednesday 11:01 EST

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Section: OPINION

Length: 2973 words

Byline: Thomas B. Edsall

Highlight: Even if she wins the presidency — hardly a sure bet — she may jeopardize Democrats in the House and the Senate.

Body

Even if she wins the presidency — hardly a sure bet — she may jeopardize Democrats in the House and the Senate.

Under pressure, Elizabeth Warren has retreated from the idea of immediate implementation of Medicare for All, but she remains committed to the progressive core of her candidacy.

As she put it in a speech to Iowa Democrats on Nov. 1:

If we're going to meet the challenges of our time, we need big ideas. Big ideas to inspire people and get them out to caucus and get them out to vote. Big ideas to be the lifeblood of our party and show the world who and what Democrats will fight for.

In rhetoric that drew enthusiastic applause from her supporters at the Liberty and Justice Dinner in Des Moines, Warren declared that the nation is at

a time of crisis, and media pundits, Washington insiders, even some people in our own party don't want to admit it. They think that running some vague campaign that nibbles around the edges is somehow safe.

Democrats will win, she continued,

when we offer solutions big enough to touch the problems that are in people's lives. Fear and complacency does not win elections; hope and courage wins elections.

There is evidence, however, that Warren's strategy could generate a backlash leading to the re-election of Donald Trump.

Andrew Hall and Daniel Thompson, political scientists at Stanford, examined "the link between the ideology of congressional candidates and the turnout of their parties' bases in US House races, 2006—2014" in their 2018 paper "Who Punishes Extremist Nominees? Candidate Ideology and Turning Out the Base in US Elections."

In contrast to moderate candidates, Hall and Thompson found:

Extremist candidates do worse, because, contrary to rhetoric, they fail to galvanize their own base and instead encourage the opposing party's base to turn out more, on average.

In other words, polarizing candidates diminish turnout in their own party while boosting turnout among opposing partisans.

Alan Abramowitz, a political scientist at Emory, analyzed the pattern of Democratic victories in 2018 House races and found that "those who supported Medicare for All performed worse than those who did not, even when controlling for other factors."

The Danger of Elizabeth Warren

In an article he published last week, “Medicare for All a Vote Loser in 2018 U.S. House Elections,” Abramowitz concluded:

These findings are not encouraging to supporters of Medicare for All. They indicate that candidates in competitive races who take positions to the left of the median voter could get punished at the polls. Democratic presidential candidates would do well to take heed of these results.

The analyses by Hall, Thompson and Abramowitz do not preclude the possibility that Warren could beat Trump in 2020. Whoever the Democratic nominee is will be able to capitalize on widespread hostility to Trump, a motivated Democratic electorate and the party’s continuing gains in formerly Republican suburbs across the nation.

The broad scope of the Warren agenda is partially reflected in proposals to provide universal health care; to increase Social Security benefits by \$200 a month; to “end Washington corruption;” to achieve 100 percent clean energy; a “fair and welcoming immigration system;” free public college; the breakup of Facebook, Amazon, Google and Apple; cancellation of student debt; “guaranteed high-quality child care and early education for every child in America;” a 2 percent tax on every dollar of net worth above \$50 million and a higher tax on every dollar of net worth above \$1 billion; and a \$1 trillion program of environmental justice for poor and minority communities.

In addition, Warren would decriminalize illegal border crossing — the “criminal provision is totally unnecessary for border security” — and her Medicare proposal would include coverage of undocumented immigrants.

In January, Warren announced that she had abandoned her opposition to taxpayer-financed gender reassignment surgery for prison inmates, announcing in a statement:

Senator Warren supports access to medically necessary services, including transition-related surgeries. This includes procedures taking place at the VA, in the military, or at correctional facilities.

An underlying premise of the campaigns of both Warren and Bernie Sanders is that taking radically progressive stands will motivate, enlarge and turn out the Democratic base, including minorities, the young and the poor; and that such positions are necessary to restore Democratic support among those who voted for third party candidates in 2016.

“The path to victory is energizing and delivering to the base,” according to Justice Democrats, a group that backs progressive candidates, including those challenging Democratic incumbents: “Far too often, Democratic campaigns are designed to win over mushy milquetoast (and mythical) moderates, rather than excite the base.”

The group — which has strong ties to Bernie Sanders but more broadly backs candidates taking very progressive stands — argues that

Democratic primary voters support a populist progressive agenda that ties racial justice to progressive economic populism. The days are long gone when a message proclaiming ‘the end of big government as we know it,’ could win a **Democratic primary**.

As much as the Warren program has mobilized many **Democratic primary** voters, polls show that significant numbers of swing voters — wavering Republicans repelled by President Trump and moderate to conservative Democrats — do not share Warren’s appetite for major structural change, preferring incremental change and the repair of existing programs, like Obamacare.

Strategically, if Warren wins the Democratic nomination, the election would become not only a referendum on Trump — favorable terrain for Democrats — but also a referendum on Warren’s program, a far less certain proposition.

A presidential campaign based on the set of proposals Warren has put forward faces not only an assault from the right, but a mixed reception from the extensive network of Democratic policy mavens, including a number of economists.

“Many of Senator Warren’s proposals are indeed radical and could have unintended consequences,” Jeffrey Frankel, an economist at Harvard’s Kennedy School and a member of the Council of Economic Advisers during the Clinton administration, wrote by email. He added:

I fear that by far the worst of the unintended consequences of making these proposals during the campaign is to get Donald Trump re-elected.

The Danger of Elizabeth Warren

Larry Summers is a former secretary of the Treasury, director of the national economic council and president of Harvard. The Warren program, Summers wrote by email, “dwarfs the errors, economic and political, of George McGovern.”

In a Nov. 5 Washington Post op-ed, Summers argued that:

Warren’s plan will discourage hiring, particularly of low-skilled workers, by firms that currently provide generous benefits. These firms will face the most burdensome taxes when they increase hiring and will gain the greatest cost savings by laying off workers.

Summers acknowledged that “the case for more tax progressivity is compelling, and each of the Warren measures can be defended in isolation,” but, he continued, “there is the concern that their cumulative impact may be excessive should, as the Warren campaign repeatedly claims, they be borne only by the very wealthy.”

Last week, in an effort to mute criticism that her agenda would be not only difficult to enact in toto but also highly disruptive if it became law, Warren announced a significant modification of her version of Medicare for All. Instead of trying to immediately pass a complete government takeover of health care that would eliminate private insurance plans, she proposed “a true Medicare for All option,” or what has generally been described as a public option — and that has strong support among voters of all stripes.

Warren’s plan would be “free for children under the age of 18 and for families making at or below 200 percent of the federal poverty level (about \$51,000 for a family of four)” and provide “every person in America the choice to get coverage through a true Medicare for All option.”

On Nov. 15, Warren announced that if elected, she would wait until her third year in office to “fight to pass legislation that would complete the transition to full Medicare for All.”

Warren’s new stance appears to be an acknowledgment of the fact that her proposal to replace all health private coverage with Medicare for All does not carry majority support even among ***Democratic primary*** voters, a liberal constituency, much less the general electorate.

In a survey released on Oct. 19, the Kaiser Family Foundation found that

more Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents would prefer voting for a candidate who wants to build on the Affordable Care Act (Obamacare) in order to expand coverage and reduce costs rather than replace the ACA with a national Medicare-for-all plan.

In addition, Kaiser

found broad support for proposals that expand the role of public programs like Medicare and Medicaid as well as a government-administered public option. And while partisans are divided on a Medicare-for-all national health plan, there is robust support among Democrats, and even support among Republicans, for an expansion of the Medicare program through a Medicare buy-in or a Medicaid buy-in proposal.

While Democratic economists like Frankel and Summers are sharply critical of Warren’s approach, other liberal economists are more sympathetic, especially toward Warren’s efforts to shift the tax burden from the middle class to the rich.

Justin Wolfers, a professor of economics at the University of Michigan, wrote:

It’s possible — likely, even — that there will be negative consequences from the various Warren plans. It’s also possible — likely, even — that there will be positive consequences. The big question is whether the positive outweigh the negatives, and I’ve been a bit dismayed to note that much of the popular discussion so far has dodged this question. Instead, we’ve had a lot of gotchas that something bad could happen. Obviously that’s true. It’s also not the point.

Gabriel Zucman, an economist at Berkeley, who has advised the Warren campaign on wealth taxation, looks favorably on proposals to significantly raise taxes on high income earners and the rich, and foresees positive consequences if such hikes are enacted:

The Danger of Elizabeth Warren

The United States has taxed the rich heavily in the past. From 1950 to 1980, the top marginal income tax rate averaged 80 percent, the corporate tax rate averaged 50 percent, and the top estate tax rate averaged 76 percent.” Yet, Zucman continued, “over that thirty-year period of time, GDP per adult grew at a high average annual rate of 2.2 percent.

That stands in contrast to

the last 30 years, the period from 1990 to 2020. Over that period of time, the top marginal income tax rate averaged 37 percent, the corporate tax rate averaged 34 percent, the top estate tax rate averaged 47 percent (and effective tax rates for the rich fell a lot). Yet GDP per adult grew at an average annual rate of 1.3 percent.

Progressive taxation can adversely affect innovation and growth, Zucman noted,

but the effect is likely to be very small compared to the many other factors, such as the quality of higher education, public investment in fundamental research, the quality of infrastructure, etc., that affect innovation and all of which require tax revenue.

While liberal economists have mixed views of Warren’s agenda, a number of political observers warn that candidates for the House and Senate would face a steeper climb to victory with Warren at the top of the ticket.

“It would be tough to run under Elizabeth Warren,” David Wasserman, who studies House races for the Cook Report, said in an interview. “As of now, she runs the weakest against Trump in battleground areas and her proposals are not broadly popular.”

The worst case scenario, Wasserman argued, “would be to have Elizabeth Warren at the top of ticket with a plausible chance to win.” He argued that swing voters worried about a Warren presidency would vote in support of a Republican Congress to act as a check on her.

“The key to winning the House and Senate seats in marginal districts and states will be appealing to Republican women, particularly those in the suburbs, as well as younger Republicans and college educated Republicans,” Joe Trippi, a liberal Democratic consultant who has worked on campaigns from Edward Kennedy’s 1980 presidential bid to Doug Jones’s 2018 Alabama Senate campaign, wrote by email.

“Anyone at the top of the ticket who repels these Republicans will make it more difficult to win the key House and Senate seats Democrats have targeted,” Trippi said.

“A polarized left vs. right election may win the presidency,” in Trippi’s view, “but the more polarizing the presidential nominee is the tougher it will be for House and Senate candidates to win.”

Republican pollsters’ assessments of a Warren nomination were similar to those of Wasserman and Trippi.

Bill McInturff, a founder of Public Opinion Strategies, wrote that any Democratic candidate running on “forgive all **student loans**, free health care to people not in the country legally; take away all private health insurance; and stopping fracking” is “going to nationalize the election around a set of positions that is going to make it very difficult for Democrats in any swing seat in the country.”

Whit Ayres, president of North Star Opinion Research, was outspoken: “Elizabeth Warren is God’s gift to Donald Trump and Republican candidates.”

“Well-educated suburban voters, especially women,” Ayres continued, “are uncomfortable with President Trump,” but, he added, they are not going to vote for a candidate who wants to take away their private health insurance, decriminalize the border, increase government spending by 50 percent, and ban fracking, especially in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Colorado.

Wariness toward the kind of disruptive structural change Warren is calling for can be seen among Democratic voters in six battleground states — Michigan, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Arizona and Florida — as a New York Times/Siena College survey conducted Oct. 13-26 demonstrated.

By 62 to 33, these Democrats said they would prefer a candidate who promises “to find common ground with Republicans” to one who promises “to fight for a bold progressive agenda;” by 55 to 36 a candidate who is more “moderate than most Democrats” to

The Danger of Elizabeth Warren

one who is “more liberal than most Democrats;” and by 49 to 45 a candidate who promises “to bring politics in Washington back to normal” to a candidate who promises “to bring fundamental, systematic change to American society.”

The same Times/Siena College survey identified 596 undecided or “persuadable” voters in these six states, with relatively strong views as described by my colleague, Nate Cohn. They are

fairly clear about what they would like from a Democrat. They prefer, by 82 percent to 11 percent, one who promises to find common ground over one who promises to fight for a progressive agenda; and they prefer a moderate over a liberal, 75 percent to 19 percent.

Looking toward 2020, Cohn wrote,

They support Mr. Biden over the president, 38 percent to 27 percent, but prefer the president to Ms. Warren, 37 to 20. Mr. Sanders is in between, with the president leading him, 34 percent to 32 percent.

One of the most pointed critiques of the Warren candidacy was written this October in *The Hill* by Krystal Ball, a former MSNBC host who supports Bernie Sanders:

Warren’s upper-crust fan base is, in itself, a cause for concern. The higher you go on the income scale and the education scale, the more support you find for Warren. Her coalition also is the whitest of the major candidates. Warren’s coalition points to a doubling down of the professional-class coalition within the Democratic Party. That means more sidelining of the working class, more embracing the tastes and priorities of wealthy liberals, more of the white, working-class finding a home in the racist populism of the right.

Richard North Patterson, the novelist and former chairman of Common Cause, contends, in an article in *The Bulwark*, that “Elizabeth Warren Is Trapped. And She Did It To Herself: ‘Not long ago, Elizabeth Warren seemed blessedly unencumbered: She was an increasingly skilled campaigner whose litany of policy proposals made her *sui generis*. But that was an illusion.’”

“To win the nomination, Warren must pilfer some of Bernie Sanders’ acolytes and pacify the rest. And so, fatefully — and it seemed, reluctantly — she vamped on Sanders’ single-payer proposal,” Patterson wrote:

Now she’s stuck with it. Her dilemma encapsulates the Darwinian dynamics of the Democratic field: Four top-tier candidates drawn into an ever-tightening circular firing squad which, by the end, may grievously wound its sole survivor.

Patterson’s analysis points to the larger question that looms constantly over the nomination fight: Is the progressive wing of the **Democratic primary** electorate, and its demand that the nominee take stands on health care, energy and immigration well to the left of the electorate at large, the main obstacle to Democratic victory in 2020?

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Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook, Twitter (@NYTopinion) and Instagram.

PHOTO: Elizabeth Warren at an event in Nevada on Sunday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY David Becker/Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Load-Date: November 23, 2019

State of the Race

The New York Times

November 23, 2019 Saturday, Late Edition - Final

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Section: Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 18

Length: 1548 words

Byline: By Alexander Burns

Body

The race for the Democratic nomination has never been more stable, at the national level, than it has been over the past few weeks. There are now candidates clearly slotted into first through fourth place, and none of them have shifted meaningfully in our polling average since mid-to-late October. The last significant change came when Pete Buttigieg and Bernie Sanders both picked up a few points, apparently at the cost of Elizabeth Warren. That has left Joseph R. Biden Jr. in his longstanding role as a vulnerable, resilient and more or less unmoving front-runner.

Part of the reason for the relatively static nature of the Democratic race right now may be the news media's overwhelming focus on the House's impeachment inquiry into President Trump, which has consumed political oxygen that candidates might have otherwise used to challenge one another and shake up the race.

There has been more movement recently in the early primary and caucus states, with Mr. Buttigieg surging in Iowa and overtaking Ms. Warren in the most authoritative poll there. So far, he has risen only by more incremental margins outside Iowa, and his path to the nomination appears to rely on a standout performance there that transforms the national dynamics of the race. But even Mr. Buttigieg's relatively localized strength is already complicating the race.

There are reasons to believe the race could undergo more pronounced changes soon. Two underdog candidates, Amy Klobuchar and Cory Booker, had strong debate performances on Nov. 20 in Atlanta, and they will be looking to translate that into momentum in Iowa. And Michael R. Bloomberg and Deval Patrick could both shake up the campaign.

At the moment, however, the primary continues to look like a three-way race at the national level, with Mr. Biden ahead, Ms. Warren not far behind him and Mr. Sanders close behind her, and with Mr. Buttigieg as a wild card in the early states.

One thing to note: Our polling chart does not include up and down arrows this week because of an adjustment in the data set. We are no longer including the Reuters/Ipsos poll, because the Democratic National Committee removed it from the list of polls that can qualify candidates to participate in debates. The removal of that poll has had a limited effect on the line graph, mostly smoothing the lines and emphasizing the stability of the race but not yielding an improvement for any one candidate.

ALEXANDER BURNS

An anti-deportation protester confronted former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. on Thursday night at a town-hall-style event at Lander University in Greenwood, S.C.

A Surprisingly Subdued Debate

There weren't a lot of sparks in this week's debate, the fifth of the ***Democratic primary***. But in the absence of a clear front-runner, several lower-polling candidates were able to break through -- at least for one news cycle.

State of the Race

Senators Kamala Harris of California, Amy Klobuchar of Minnesota and Cory Booker of New Jersey all had strong nights. So did Mayor Pete Buttigieg of South Bend, Ind., who did not face nearly as many attacks as expected in his first appearance since he shot to the top of the field in Iowa.

Good and Bad News For Buttigieg

Mr. Buttigieg has had a remarkable rise in Iowa, rocketing from 9 percent (fourth place) in a CNN/Des Moines Register poll in September to 25 percent (first place) in one released last weekend. Between that and a Monmouth University poll four days earlier also showing him in first place, it is clear that Mr. Buttigieg has become a serious contender there.

The bad news for him: He is polling terribly among black voters.

A Quinnipiac poll in South Carolina, where black **Democrats** are the most powerful voting bloc in the **primary**, showed him at 0 percent in that group. And while his current supporter base could be enough for him to win Iowa, which is mostly white, no Democrat in modern history has won the presidential nomination without winning a majority of black voters.

Candidates Court Black Voters

After the debate, several candidates fanned across Atlanta to pitch themselves to black audiences.

Senator Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts gave a speech at Clark Atlanta University on Thursday evening, saying that "race-neutral laws" were not enough, and that the government had an obligation to mend the damage caused by "decades of active, state-sponsored discrimination." She was joined onstage by Representative Ayanna Pressley of Massachusetts, who has endorsed her, and Ms. Pressley ended up speaking directly to pro-charter-school protesters who interrupted the speech.

Earlier in the day, Ms. Harris held a "black women's breakfast," and Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont gave a speech tying his family's experience in the Holocaust to the discrimination black Americans face.

Michael R. Bloomberg, who has long defended his mayoral administration's stop-and-frisk policy in New York, apologized for it this week as he continues to move toward a presidential campaign. The policy disproportionately affected people of color.

Messam Drops Out

Mayor Wayne Messam of Miramar, Fla., ended his presidential campaign on Wednesday.

If you had not known he was running to begin with, well, don't worry about it. Mr. Messam had never appeared on a debate stage, reaching only 1 percent in exactly two debate-qualifying polls all year, and had raised a mere \$15,000 in the third quarter.

"I knew the odds were a steep hill to climb, but I have always fought for what is right and will continue to break barriers never broken," he said.

Policies From . . . Well, Everyone

Former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. introduced a wideranging plan this week to expand on the Violence Against Women Act.

Among other things, it would create a new housing program for survivors of sexual assault and domestic abuse, require colleges and universities to improve reporting systems, establish a task force on online harassment and provide \$100 million a year to end the backlog of untested rape kits.

The proposal also focuses on survivors' ability to sue: It would ban mandatory arbitration clauses that block employees from suing over sexual harassment and restore a provision in the act that would allow people to take civil action against their abusers in federal court. The Supreme Court blocked that provision in 1999, and Mr. Biden is calling on Congress to pass a version that "fills the gaps the Court found fatal last time."

In other policy news:

State of the Race

Mr. Biden was one of seven candidates who released plans this week -- including Ms. Warren, who, as is her wont, released two.

In a plan to combat white nationalism, Ms. Warren pledged to make prosecuting domestic terrorism a top Justice Department and Homeland Security priority, require local and state governments to report suspected hate crimes and create a federal task force to combat radicalization. The plan also includes gun control and police reform proposals.

Ms. Warren's other new plan, on "protecting and empowering renters," is an extension of her previous housing proposal. It calls for more protections against eviction, funding for local efforts to provide legal representation for tenants who cannot afford it, a federal hotline for tenant complaints and new public housing.

Mr. Buttigieg released his alternative to "free college for all" plans. It would make public colleges free for families earning up to \$100,000 a year, subsidize tuition for those earning up to \$150,000 and increase Pell Grant funding by \$120 billion. He also addresses student loan repayment, apprenticeships and food security for students.

Mr. Sanders also addressed education in his latest plan, which focuses on historically black colleges and universities. He wants to make tuition free at all H.B.C.U.s, both public and private; let low-income students use Pell Grants for books and living expenses; and expand training programs at H.B.C.U.s for public schoolteachers.

Andrew Yang, in a new voting rights plan, proposed banning voter ID requirements, regulating voter roll purges more strictly and allowing same-day registration and more early and absentee voting. His plan also addresses obstacles for Native Americans and people with disabilities, and calls for lowering the voting age to 16 and allowing people in prison to vote.

Tom Steyer announced a health care plan based on a public option. It would be separate from Medicare and Medicaid but administered by the same agency, and medical providers who accept Medicare and Medicaid would be required to accept the public option as well.

Gov. Steve Bullock of Montana released a mental health plan that would increase funding for mental health care providers, make Medicaid cover inpatient treatment and end solitary confinement for people with serious mental illnesses, among other measures.

Who Is Leading the Polls?

National polls are a flawed tool for predicting elections. That's even truer in a primary that will unfold in stages, with one or several states voting at a time. But the broad national picture is still important, offering a sense of which candidates are gaining support overall. We are keeping an eye on state-level polling, too, especially in the earlyvoting states of South Carolina, Iowa, New Hampshire and Nevada.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/22/us/23stateoftherace-print.html>

Graphic

PHOTOS (PHOTOGRAPH BY DEMETRIUS FREEMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Load-Date: November 23, 2019

Debate 5, and a Push for Black Voters: This Week in the 2020 Race

The New York Times

November 23, 2019 Saturday 18:10 EST

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Section: US; politics

Length: 1215 words

Byline: Maggie Astor

Highlight: In the absence of a clear front-runner, some lower-polling candidates were able to break through — at least for one news cycle.

Body

In the absence of a clear front-runner, some lower-polling candidates were able to break through — at least for one news cycle.

It was a busy week in the Democratic presidential campaign, with a flood of new policies and, of course, another debate.

Let's get right to it.

A surprisingly subdued debate

There weren't a lot of sparks in this week's debate, the fifth of the *Democratic primary*. But in the absence of a clear front-runner, several lower-polling candidates were able to break through — at least for one news cycle.

Senators Kamala Harris of California, Amy Klobuchar of Minnesota and Cory Booker of New Jersey all had strong nights. So did Mayor Pete Buttigieg of South Bend, Ind., who did not face nearly as many attacks as expected in his first appearance since he shot to the top of the field in Iowa.

- Alexander Burns and Jonathan Martin have the full recap.
- Here are five takeaways, and a look at the biggest moments of the night.
- Campaign veterans weighed in on who won.

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- You can read more about the poll results here.
- Reid J. Epstein wrote about how badly Mr. Buttigieg is struggling with black voters.

The candidates courted black voters

Debate 5, and a Push for Black Voters: This Week in the 2020 Race

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Earlier in the day, Ms. Harris held a “black women’s breakfast,” and Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont gave a speech tying his family’s experience in the Holocaust to the discrimination black Americans face.

- You can read more about Ms. Warren’s rally [here](#).
- Michael R. Bloomberg, who has long defended his mayoral administration’s stop-and-frisk policy in New York, apologized for it this week as he continues to move toward a presidential campaign. The policy disproportionately affected people of color.

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- Gov. Steve Bullock of Montana released a mental health plan that would increase funding for mental health care providers, make Medicaid cover inpatient treatment and end solitary confinement for people with serious mental illnesses, among other measures.

And finally ...

We will leave you with Ms. Harris's reaction after Mr. Biden, touting an endorsement from former Senator Carol Moseley Braun of Illinois, said he had the support of the only black woman elected to the Senate.

PHOTO: Senators Cory Booker and Amy Klobuchar, and Mayor Pete Buttigieg, at the presidential debate in Atlanta on Wednesday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Ruth Fremson/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Load-Date: November 25, 2019

End of Document

Afghanistan, Black Friday, Pete Buttigieg: Your Friday Briefing

The New York Times

November 29, 2019 Friday 08:49 EST

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Section: BRIEFING

Length: 1223 words

Byline: Chris Stanford

Highlight: Here's what you need to know.

Body

(Want to get this briefing by email? Here's the sign-up.)

Good morning.

We're covering the prospect of new peace talks in Afghanistan, the start of the holiday shopping season and a troubled government program to forgive [student loans](#).

Prime Minister Adel Abdul Mahdi of Iraq said that he left hundreds dead.

would submit his resignation, after weeks of protests that have

President Trump announces Taliban talks

The president said on Thursday that he had reopened peace negotiations with the militant group, less than three months after calling off talks aimed at ending the 18-year war in Afghanistan.

Mr. Trump made the announcement during a Thanksgiving visit to American troops in Afghanistan, his first trip to the country as president.

White House officials offered few details, and the Taliban made no immediate comment. The Afghan government has demanded that the Taliban agree to a cease-fire, but there has been no evidence that the group is willing to grant one.

Background: In September, Mr. Trump canceled plans for a meeting at Camp David with Taliban leaders and Afghan officials after a Taliban attack killed an American soldier.

When five stars mean nothing

An increase of one star in a rating on Amazon correlates with a 26 percent increase in sales, according to one recent analysis.

As the holiday shopping season begins, we looked at the ecosystem of online reviews, which can be unreliable or downright dishonest.

Amazon said that last year it prevented more than 13 million bogus reviews and "took action" against more than five million accounts.

Related: With help from The Wirecutter, a Times site that reviews products, our reporters are covering the best Black Friday deals (and the ones to avoid). Here are the latest updates.

Afghanistan, Black Friday, Pete Buttigieg: Your Friday Briefing

Gift guide: We have hundreds of recommendations, including for those who are hard to shop for.

Why Pete Buttigieg is attracting boomers

In the weeks before voting in the **Democratic primary** season begins, Mr. Buttigieg, 37, has found growing support among older white Americans, a critical bloc of voters.

Mr. Buttigieg, who has little support among black voters and trails some rivals among young people, introduced a plan this week for long-term care, calling it his “Gray New Deal.”

“He reminds everyone of their favorite grandson,” said one Democratic official in Iowa, a predominantly white state that, along with New Hampshire, votes first for the party’s presidential nomination.

Related: Six in 10 Americans support Elizabeth Warren’s plan to tax the country’s wealthiest people, a poll found. College-educated Republican men were the only demographic group that opposed it.

Another angle: After Kamala Harris fell out of the top tier of candidates in the 2020 race, The Times interviewed more than 50 current and former staff members and allies for a picture of her troubled campaign.

Broken promises and student debt pile up

Under a **student loan** forgiveness program created by Congress in 2007, borrowers who made their payments faithfully would, after a decade, have the remainder of their debt written off.

But under 1 percent of those who have applied for relief under the Public Service Loan Forgiveness program have been deemed eligible, and more than 80,000 professionals have been denied relief through bureaucratic mix-ups, confusion over complex rules or poor management.

Quotable: “I am not the one that asked for this program,” said Kelly Finlaw, a teacher. “I didn’t dream it up. Someone promised it. All I did was believe it was real.”

If you have nine minutes, this is worth it

A 72-hour war over Christmas

The mention of the word Christmas in holiday greetings and decorations has become a measure of political divisiveness in the U.S.

In Charleston, W.Va., the mayor wanted her city to be more welcoming to all faiths and people, so she changed an annual celebration to the “Winter Parade.” That didn’t last long.

Here’s what else is happening

Criticism from China: The government vowed retaliation after President Trump signed human rights legislation covering Hong Kong, a city rocked by months of pro-democracy protests. But ending the trade war still matters more for Beijing, our correspondents write in a news analysis.

Uruguay shifts right: Luis Lacalle Pou will be the new president after the candidate of the center-left coalition that has governed the country for 15 years conceded defeat.

Icy debate in U.K.: A melting block of ice stood in for Prime Minister Boris Johnson at a debate among party leaders about climate change.

Donald Trump Jr.’s best seller: “Triggered,” the debut book by the president’s son, has topped the charts with the help of bulk purchases by Republican organizations.

Snapshot: Above, crew members reining in a Mighty Morphin Power Ranger, one of the 16 giant balloons that flew during the Macy’s Thanksgiving Day Parade on Thursday despite the threat of high winds.

Afghanistan, Black Friday, Pete Buttigieg: Your Friday Briefing

News quiz: Did you follow the headlines this week? Test yourself.

Modern Love: This week's column is by a woman who finds that bereavement can complicate family math.

What we're listening to: This Bloomberg podcast. Our Magazine writer Taffy Brodesser-Akner says, "I can't stop listening to Joe Nocera's investigation into a shrink with no boundaries — in a possibly criminal way."

Now, a break from the news

Cook: You might not want to think about turkey right now, but you can use leftovers for a tikka masala, pictured above, or a pho.

Watch: "The Irishman," starring Robert De Niro and Al Pacino, has arrived on Netflix. Here's a guide to who's who, which events are real and whether to believe its claim about Jimmy Hoffa's disappearance.

Read: The third volume of a biography of Margaret Thatcher is among nine books we recommend this week.

Smarter Living: Our weekly Climate Fwd: newsletter includes tips for sustainable holiday shopping.

And now for the Back Story on ...

Post-feast recovery

You might be feeling postprandial somnolence today.

Food coma — drowsiness and lethargy after a large meal — is a common experience after Thanksgiving.

But scientists have had a hard time pinning down exactly what it is.

That's partly because the effects of overindulgence can vary by individual or by food type. Someone who ate more or less mashed potatoes than you might be more or less stupefied.

But even without an exact understanding, researchers are hunting for treatments for after-meal dazes. A study in South Korea found that exposure to blue light might "disrupt the post-lunch dip." Participants exposed to the light were quicker at completing an attention task.

So far, the best guidance seems to be: Drink a lot of water, eat lightly to keep your blood sugar steady, and get at least a little exercise.

That's it for this briefing. See you next time.

— Chris

Thank you

Mark Josephson and Eleanor Stanford provided the break from the news. Nadav Gavrielov wrote today's Back Story. You can reach the team at briefing@nytimes.com.

P.S.

We're listening to "The Daily," which features a special three-part series about a mysterious family in India.

Here's today's Mini Crossword, and a clue: "Notorious" Supreme Court justice (three letters). You can find all our puzzles here.

Our National desk has started an experiment to include readers more directly in our journalism.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Load-Date: November 30, 2019

End of Document

Cory Booker Bets \$100 Billion on Historically Black Colleges and Universities

The New York Times

December 3, 2019 Tuesday 00:37 EST

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Section: US; politics

Length: 895 words

Byline: Nick Corasaniti

Highlight: The senator unveiled a broad plan at a decisive period for his struggling campaign as he faces the prospect of not making the December debate.

Body

The senator unveiled a broad plan at a decisive period for his struggling campaign as he faces the prospect of not making the December debate.

Senator Cory Booker of New Jersey on Tuesday proposed investing \$100 billion in historically black colleges and universities and other minority-serving institutions, a broad proposal in a Democratic field that has offered varying plans to prop up this longstanding yet struggling arm of the educational system.

Many H.B.C.U.s, as historically black colleges and universities are commonly known, have faced widespread financial woes recently, with some schools losing accreditation and facing plummeting enrollment.

Mr. Booker's proposal comes at a precarious time for his presidential campaign: Despite crossing the 200,000 individual-donor threshold last month, he is still short four qualifying polls for the December debate and is in real danger of being left off the stage.

While many candidates, including Senators Kamala Harris of California, Bernie Sanders of Vermont and Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts; former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr.; and Mayor Pete Buttigieg, of South Bend, Ind., have already rolled out proposals to invest billions into H.B.C.U.s, an anchor of Mr. Booker's proposal is dedicating at least \$40 billion to those institutions for climate change research.

Mr. Booker's plan also calls for an additional \$30 billion in grants to expand and improve science, technology, engineering and mathematics — known as STEM education — at H.B.C.U.s and minority-serving institutions, and another \$30 billion in grants to upgrade facilities and infrastructure at the schools.

"H.B.C.U.s make our country stronger and more reflective of the diversity that makes us so great," Mr. Booker said in a statement announcing the proposal. "I am here today because of the power of these institutions to uplift and bring about opportunity to black Americans."

More than 70 percent of students at H.B.C.U.s and minority-serving institutions rely on Pell Grants, according to Marybeth Gasman, an education professor at Rutgers University. The Booker campaign aims to expand access to college by doubling the value of Pell Grants to \$12,400 from \$6,200, and require that 10 percent of Second Chance Pell Grant programs are given to H.B.C.U.s and minority-serving institutions.

"It's the most aggressive plan," Dr. Gasman said. "Of course it's coming out after the others, so I think that's a smart and bold move on his part."

Cory Booker Bets \$100 Billion on Historically Black Colleges and Universities

Indeed, discussion about the many ways the Democratic candidates have proposed to bolster H.B.C.U.s has become a central topic in the Democratic presidential primary.

Ms. Harris, a graduate of Howard University an H.B.C.U. in Washington, proposed \$70 billion for H.B.C.U.s in a plan she announced over the summer, with a particular focus on STEM education as well. (On Tuesday, Ms. Harris dropped out of the presidential race.)

Ms. Warren committed to investing a minimum of \$50 billion into H.B.C.U.s, paid for by her wealth tax proposal, within her overarching plan to make public college free and to cancel most student loan debt. She said she would seek to increase the budget with her secretary of education to ensure equity in spending per student compared with other colleges in a given area.

Mr. Sanders, who also proposed universal free public college and canceling all student loan debt, pledged to make similar investments in H.B.C.U.s with a focus on educating teachers and those in the medical field. In addition, Mr. Sanders also proposed canceling the \$1.6 billion in existing loan debt H.B.C.U.s face through the current Capital Financing Program.

Last month, Mr. Buttigieg wrote an op-ed in The Baltimore Sun, also promising to invest \$50 billion in H.B.C.U.s.

Mr. Biden proposed more than \$70 billion in investments for H.B.C.U.s, with dedicated funds to specific needs, such as \$10 billion to create at least 200 new research incubators, \$20 billion in high tech labs, facilities and digital infrastructure and another \$18 billion in grants to help with tuition at four-year colleges, equivalent to up to two years of tuition per low-income and middle-class students.

Some experts, while lauding the financial scope of Mr. Booker's plan, questioned whether focusing so much of the funding on STEM programs and climate change studies was the best solution for many of the H.B.C.U.s around the country.

"There are maybe 10 to 20 H.B.C.U.s facing being shuttered that don't have those fields," said Jerry Crawford II, a professor of journalism and a director of the multicultural scholars program at the University of Kansas.

Of course, underpinning all of these proposals is the difficulty in paying for them. Mr. Booker's campaign said he would request \$100 billion over 10 years from Congress in his first budget, and has identified other sources of new revenue in previous policy proposals, such as undoing President Trump's tax cuts and restoring the estate tax to 2009 levels.

"If Senator Booker could pull off this kind of investment in H.B.C.U.s," said Dr. Gasman, "it would be historic."

PHOTO: Senator Cory Booker greeting students after speaking at a criminal justice forum at Benedict College in Columbia, S.C., in October. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Demetrius Freeman for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Load-Date: December 5, 2019

End of Document

Booker Bets \$100 Billion In Bid to Aid Black Colleges

The New York Times

December 4, 2019 Wednesday, Late Edition - Final

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Section: Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 18

Length: 856 words

Byline: By Nick Corasaniti

Body

The senator unveiled a broad plan at a decisive period for his struggling campaign as he faces the prospect of not making the December debate.

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<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/03/us/politics/cory-booker-hbcu-plan.html>

Graphic

PHOTO: Senator Cory Booker greeting students after speaking at a criminal justice forum at Benedict College in Columbia, S.C., in October. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Demetrius Freeman for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Load-Date: December 5, 2019

Our Future Depends on Communities; Turning Points

The New York Times

December 4, 2019 Wednesday 06:00 EST

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Section: OPINION

Length: 1658 words

Byline: Raghuram G. Rajan

Highlight: To fight social inequality as well as malaise, look to greater local empowerment and increased democratic engagement.

Body

Turning Point: Unemployment rates throughout the developed world are at historic lows, yet protest movements indicate that many people remain despondent about their future.

Unhappiness today arrives carrying various banners — Trump, or Brexit, or the “gilets jaunes.” Its origins typically lie in the march of technological change and globalization.

Though these have been enormously beneficial for society, the benefits have been distributed unequally. An investment manager in a global hub like London can make trades all over the world instantaneously, and her salary reflects it. In contrast, people in small towns are left devastated when global competition forces the only large manufacturing plant to shut down. Healthy national indicators like low unemployment conceal the presence of communities in pain, some that have historically been disadvantaged, some that are newly so.

For such communities, the loss of jobs is just the beginning. As economic opportunity departs, social disintegration moves in. There are fewer marriages, more divorces and more single-parent families. Despair can lead to alcoholism and drugs, and sometimes to crime. The declining community can no longer support local institutions like schools and community colleges, and as these deteriorate they can’t help the unemployed retool their skills. Without good schools, the young have only bleak prospects. Those with the means leave for thriving areas elsewhere, taking their children with them. This secession of the successful leaves the rest further mired.

What can be done? Community turnaround is so hard because communities have become disempowered. As trade within a territory increases, corporations push the national government to take regulatory powers away from communities, hoping to create a more seamless common market. Similarly, as trade between countries has accelerated in recent decades, international bodies like the European Union have appropriated sovereign powers in an attempt to harmonize business environments among members. But international bodies and national capitals do not have the local knowledge or effective policy tools to turn distressed communities around; lower nationwide interest rates won’t increase investment in towns where crime has pushed businesses out.

Place-based tax incentives for distressed communities might not bring in the right kind of jobs either. In New York City, local leaders rejected Amazon’s decision to build a new headquarters in Long Island City, Queens, which the company said would have brought in 25,000 jobs, at an average annual salary of \$150,000. Too few in the community were thought to have the skills to land those jobs, while the influx of skilled outsiders might have driven up rents and property taxes, pushing out longtime residents.

Rather than relying on top-down policy initiatives, community revival has to come from the bottom up, identifying and repairing broken links to thriving national and global economies, and piggybacking on their growth. Consider these five critical elements: leadership, engagement, empowerment, funding and infrastructure.

Our Future Depends on Communities; Turning Points

Clear the Way for Local Leadership

The Pilsen neighborhood on Chicago's Lower West Side was a war zone in the late 1980s; 21 different gangs fought each other on a two-mile stretch of the main thoroughfare, with horrific casualty rates. Pilsen needed to bring down crime to have any hope of revival, but who would take the lead?

Failing communities need leaders who can bring local administrators, educators, businesspeople and residents together to effect change. Finding them is difficult because existing leadership is often paralyzed, and so many capable people have already left.

In Pilsen, new leadership emerged out of despair. In 1988, a young man was shot across the street from a Catholic church; when the pastor asked the congregation how long they could continue to see the downward spiral as someone else's problem, a group of young community members responded. They chose one of their own, Raul Raymundo, to lead the aptly named Resurrection Project, and three decades later he is still there.

We need creative ways to draw capable people back into their communities, to increase the talent pool from which leaders can emerge. For example, could college loans for those who return to distressed communities be forgiven, so that higher education could be a route to gaining new skills to take home, not just a means of escape for the talented?

Engaged Communities Are Strong Communities

Pilsen's leadership engaged the community in lobbying Chicago's liquor-licensing authorities to close down the seedy bars where criminals gathered. They involved local businesses in the creation of training opportunities. They encouraged their neighbors to report criminal incidents to the police as a group, so gangs could not target individual informants, and to make themselves visible on the streets at night. As Pilsen started to crowd out crime, businesses started crowding in. Pilsen is far from wealthy today, but residents have decent livelihoods, the community is much safer and prospects have improved for its children.

Social media now allows leadership to crowdsource ideas and give willing volunteers more responsibilities. In turn, this engaged community can use information technology to monitor officials, and curtail corruption and laziness.

With Empowerment Comes Ownership

Why can't community leaders choose which taverns to license, or which businesses to welcome, and with which tax incentives and regulations? Empowered communities can attract businesses more appropriate to their needs. And information technology enables corporations to manage local differences in regulation and taxation at a lower cost than in the past.

Local empowerment is not a utopian ideal. In Switzerland, citizens speak three different national languages and a quarter of the population is foreign-born. Many decisions are passed from the center to 26 administrative subdivisions, or cantons, or even further down to the 3,000 or so municipalities, based on the principle of "subsidiarity." This requires that governmental decisions be delegated to the lowest level capable of considering them effectively. For example, the Swiss federal government is responsible for institutes of technology; the cantons are responsible for high schools; and the municipalities control primary schools and kindergartens.

Decentralization and more democratic engagement do not solve everything. Switzerland makes its share of decisions that are poorly informed or unfair to local minorities. But there are legal checks and balances to guard against egregious errors. Moreover, the right to decide — and even to make mistakes — gives the community ownership of its decisions, and with it an incentive to do better.

Freedom in No-Strings Funding

Communities in economic decline may have limited ability to raise new taxes. Financial support from the regional or national government or from private philanthropies, if free from constraints, can help to seed local projects.

As a community revives, local assets become more valuable, allowing for continued financing if the community can maintain ownership. In Denmark in the 1990s, Copenhagen sold land for private development and used the proceeds to construct a metro system. This enhanced the value of the land it still owned in the vicinity of the new metro, which could then be sold to expand it further.

Our Future Depends on Communities; Turning Points

Infrastructure: Rethink and Refurbish

New infrastructure — a refurbished downtown, an accessible waterfront, inviting new parks or trails, enhanced digital connectivity — can turn a community around. Sometimes, simply reconfiguring the existing infrastructure can make it more useful. A study published by the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia in 2018 found that for residents of a neighborhood at the midpoint between two counties in northern Pennsylvania, only 12 percent of suitable jobs were reachable by bus within an hour, even though 73 percent of those jobs were within a 15-minute walking distance from a bus stop. Why? Because most regional transit systems take passengers first to a central hub, regardless of their destination. Bus routes that link residential areas directly to work locations would help low-income workers get there quickly, a key to coping with household emergencies while holding a job. Community input in matters like configuring local transportation is essential.

Healthy communities are more than economic necessities. In many countries, national populism can inflame the majority with fears that the established culture is being diluted, urging a return to tradition and new checks on immigration. There is an alternative: celebrating culture within the community itself rather than striving for an impossible national homogeneity. Some will choose monocultures. Others will choose multicultures. Any choice should be respected, as long as all are united under shared national values and no one is deliberately left out. National governments can help, by acting to prevent rejuvenated communities from becoming segregated, and enforcing laws against discrimination.

Rather than looking to politically fractured national capitals for answers, we should grant communities the ability to exercise more powers locally. This might just be the way we make technological change and globalization work for all.

Raghuram G. Rajan is a professor at the University of Chicago's Booth School of Business and the author of "The Third Pillar: How Markets and the State Leave the Community Behind." He was chief economist of the International Monetary Fund from 2003 to 2006 and governor of the Reserve Bank of India from 2013 to 2016.

PHOTO: A large-scale painting on grass made with biodegradable pigments, part of the "Beyond Walls" project by the French artist Saype, in Geneva in September. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Fabrice Coffrini/Agence France-Presse — Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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Democratic Candidates Go on the Attack, and Buttigieg Is the Target

The New York Times

December 19, 2019 Thursday 11:55 EST

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Section: US; politics

Length: 2005 words

Byline: Katie Glueck and Alexander Burns

Highlight: The seven candidates excoriated President Trump, then turned on one another, as tension between Elizabeth Warren and Pete Buttigieg, building for weeks, broke into the open.

Body

The seven candidates excoriated President Trump, then turned on one another, as tension between Elizabeth Warren and Pete Buttigieg, building for weeks, broke into the open.

LOS ANGELES — Mayor Pete Buttigieg of South Bend, Ind., was repeatedly pushed onto the defensive in the sixth Democratic presidential debate on Thursday night, as several of his rivals challenged his political ascent by bluntly questioning his fund-raising practices and credentials for the presidency in a contentious and deeply substantive forum.

Mr. Buttigieg has risen rapidly in the polls in Iowa and New Hampshire in recent months, after his persistent attacks on Senator Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts and her support for single-payer health care. For many weeks, Mr. Buttigieg, a municipal official who at 37 would be the youngest president in history, escaped corresponding criticism from his fellow Democrats.

That changed here in Los Angeles on Thursday evening in a debate that unfolded in the shadow of President Trump's impeachment. Ms. Warren struck back at Mr. Buttigieg for his courting of wealthy donors at private fund-raisers — including a recent event at a so-called wine cave — and Senator Amy Klobuchar of Minnesota expressed clear skepticism of Mr. Buttigieg's electoral track record and public accomplishments. Taken together, it amounted to the most strenuous challenge so far to a relative political newcomer who has captivated many voters with his soaring rhetoric and intellectual mien.

Ms. Klobuchar, a three-term senator, rebuked Mr. Buttigieg most pointedly for dismissing the value of experience in Washington. She gilded her attack with praise for other candidates, hailing Ms. Warren for designing a new financial regulatory agency, former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. for directing vast resources to cancer research and Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont for championing veterans.

“While you can dismiss committee hearings, I think this experience works,” Ms. Klobuchar told Mr. Buttigieg, noting that despite his claims to electoral strength, he lost campaigns for state treasurer in Indiana and for the chairmanship of the Democratic National Committee.

Mr. Buttigieg parried the criticism from all directions. He accused Ms. Warren of seeking to impose “purity tests” for a fund-raising model — eschewing elite donors — that she herself did not follow as a Senate candidate, and he raised the subject of their comparative affluence, pointing out that Ms. Warren was far wealthier. He also invoked his experience in the military as proof of his seasoning, and cited his identity as a gay man who campaigned for office in “Mike Pence’s Indiana” as proof of his political mettle.

But his candidacy appeared to enter a new stage over the course of the evening, as his image as an articulate political wunderkind faced a rigorous test that is unlikely to ease up anytime soon. Even Andrew Yang, the former tech executive who has been a good-

Democratic Candidates Go on the Attack, and Buttigieg Is the Target

natured presence in every debate so far, got in a light jab at Mr. Buttigieg by alluding to candidates who must “shake the money tree in the wine cave.”

The ***Democratic primary*** battle as a whole seemed to be at a transition point on Thursday, as seven candidates, the smallest field so far, engaged for about two and a half hours at Loyola Marymount University in exchanges that were spirited and often funny — providing a wide-ranging debate over matters of global diplomacy, economic prosperity and impeachment. Four top-tier candidates remain in the race, with Mr. Biden leading in the national polls, followed by Mr. Sanders and Ms. Warren, and Mr. Buttigieg surging in the earliest primary and caucus states.

Less than two months before the Iowa caucuses, the race remains highly fluid, with considerable room for movement not just among the top few candidates but among the underdogs as well. Mr. Buttigieg has become such a target for his rivals because of his growing strength especially in Iowa, a state that most of the candidates onstage have been counting on as a springboard to help them overtake Mr. Biden nationally.

Mr. Buttigieg was not the only candidate who became a focal point for criticism. Late in the evening, Mr. Sanders delivered perhaps his most concerted attack of any debate, challenging Mr. Biden over his support for the Iraq war and for his opposition to “Medicare for all”-style health care. For much of the evening, however, Mr. Biden seemed to recede from the foreground as other candidates battled around him — though when he did speak, he delivered his smoothest remarks from a debate stage to date this cycle.

For the second consecutive month, the Democrats debated amid highly public impeachment proceedings against Mr. Trump. And for the second consecutive month, the gravity of impeachment appeared at times to restrain the candidates or to soften their remarks. For all their sharp arguments, the candidates uniformly reserved their harshest attacks for Mr. Trump, and several of the Democrats repeatedly interjected to plead for a mood of civility and cooperation within the party.

Every candidate voiced support for the House Democrats who voted on Wednesday to impeach Mr. Trump. But without exception, the rivals also seemed to anticipate Mr. Trump’s acquittal in the Republican-controlled Senate; when asked how they would persuade the country to support Mr. Trump’s ouster, the leading Democrats all explained instead how they would approach the task of defeating him in November.

Mr. Buttigieg nudged voters’ attention to the general election, arguing, “No matter what happens in the Senate, it is up to us in 2020.”

A sterner voice of skepticism came from Mr. Yang, the former tech executive mounting an underdog campaign, who described impeachment as a distraction from more important economic issues. Suggesting Mr. Trump’s acquittal in the Senate was a foregone conclusion, Mr. Yang likened it to “a ballgame where you know what the score is going to be.”

Democrats, he said, should focus instead on offering a “new positive vision for the country.”

Yet for all of the unity against Mr. Trump, the contest was also punctuated by heated arguments that highlighted clear philosophical and ideological differences within the party. Most notably, the tensions that had been building for weeks between Ms. Warren and Mr. Buttigieg over campaign funding and transparency reached a boiling point, playing out in a strikingly sharp and at times personal exchange.

“So the mayor just recently had a fund-raiser that was held in a wine cave full of crystals,” Ms. Warren said, adding that “billionaires in wine caves should not pick the next president of the United States.”

Mr. Buttigieg protested: “You know, according to Forbes magazine, I am literally the only person on this stage who is not a millionaire or a billionaire. So, this is important. This is the problem with issuing purity tests you cannot yourself pass.”

“Senator,” he added, “Your net worth is 100 times mine.”

“I do not sell access to my time,” Ms. Warren rebuked him.

Their exchange was curtailed by Ms. Klobuchar. Sensing an opening to cast herself as above the fray and focused on party unity, she jumped in with some humor.

Democratic Candidates Go on the Attack, and Buttigieg Is the Target

“I did not come here to listen to this argument,” she said. “I came here to make a case for progress. And I have never even been to a wine cave. I have been to the wind cave in South Dakota.”

The ideological clash between Mr. Buttigieg and Ms. Warren continued over which Americans should qualify for free college. Mr. Buttigieg said that “if you’re in that lucky top 10 percent, I still wish you well, don’t get me wrong, I just want you to go ahead and pay your own tuition.”

“I very much agree with Senator Warren on raising more tax revenue from millionaires and billionaires,” Mr. Buttigieg added. “I just don’t agree on the part about spending it on millionaires and billionaires when it comes to their college tuition.”

Ms. Warren, who supports free tuition at public colleges and canceling most student loan debt, was ready with a quick rejoinder: “The mayor wants billionaires to pay one tuition for their own kids. I want a billionaire to pay enough to cover tuition for all of our kids.”

Fault lines emerged throughout the debate on matters of the economy, with two candidates — Ms. Klobuchar and Mr. Sanders — diverging on the merits of Mr. Trump’s new trade deal with Mexico and Canada, which the House approved only hours earlier.

Once again, Ms. Klobuchar produced an agile debate performance of the kind that has kept her in the mix so far as an underdog, with a clear message that pairs her Midwestern background with a moderate legislative résumé.

Mr. Trump provided a backdrop for the forum, and not only because of his newly embattled status and his anticipated victory on trade. In a series of exchanges, on issues such as climate change, press freedom and American relations with China and Israel, the candidates held him up as the embodiment of all they would not do with the presidency.

The Democrats were particularly unsparing with regard to the president’s foreign policy record, calling him an ally to tyrants and a figure of fun on the international stage. Ms. Klobuchar alluded to Mr. Trump’s tempestuous departure from a recent NATO summit after a video surfaced of several foreign leaders joking about him. “He is so thin-skinned that he walked, he quit,” she said, adding, “America doesn’t quit.”

Several of the leading candidates vowed to take a more coordinated and forceful approach to dealing with China, including on human rights. Mr. Biden said he would seek to levy United Nations sanctions against the Chinese government for rounding up Muslim Uighurs in camps, while Mr. Buttigieg said he was open to the possibility of boycotting the 2022 Olympics in Beijing.

“We’re not looking for a war,” Mr. Biden said, “but we’ve got to make clear: We are a Pacific power and we are not going to walk away.”

A note of caution on the subject was sounded by Tom Steyer, the billionaire former hedge fund investor who has been self-funding his campaign. The United States needs Chinese cooperation on a range of urgent issues, including climate change, Mr. Steyer said, proposing to “work with them as a frenemy.”

The composition of the debate stage itself was up for debate. When a moderator noted that Mr. Yang was the only member of a minority group on the stage, Mr. Yang described that distinction as “both an honor and disappointment.”

“I miss Kamala and I miss Cory, though I think Cory will be back,” Mr. Yang said, referring to Senator Cory Booker of New Jersey, who failed to qualify for the debate, and Senator Kamala Harris of California, who recently withdrew from the race.

If the lack of racial diversity onstage was a source of embarrassment to some Democrats, the subject of gender came up repeatedly, thanks in part to former President Barack Obama. A moderator prompted Mr. Biden and Mr. Sanders to respond to Mr. Obama’s recent comments that the world would be better off run by women, rather than by “old men not getting out of the way.” Mr. Biden responded lightly, “I’m going to guess he wasn’t talking about me.”

But gender is likely to remain a central dynamic in the final phases of the race. When Ms. Warren was asked to address the reality that she, like Mr. Biden and Mr. Sanders, would be the oldest president ever inaugurated, her reply drew loud applause: “I’d also be the youngest woman ever inaugurated.”

Democratic Candidates Go on the Attack, and Buttigieg Is the Target

PHOTOS: Pete Buttigieg, second from left, faced a new test at Thursday's Democratic debate in Los Angeles. (A1); The debate on Thursday, less than two months before the Iowa caucuses, included discussions about global diplomacy, economic prosperity and impeachment. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY BRITTAINY NEWMAN/THE NEW YORK TIMES); Senators Bernie Sanders and Amy Klobuchar, above, sparred over President Trump's new trade deal with Mexico and Canada. Andrew Yang, left, said impeachment was a distraction from more important issues. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JIM WILSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A21)

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House Impeachment Vote Is Unlikely to Sway Markets

The New York Times

December 19, 2019 Thursday 07:30 EST

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Section: BUSINESS; dealbook

Length: 1962 words

Highlight: Investors don't expect the Republican-controlled Senate to remove President Trump from office, according to a survey by RBC Capital Markets.

Body

Breaking: IAC and the online dating company Match Group have agreed to separate in a tax-free transaction. (Want this by email? Sign up here.)

Investors shrug off Trump impeachment

Voting nearly along party lines, the House approved two articles of impeachment against President Trump, making him the third president in history to face removal by the Senate. But the stock market has been largely unfazed by the news of impeachment proceedings, and that is unlikely to change, reports MarketWatch.

Investors are shrugging at the news because they don't expect the Republican-controlled Senate to remove the president from office.

Market participants have grown more comfortable with the expectation that Mr. Trump would be impeached but not convicted, according to an investor survey conducted by RBC Capital Markets.

"Perhaps the most relevant concern for investors is whether the impeachment damages Trump's prospects in 2020," MarketWatch reported. "Some analysts contend the impeachment is more likely to benefit Trump."

A strong economy supports investors' sentiments:

"Investors look at fundamentals — economic growth, earnings, labor costs and so forth — and none of these factors have been affected by impeachment," the C.I.O. of Commonwealth Financial Network told Forbes.

The stock market has set new highs during the impeachment proceedings, and consumer confidence is also climbing, CNBC reports.

More: Mr. Trump brushed off the news at a campaign rally yesterday: "It doesn't really feel like we're being impeached," he said. Speaker Nancy Pelosi suggested that she might delay sending the articles to the Senate as leverage for negotiations on the rules for a trial. How TV covered the moment of impeachment vote.

Obamacare insurance mandate is struck down

A federal appeals court yesterday struck down the provision of the Affordable Care Act that requires Americans to have health insurance, saying it was unconstitutional, but the future of the decade-old health care law is still in limbo, writes the NYT's Abby Goodnough.

House Impeachment Vote Is Unlikely to Sway Markets

The decision did not invalidate the rest of the law, and the panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit in New Orleans sent the case back to a federal district judge in Texas to see which parts of the law could survive without the mandate.

If the law were thrown out, insurers would no longer have to cover people up to age 26 on their parents' plans, and could refuse coverage for more than 50 million people with pre-existing conditions. About 17 million Americans bought coverage through the A.C.A.

The case could go before the Supreme Court. The California attorney general, Xavier Becerra, said he planned to petition the court to hear the case. He led 21 states that intervened to try to preserve the law.

President Trump, who campaigned on repealing the law, tried to appeal to both opponents of the law and people concerned about losing their health insurance.

He called the ruling "a big win for all Americans," and said it would not alter the health care system. Mr. Trump also said he wanted to protect people with pre-existing conditions.

The case is unlikely to be resolved before next year's presidential election.

Leaked Bank of England feed gave investors an edge

The Bank of England said today that an audio feed from its news conferences had been leaked to some investors before it was made public. The early access to policymakers' remarks gave those investors a leg up on the rest of the market, reports the NYT's Amie Tsang.

The central bank is investigating the source of the leak, an unidentified third-party supplier that has provided sound from news conferences ahead of their video feed since earlier this year.

Investors closely monitor the news conferences to gain insight. "In the world of high-speed trading, just a few seconds' lead time can offer some investors a trading advantage," Ms. Tsang reports.

The bank said it had disabled the supplier's access. "The bank operates the highest standards of information security around the release of the market-sensitive decisions of its policy committees," it said.

Uber reaches a settlement on sexual harassment

Uber has a resolution on one investigation into its workplace culture: Yesterday, the ride-hailing company agreed to create a \$4.4 million fund to compensate employees who had been sexually harassed at work, the NYT's Kate Conger writes.

The company "permitted a culture of sexual harassment and retaliation," the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission found. It has been examining workplace issues there since 2017.

Besides creating the fund, the company agreed to three years of monitoring by a former agency commissioner to ensure that it changes its practices.

"This agreement will hopefully empower women in technology to speak up against sexism in the workplace knowing that their voices can yield meaningful change," a lawyer for the Commission said.

The prevalence of sexual harassment at Uber came to light when a former engineer, Susan Fowler, published an essay describing how the company had allowed inappropriate behavior to fester.

The company has "worked hard to ensure that all employees can thrive at Uber by putting fairness and accountability at the heart of who we are and what we do," said Tony West, the company's chief legal officer.

A big threat to job growth: demographics

The U.S. job market continues to exceed expectations, but it is on a collision course with a dimming demographic outlook, writes Greg Ip in the WSJ.

House Impeachment Vote Is Unlikely to Sway Markets

Job numbers are growing faster than expected: The current economic expansion has lasted a record 10-plus years. But the U.S. population is smaller than the Census Bureau had predicted.

"The U.S. has had two longstanding demographic advantages over other countries: higher fertility and immigration," Mr. Ip writes. "Both are eroding."

The country's fertility rate dropped to its lowest on record in 2018.

And the foreign-born population in the U.S. had a historically low expansion rate last year.

"Job creation is constrained by the number of people of working age," Mr. Ip writes. And until the trends are reversed, "the U.S. cannot assume it is immune to the demographic downdraft holding back Germany and Japan."

Boeing suppliers wait for the other shoe to drop

Boeing buys parts from 600 suppliers around the world to build its 737 Max planes. Those suppliers are now waiting to see how the company's temporary halt in production will affect their businesses, writes the NYT's David Yaffe-Bellany.

"We are in a crisis mode," Philippe, the C.E.O. of Safran, a French company that makes engines for the Max in partnership with General Electric, told L'usine nouvelle, a French newspaper. "Any day we do nothing now costs us money."

The grounding of the Max has reduced G.E.'s cash flow by \$400 million per quarter, company officials said in August. And Spirit AeroSystems, a Kansas company that manufactures the plane's fuselage, relies on Boeing for 80 percent of its revenue.

Yet "the full reach of Boeing's production process extends beyond those direct suppliers," Mr. Yaffe-Bellany writes.

Major suppliers that also manufacture materials for other companies may be equipped to weather the suspension, while smaller operations will struggle. Yet a halt to production that lasts longer than a month could put even those larger companies in peril.

More: President Trump reportedly called Boeing's C.E.O. on Sunday to discuss the company's plans to halt production of the 737 Max.

Revolving door

Louis Dreyfus named Patrick Treuer, a former Credit Suisse investment banker, its new finance chief.

Peter Zaffino, the executive overseeing a turnaround effort of A.I.G.'s general insurance unit, was named as the company's president.

Pearson's chief executive, John Fallon, will step down next year.

Blythe Masters, the former JPMorgan executive and C.E.O. of the blockchain start-up Digital Asset Holdings, has joined the investment firm Motive Partners.

The speed read

Deals

Several suitors have reportedly expressed interest in acquiring the Spanish-language broadcaster Univision. (WSJ)

Now that PSA and Fiat Chrysler are combining, Carlos Tavares has a hefty to-do list. (Bloomberg)

Broadcom is looking to sell one of its wireless-chip units, a move that would accelerate the company's shift away from its roots as a semiconductor maker. (WSJ)

Valence Media, the parent of Billboard magazine, is acquiring Nielsen Music, a transaction that comes as data takes on an increasingly outsize role in the music industry. (WSJ)

House Impeachment Vote Is Unlikely to Sway Markets

Adyen has sealed a deal to process McDonald's mobile app payments, expanding the Dutch company's portfolio of clients in a growing sector. (Bloomberg)

Short-sellers are betting against companies that they believe are unduly inflated by environmental, social and governance promises. (Reuters)

Direct lenders, including hedge funds and buyout firms, are preparing to dish out billions at a time to lure borrowers away from the \$1.2 trillion leveraged loan market. (Bloomberg)

The year the markets stopped believing in unicorns. (FT)

Politics and policy

President Trump has asked advisers for a plan to help ease ***student loan*** debt for Americans, according to senior administration officials. (WSJ)

Mayor Pete Buttigieg, a presidential candidate, cemented his place in the top tier of the ***Democratic primary*** after becoming more aggressive. (NYT)

As his coal mining company was going bankrupt, Robert E. Murray paid himself \$14 million, gave his successor a \$4 million bonus and earmarked nearly \$1 million for casting doubt on human-made climate change. (NYT)

The special inspector general with the Troubled Asset Relief Program is calling for the U.S. to establish a national financial fraud registry. (WaPo)

Brexit

After Prime Minister Boris Johnson's election victory, activists who wanted Britain to stay in the E.U. have thrown in the towel. (WSJ)

Amazon is reportedly scouting sites in Ireland for a warehouse to fulfill orders currently shipped from Britain, as the Brexit deadline looms. (Bloomberg)

Tech

Many people don't hesitate to spend \$600 on a cellphone. Here's another device that money could be spent on: a toaster oven. (NYT)

Tesla shares hit an all-time high. (CNBC)

Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany played down any public threats from China if her government were to bar Huawei from the country's 5G network. (Bloomberg)

The Texas authorities say Google is trying to hamstring an antitrust investigation of the company brought by 51 attorneys general. (WaPo)

Best of the rest

Wall Street analysts are unconvinced that Beyond Meat, the maker of "plant-based meat," can repeat its stock performance from 2019. (Bloomberg)

If Prime Minister Boris Johnson of Britain decides to reshape the BBC, he has five ways to pursue it. (FT)

Edward Snowden is not allowed to profit from his memoir because he didn't get publication clearance from the C.I.A. and the N.S.A., a judge ruled. (Bloomberg)

Inflation in Britain remained at a three-year low in November, comfortably below the Bank of England's 2 percent target before its next interest rate announcement, which is expected today. (Reuters)

House Impeachment Vote Is Unlikely to Sway Markets

Coca-Cola documents show that the company's public-relations goals included targeting teenagers, even as childhood obesity rates were rising. (WaPo)

Renaissance Technologies, which has produced the greatest investment returns of any hedge fund, may be facing a clawback over a tax maneuver. (WSJ)

Bernie Ebbers, the WorldCom C.E.O. imprisoned in one of the biggest frauds of the 20th century, will soon be free after serving just over half of a 25-year sentence. (NYT)

Thanks for reading! We'll see you tomorrow.

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Leah Millis/Reuters FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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Wine, Wealth and Experience: Candidates Bombard Buttigieg

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Body

The seven candidates excoriated President Trump, then turned on one another, as tension between Elizabeth Warren and Pete Buttigieg, building for weeks, broke into the open.

LOS ANGELES -- Mayor Pete Buttigieg of South Bend, Ind., was repeatedly pushed onto the defensive in the sixth Democratic presidential debate on Thursday night, as several of his rivals challenged his political ascent by bluntly questioning his fund-raising practices and credentials for the presidency in a contentious and deeply substantive forum.

Mr. Buttigieg has risen rapidly in the polls in Iowa and New Hampshire in recent months, after his persistent attacks on Senator Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts and her support for single-payer health care. For many weeks, Mr. Buttigieg, a municipal official who at 37 would be the youngest president in history, escaped corresponding criticism from his fellow Democrats.

That changed here in Los Angeles on Thursday evening in a debate that unfolded in the shadow of President Trump's impeachment. Ms. Warren struck back at Mr. Buttigieg for his courting of wealthy donors at private fund-raisers -- including a recent event at a so-called wine cave -- and Senator Amy Klobuchar of Minnesota expressed clear skepticism of Mr. Buttigieg's electoral track record and public accomplishments. Taken together, it amounted to the most strenuous challenge so far to a relative political newcomer who has captivated many voters with his soaring rhetoric and intellectual mien.

Ms. Klobuchar, a three-term senator, rebuked Mr. Buttigieg most pointedly for dismissing the value of experience in Washington. She gilded her attack with praise for other candidates, hailing Ms. Warren for designing a new financial regulatory agency, former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. for directing vast resources to cancer research and Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont for championing veterans.

"While you can dismiss committee hearings, I think this experience works," Ms. Klobuchar told Mr. Buttigieg, noting that despite his claims to electoral strength, he lost campaigns for state treasurer in Indiana and for the chairmanship of the Democratic National Committee.

Mr. Buttigieg parried the criticism from all directions. He accused Ms. Warren of seeking to impose "purity tests" for a fund-raising model -- eschewing elite donors -- that she herself did not follow as a Senate candidate, and he raised the subject of their comparative affluence, pointing out that Ms. Warren was far wealthier. He also invoked his experience in the military as proof of his seasoning, and cited his identity as a gay man who campaigned for office in "Mike Pence's Indiana" as proof of his political mettle.

But his candidacy appeared to enter a new stage over the course of the evening, as his image as an articulate political wunderkind faced a rigorous test that is unlikely to ease up anytime soon. Even Andrew Yang, the former tech executive who has been a good-natured presence in every debate so far, got in a light jab at Mr. Buttigieg by alluding to candidates who must "shake the money tree in the wine cave."

The **Democratic primary** battle as a whole seemed to be at a transition point on Thursday, as seven candidates, the smallest field so far, engaged for about two and a half hours at Loyola Marymount University in exchanges that were spirited and often funny --

Wine, Wealth and Experience: Candidates Bombard Buttigieg

providing a wide-ranging debate over matters of global diplomacy, economic prosperity and impeachment. Four top-tier candidates remain in the race, with Mr. Biden leading in the national polls, followed by Mr. Sanders and Ms. Warren, and Mr. Buttigieg surging in the earliest primary and caucus states.

Less than two months before the Iowa caucuses, the race remains highly fluid, with considerable room for movement not just among the top few candidates but among the underdogs as well. Mr. Buttigieg has become such a target for his rivals because of his growing strength especially in Iowa, a state that most of the candidates onstage have been counting on as a springboard to help them overtake Mr. Biden nationally.

Mr. Buttigieg was not the only candidate who became a focal point for criticism. Late in the evening, Mr. Sanders delivered perhaps his most concerted attack of any debate, challenging Mr. Biden over his support for the Iraq war and for his opposition to "Medicare for all"-style health care. For much of the evening, however, Mr. Biden seemed to recede from the foreground as other candidates battled around him -- though when he did speak, he delivered his smoothest remarks from a debate stage to date this cycle.

For the second consecutive month, the Democrats debated amid highly public impeachment proceedings against Mr. Trump. And for the second consecutive month, the gravity of impeachment appeared at times to restrain the candidates or to soften their remarks. For all their sharp arguments, the candidates uniformly reserved their harshest attacks for Mr. Trump, and several of the Democrats repeatedly interjected to plead for a mood of civility and cooperation within the party.

Every candidate voiced support for the House Democrats who voted on Wednesday to impeach Mr. Trump. But without exception, the rivals also seemed to anticipate Mr. Trump's acquittal in the Republican-controlled Senate; when asked how they would persuade the country to support Mr. Trump's ouster, the leading Democrats all explained instead how they would approach the task of defeating him in November.

Mr. Buttigieg nudged voters' attention to the general election, arguing, "No matter what happens in the Senate, it is up to us in 2020."

A sterner voice of skepticism came from Mr. Yang, the former tech executive mounting an underdog campaign, who described impeachment as a distraction from more important economic issues. Suggesting Mr. Trump's acquittal in the Senate was a foregone conclusion, Mr. Yang likened it to "a ballgame where you know what the score is going to be."

Democrats, he said, should focus instead on offering a "new positive vision for the country."

Yet for all of the unity against Mr. Trump, the contest was also punctuated by heated arguments that highlighted clear philosophical and ideological differences within the party. Most notably, the tensions that had been building for weeks between Ms. Warren and Mr. Buttigieg over campaign funding and transparency reached a boiling point, playing out in a strikingly sharp and at times personal exchange.

"So the mayor just recently had a fund-raiser that was held in a wine cave full of crystals," Ms. Warren said, adding that "billionaires in wine caves should not pick the next president of the United States."

Mr. Buttigieg protested: "You know, according to Forbes magazine, I am literally the only person on this stage who is not a millionaire or a billionaire. So, this is important. This is the problem with issuing purity tests you cannot yourself pass."

"Senator," he added, "Your net worth is 100 times mine."

"I do not sell access to my time," Ms. Warren rebuked him.

Their exchange was curtailed by Ms. Klobuchar. Sensing an opening to cast herself as above the fray and focused on party unity, she jumped in with some humor.

"I did not come here to listen to this argument," she said. "I came here to make a case for progress. And I have never even been to a wine cave. I have been to the wind cave in South Dakota."

Wine, Wealth and Experience: Candidates Bombard Buttigieg

The ideological clash between Mr. Buttigieg and Ms. Warren continued over which Americans should qualify for free college. Mr. Buttigieg said that "if you're in that lucky top 10 percent, I still wish you well, don't get me wrong, I just want you to go ahead and pay your own tuition."

"I very much agree with Senator Warren on raising more tax revenue from millionaires and billionaires," Mr. Buttigieg added. "I just don't agree on the part about spending it on millionaires and billionaires when it comes to their college tuition."

Ms. Warren, who supports free tuition at public ***colleges*** and canceling most ***student loan*** debt, was ready with a quick rejoinder: "The mayor wants billionaires to pay one tuition for their own kids. I want a billionaire to pay enough to cover tuition for all of our kids."

Fault lines emerged throughout the debate on matters of the economy, with two candidates -- Ms. Klobuchar and Mr. Sanders -- diverging on the merits of Mr. Trump's new trade deal with Mexico and Canada, which the House approved only hours earlier.

Once again, Ms. Klobuchar produced an agile debate performance of the kind that has kept her in the mix so far as an underdog, with a clear message that pairs her Midwestern background with a moderate legislative résumé.

Mr. Trump provided a backdrop for the forum, and not only because of his newly embattled status and his anticipated victory on trade. In a series of exchanges, on issues such as climate change, press freedom and American relations with China and Israel, the candidates held him up as the embodiment of all they would not do with the presidency.

The Democrats were particularly unsparing with regard to the president's foreign policy record, calling him an ally to tyrants and a figure of fun on the international stage. Ms. Klobuchar alluded to Mr. Trump's tempestuous departure from a recent NATO summit after a video surfaced of several foreign leaders joking about him. "He is so thin-skinned that he walked, he quit," she said, adding, "America doesn't quit."

Several of the leading candidates vowed to take a more coordinated and forceful approach to dealing with China, including on human rights. Mr. Biden said he would seek to levy United Nations sanctions against the Chinese government for rounding up Muslim Uighurs in camps, while Mr. Buttigieg said he was open to the possibility of boycotting the 2022 Olympics in Beijing.

"We're not looking for a war," Mr. Biden said, "but we've got to make clear: We are a Pacific power and we are not going to walk away."

A note of caution on the subject was sounded by Tom Steyer, the billionaire former hedge fund investor who has been self-funding his campaign. The United States needs Chinese cooperation on a range of urgent issues, including climate change, Mr. Steyer said, proposing to "work with them as a frenemy."

The composition of the debate stage itself was up for debate. When a moderator noted that Mr. Yang was the only member of a minority group on the stage, Mr. Yang described that distinction as "both an honor and disappointment."

"I miss Kamala and I miss Cory, though I think Cory will be back," Mr. Yang said, referring to Senator Cory Booker of New Jersey, who failed to qualify for the debate, and Senator Kamala Harris of California, who recently withdrew from the race.

If the lack of racial diversity onstage was a source of embarrassment to some Democrats, the subject of gender came up repeatedly, thanks in part to former President Barack Obama. A moderator prompted Mr. Biden and Mr. Sanders to respond to Mr. Obama's recent comments that the world would be better off run by women, rather than by "old men not getting out of the way." Mr. Biden responded lightly, "I'm going to guess he wasn't talking about me."

But gender is likely to remain a central dynamic in the final phases of the race. When Ms. Warren was asked to address the reality that she, like Mr. Biden and Mr. Sanders, would be the oldest president ever inaugurated, her reply drew loud applause: "I'd also be the youngest woman ever inaugurated."

Graphic

PHOTOS: Pete Buttigieg, second from left, faced a new test at Thursday's Democratic debate in Los Angeles. (A1)

The debate on Thursday, less than two months before the Iowa caucuses, included discussions about global diplomacy, economic prosperity and impeachment. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY BRITTAINY NEWMAN/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Senators Bernie Sanders and Amy Klobuchar, above, sparred over President Trump's new trade deal with Mexico and Canada. Andrew Yang, left, said impeachment was a distraction from more important issues. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JIM WILSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A21)

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The Big Ask of Black Voters: Trust the Government

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Highlight: Bernie Sanders, Elizabeth Warren and Pete Buttigieg are trying to woo older black voters with policy. Those policies may be why they're struggling to win their support.

Body

Bernie Sanders, Elizabeth Warren and Pete Buttigieg are trying to woo older black voters with policy. Those policies may be why they're struggling to win their support.

DANVILLE, Va. — Ten minutes into a small community meeting between black farmers from Southern Virginia and regional campaign staff for Senator Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts, an aide took the floor.

He was the only white person to speak in a room of older black voters seated in an old beauty salon. He stood, delivering an off-the-cuff pitch for Ms. Warren's plan to help rural black America: proposals for new access to funding for black farmers, and to address discrimination in the United States Department of Agriculture. She understood the challenges black farmers faced, he said.

But he was cut off midsentence, before he could finish his appeal for their support. Instead, the black farmers had a message for him, and for Ms. Warren's campaign. Plans and rhetoric are one thing, but to trust a candidate to deliver — or the government at all — is entirely another.

In a community all too familiar with legal discrimination and unequal access to public services, believing in “big, structural change,” as Ms. Warren likes to call it, is a gamble.

“No disrespect,” called out Lauren Hudson, a 62-year-old hemp farmer, “but there’s a whole different avenue when we go for funding versus when a white family goes for funding.”

Democratic candidates have come to understand that they need policies that target racial inequities, especially to win over black voters — a vital force in the ***Democratic primary***. Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont says single-payer health insurance will close disparities like the higher infant mortality rate in black families. Former Mayor Pete Buttigieg of South Bend, Ind., released his Frederick Douglass Plan, which calls for overhauling the criminal justice system, health care equity, and education funding.

In addition to her proposals for black farmers, Ms. Warren has aimed to design her health care and education plans so that they take corrective steps to address historical inequality.

Still, even as the plans add up, black voters have largely not shown enthusiasm about these candidates, and the polling numbers have barely budged. According to a recent nationwide poll of black voters from The Washington Post and Ipsos, former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. holds a significant edge, with the support of nearly 50 percent of respondents. Among black voters 65 and older, poll showed Mr. Biden ahead by 60 percentage points.

The Big Ask of Black Voters: Trust the Government

Mr. Sanders had 20 percent support, driven largely by his popularity with black voters under 35 years old. Ms. Warren was third in The Post's poll, with 9 percent.

Over the course of her campaign, at events geared toward black voters, Ms. Warren often cites policy proposals such as investment in historically black colleges and new housing in formerly redlined communities. Crowds generally respond positively.

"I want a world where the color of your skin doesn't matter, you get the same opportunities," Ms. Warren said at an event over the weekend hosted with groups including the Iowa chapter of the N.A.A.C.P. "We do not fix a system like this by pretending that race doesn't matter."

Mr. Sanders's progress with black voters has been a mixed bag; he is beloved among younger voters and viewed with some suspicion by older ones, who largely supported Hillary Clinton in 2016 and found his insurgent campaign to be harmful to her in the general election. Late last year, Mr. Sanders replaced his South Carolina state director, a sign of the campaign's desire to shift his strategy for winning over black voters.

Mr. Biden's candidacy is helped by several factors, including his widespread name recognition, public proximity to former President Barack Obama, and close relationship with black community leaders dating to his years in the Senate.

But in interviews with dozens of black voters in Virginia and South Carolina, another theme emerges: Mr. Biden is also ahead because his leading rivals have yet to wrestle with how their promises of structural change must overcome historical distrust of the government in black communities.

Theodore Johnson, a senior fellow at the Brennan Center for Justice who studies race and electoral politics, said black skepticism in government stretches back decades, citing Booker T. Washington and his late 19th century and early 20th century argument for black self-help, rather than a focus on systemic discrimination. Black voters are often described as "moderates," but Mr. Johnson said the voting choices are more nuanced than straightforward ideological choices.

Racism "contributes to black people's lack of support for mass federal programs," Mr. Johnson said. "There's a sense that, if you prefer federal programs, that can be an admission that you can't make it without white people or government."

In "Medicare for all," free college and other signature progressive proposals, like the cancellation of student loan debt or housing equality, candidates are asking black voters to trust that government can correct the same systemic inequalities that government helped create. But there is often no plan to undo the cynicism that decades of governmental failure have created among older black voters in particular.

"No matter who is in office, the government has not been our best friend," said Samuel Crisp, 73. He is part of the Piedmont Progressive Farmers Group, which focuses on egg production, and attended the Warren campaign event in Virginia.

"They all have programs that work against us," he added. "And they don't seem to understand that."

There is some precedent for selling older black voters on the promise for structural change. In 2004, the populist campaign of Senator John Edwards of North Carolina won the South Carolina Democratic primary contest. The Rev. Jesse Jackson's presidential campaigns in 1984 and 1988 succeeded in bringing a message of systemic upheaval to black voters — winning 11 contests in 1988, including in Virginia and South Carolina. In an interview, Mr. Jackson urged the current crop of left-wing candidates like Mr. Sanders and Ms. Warren to get better at working to relate to and understand black communities.

"I earned the trust of the people. I worked with them on the ground. I wasn't just an election candidate. I served with them," Mr. Jackson said. "I was at their restaurants. I played football. I stayed in their homes."

Mr. Jackson acknowledged that forming those connections is a different challenge for white candidates, who could risk appearing "pretentious and not genuine," but he said he believed there were authentic and effective approaches.

He said that his personal politics precluded him from voting for Mr. Biden in the Democratic primary, but that Mr. Biden was boxing out the progressive candidates among some vital black communities.

The Big Ask of Black Voters: Trust the Government

“Bernie and Warren are on the right side of history — Biden is a moderate and our needs are not moderate,” Mr. Jackson added. “You must build a coalition and you do it through new relationships.”

In the farming meeting, the difficulty of the task was evident.

Attendees mostly said they agreed with the substance of Ms. Warren’s farming proposal, which had been updated after dozens of black farmers said her initial policy did not adequately address racial bias. They said that they personally liked Ms. Warren. But they did not support her.

The reluctance to back her candidacy stemmed from forces that predate 2020 or modern politics itself: a general belief that big change promised by elected officials, and white candidates in particular, never reaches black communities.

“They make promises that are not going to be kept,” said Selena Thornton, 45, who works in nearby Caswell County in North Carolina. “Discrimination has been around how long? Since the beginning of time. And just inviting black people to events is not the answer to that.”

Bryant Hood, a 46-year-old resident who helped organize the event with Ms. Warren’s team, said he thought the candidates who are pitching enormous change and government involvement in people’s lives had not adequately wrestled with what they’re asking black voters to believe in.

Presidential candidates “hit the church, they hit the community’s leaders, and they think that’s all they need to do,” said Mr. Hood, who sat out the last election after voting twice for Mr. Obama.

“I don’t think it’s that they don’t want to do more,” he added, “they don’t know.”

Earning the support of black voters with policies that require real faith in what the government can fairly provide amounts to what may be the most significant challenge for the candidates seeking to beat Mr. Biden after Iowa and New Hampshire. That’s when the contest moves to states where the Democratic electorate is less dominated by white voters.

Mr. Crisp, of the progressive farmers group in Piedmont, is undecided in the ***Democratic primary***. He said Mr. Biden was among his top choices, though he acknowledged that on the issues he prioritizes most, Ms. Warren’s plans better target racial inequality.

Mr. Biden “has a history, and a lot of them don’t have a history,” Mr. Crisp said.

Ms. Hudson, the hemp farmer, said that as a black voter, placing her trust in an unknown quantity was a risk. Referring to Mr. Obama, she said: “I didn’t vote for him because he was black. I voted for him because of what he said and I believe what he said.”

She has not found a comparable candidate in 2020.

“It’s hard to trust white politicians,” she said.

PHOTOS: Supporters listened to Senator Elizabeth Warren give a speech honoring black women at Clark Atlanta University in November. (PHOTOGRAPH BY RUTH FREMSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A1); Voters in Hartsville S.C., listening to the actor Danny Glover speak about Senator Bernie Sanders. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CAMERON POLLACK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A18)

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Democratic Candidates Struggle to Win the Trust of Black Voters

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Body

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He was the only white person to speak in a room of older black voters seated in an old beauty salon. He stood, delivering an off-the-cuff pitch for Ms. Warren's plan to help rural black America: proposals for new access to funding for black farmers, and to address discrimination in the United States Department of Agriculture. She understood the challenges black farmers faced, he said.

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Democratic Candidates Struggle to Win the Trust of Black Voters

"I want a world where the color of your skin doesn't matter, you get the same opportunities," Ms. Warren said at an event over the weekend hosted with groups including the Iowa chapter of the N.A.A.C.P. "We do not fix a system like this by pretending that race doesn't matter."

Mr. Sanders's progress with black voters has been a mixed bag; he is beloved among younger voters and viewed with some suspicion by older ones, who largely supported Hillary Clinton in 2016 and found his insurgent campaign to be harmful to her in the general election. Late last year, Mr. Sanders replaced his South Carolina state director, a sign of the campaign's desire to shift his strategy for winning over black voters.

Mr. Biden's candidacy is helped by several factors, including his widespread name recognition, public proximity to former President Barack Obama, and close relationship with black community leaders dating to his years in the Senate.

But in interviews with dozens of black voters in Virginia and South Carolina, another theme emerges: Mr. Biden is also ahead because his leading rivals have yet to wrestle with how their promises of structural change must overcome historical distrust of the government in black communities.

Theodore Johnson, a senior fellow at the Brennan Center for Justice who studies race and electoral politics, said black skepticism in government stretches back decades, citing Booker T. Washington and his late 19th century and early 20th century argument for black self-help, rather than a focus on systemic discrimination. Black voters are often described as "moderates," but Mr. Johnson said the voting choices are more nuanced than straightforward ideological choices.

Racism "contributes to black people's lack of support for mass federal programs," Mr. Johnson said. "There's a sense that, if you prefer federal programs, that can be an admission that you can't make it without white people or government."

In "Medicare for all," free college and other signature progressive proposals, like the cancellation of student loan debt or housing equality, candidates are asking black voters to trust that government can correct the same systemic inequalities that government helped create. But there is often no plan to undo the cynicism that decades of governmental failure have created among older black voters in particular.

"No matter who is in office, the government has not been our best friend," said Samuel Crisp, 73. He is part of the Piedmont Progressive Farmers Group, which focuses on egg production, and attended the Warren campaign event in Virginia.

"They all have programs that work against us," he added. "And they don't seem to understand that."

There is some precedent for selling older black voters on the promise for structural change. In 2004, the populist campaign of Senator John Edwards of North Carolina won the South Carolina Democratic primary contest. The Rev. Jesse Jackson's presidential campaigns in 1984 and 1988 succeeded in bringing a message of systemic upheaval to black voters -- winning 11 contests in 1988, including in Virginia and South Carolina. In an interview, Mr. Jackson urged the current crop of left-wing candidates like Mr. Sanders and Ms. Warren to get better at working to relate to and understand black communities.

"I earned the trust of the people. I worked with them on the ground. I wasn't just an election candidate. I served with them," Mr. Jackson said. "I was at their restaurants. I played football. I stayed in their homes."

Mr. Jackson acknowledged that forming those connections is a different challenge for white candidates, who could risk appearing "pretentious and not genuine," but he said he believed there were authentic and effective approaches.

He said that his personal politics precluded him from voting for Mr. Biden in the Democratic primary, but that Mr. Biden was boxing out the progressive candidates among some vital black communities.

"Bernie and Warren are on the right side of history -- Biden is a moderate and our needs are not moderate," Mr. Jackson added. "You must build a coalition and you do it through new relationships."

In the farming meeting, the difficulty of the task was evident.

Democratic Candidates Struggle to Win the Trust of Black Voters

Attendees mostly said they agreed with the substance of Ms. Warren's farming proposal, which had been updated after dozens of black farmers said her initial policy did not adequately address racial bias. They said that they personally liked Ms. Warren. But they did not support her.

The reluctance to back her candidacy stemmed from forces that predate 2020 or modern politics itself: a general belief that big change promised by elected officials, and white candidates in particular, never reaches black communities.

"They make promises that are not going to be kept," said Selena Thornton, 45, who works in nearby Caswell County in North Carolina. "Discrimination has been around how long? Since the beginning of time. And just inviting black people to events is not the answer to that."

Bryant Hood, a 46-year-old resident who helped organize the event with Ms. Warren's team, said he thought the candidates who are pitching enormous change and government involvement in people's lives had not adequately wrestled with what they're asking black voters to believe in.

Presidential candidates "hit the church, they hit the community's leaders, and they think that's all they need to do," said Mr. Hood, who sat out the last election after voting twice for Mr. Obama.

"I don't think it's that they don't want to do more," he added, "they don't know."

Earning the support of black voters with policies that require real faith in what the government can fairly provide amounts to what may be the most significant challenge for the candidates seeking to beat Mr. Biden after Iowa and New Hampshire. That's when the contest moves to states where the Democratic electorate is less dominated by white voters.

Mr. Crisp, of the progressive farmers group in Piedmont, is undecided in the ***Democratic primary***. He said Mr. Biden was among his top choices, though he acknowledged that on the issues he prioritizes most, Ms. Warren's plans better target racial inequality.

Mr. Biden "has a history, and a lot of them don't have a history," Mr. Crisp said.

Ms. Hudson, the hemp farmer, said that as a black voter, placing her trust in an unknown quantity was a risk. Referring to Mr. Obama, she said: "I didn't vote for him because he was black. I voted for him because of what he said and I believe what he said."

She has not found a comparable candidate in 2020.

"It's hard to trust white politicians," she said.

Graphic

PHOTOS: Supporters listened to Senator Elizabeth Warren give a speech honoring black women at Clark Atlanta University in November. (PHOTOGRAPH BY RUTH FREMSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A1)

Voters in Hartsville S.C., listening to the actor Danny Glover speak about Senator Bernie Sanders. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CAMERON POLLACK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A18)

Load-Date: January 23, 2020

Did You Recently Pay Off Your Student Loans?

The New York Times

January 29, 2020 Wednesday 12:06 EST

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Section: US; elections

Length: 193 words

Byline: The New York Times

Highlight: We'd like to hear from people who paid off their student loans in the past year, or from those who are still making payments.

Body

We'd like to hear from people who paid off their student loans in the past year, or from those who are still making payments.

Student debt is one of the most debated issues in the Democratic presidential primary.

Candidates such as Elizabeth Warren and Bernie Sanders are calling for tuition-free college for all and erasing student loans, and Pete Buttigieg argues those things should be limited to the poor and middle class, while Joe Biden favors two free years of community college. Ms. Warren has argued that college is a basic good, akin to K-12 education, a position Mr. Buttigieg has called elitist. Collectively, the nation's student debt amounts to \$1.6 trillion — an amount Mr. Sanders's plan would wipe out entirely.

We'd like to hear from people who paid off their student loans in the past year, or from those who are still making payments. A Times reporter or editor may follow up with you to hear more about your story.

PHOTO: What's the best way to make higher education more affordable? Candidates for the Democratic presidential nomination have very different ideas. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Dustin Chambers for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Load-Date: January 29, 2020

End of Document

Everyone's a Winner in Iowa; On Politics With Lisa Lerer

The New York Times

January 29, 2020 Wednesday 11:57 EST

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Section: US; politics

Length: 1131 words

Byline: Lisa Lerer

Highlight: O.K., maybe there will be a clear winner on Monday night. But let me explain what else might happen.

Body

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AMES, Iowa — Driving through the snowy cornfields of Iowa today, I couldn't stop dreaming about next Tuesday, the day after the Iowa caucuses. After more than a year of campaign entrances and exits, debates and dance moves, we'll finally get some real clarity about this crowded Democratic primary race.

People will have voted! There will be winners! And losers!

Or not.

Dear readers, it's time for a talk.

I know we've spent an awful lot of time discussing the Iowa caucuses. But like a mom explaining how, exactly, your little sister got here, I might have been glossing over some of the details.

Like, there could be multiple winners.

I know, I know. Presidential campaigns aren't peewee soccer. There are no participation trophies.

But when it comes to this year's Iowa caucuses, there might as well be. That's because changes in the caucus rules intended to increase transparency will give us a lot more information — and there will be more opportunities for candidates to declare victory.

Under the new rules, the Iowa Democratic Party will report more than one set of results.

- For the first time, we'll see the vote totals from the first round of voting at the caucuses, when everyone shows up.
- We'll also see the final vote totals after "realignment," when supporters of the weaker candidates may be forced to switch sides and back stronger ones. (Here's an explanation of how that works and why second choices are so important.)
- And we'll see an estimate of the total delegates each candidate won to the state convention.

This is a significant change. In past years, the state party reported one number, the delegate total.

The Associated Press, the media barometer for campaign race calling, said this month that it would call a winner based on that last measure — the "state delegate equivalents" — because delegates are used to decide the eventual winner of the nomination.

But for the campaigns, the delegate totals aren't really the point when it comes to Iowa. The state awards only 41 of the 3,979 pledged delegates to the national convention. (California, by comparison, awards 415.)

Everyone's a Winner in Iowa; On Politics With Lisa Lerer

But Iowa can give a candidate something more important than delegates.

Here's how Pete Buttigieg put it, as he tried to persuade a group of voters in Jefferson to come out and caucus for him on Monday night.

"What happens on Monday will set the tone for the entire rest of the election," he told voters gathered in the back of a furniture store. "What happens on Monday will reverberate throughout the country."

The name of the game is beating expectations, creating the kind of momentum that can propel a candidate into New Hampshire, Nevada, South Carolina and beyond with a burst of enthusiasm.

For Amy Klobuchar, who's been languishing in fifth place in the Iowa polls, that might mean placing third in delegates. For Elizabeth Warren, who's been sliding behind Bernie Sanders in recent polls, it might mean besting her liberal rival in raw votes.

So, now imagine this scenario, one strategists say is not an impossibility, given how close recent polls have shown the race to be: Mr. Sanders wins the raw vote total, Joe Biden wins the delegate count and Mr. Buttigieg wins the rural counties.

Aides are already signaling that all three would come out of Iowa declaring victory.

Mr. Sanders could argue he has the most support, at least when it comes to sheer numbers of voters. Mr. Buttigieg might say he can win the kinds of swing counties that voted for Donald Trump in 2016 and flipped back to Democrats two years later, making him the strongest general election contender. And Mr. Biden could argue he won on the metric that will eventually decide the nomination.

We know that many Democratic voters are desperate to find their standard-bearer so they can turn their attention to beating Mr. Trump. But that kind of mixed result in Iowa would leave them with no more clarity than they have right now.

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It found a receptive audience in Sawyer Hackett, an aide to Julián Castro, the former housing secretary who dropped out of the race and is now a full-time surrogate for Elizabeth Warren.

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The article also zipped around text groups of rival campaign staff members, particularly among people of color, according to other campaign aides.

Inside the Buttigieg campaign headquarters, a bunker mentality took hold. There was a morning staff call Tuesday in which the article was discussed, but Mr. Buttigieg didn't call in. Asked in Ottumwa, Iowa, if he had addressed the issues with his staff, Mr. Buttigieg dodged the question.

Roderick Applewhaite, who works on Mr. Buttigieg's rapid response team, posted a heartfelt Twitter thread about race and the campaign.

Everyone's a Winner in Iowa; On Politics With Lisa Lerer

"We will continue to approach fostering inclusion with the ongoing deliberation it deserves," she wrote. "We will continue to live by our Rules of the Road of Belonging, Respect, Responsibility, and Truth."

But by Wednesday, the questions for Mr. Buttigieg from reporters at his campaign stop in Ames had moved on to Middle East policy. Five days from now, Iowa's caucusgoers will render their judgment.

... Seriously

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No, seriously: Each one of these cell-like structures is about the size of Texas.

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Thanks for reading. On Politics is your guide to the political news cycle, delivering clarity from the chaos.

Is there anything you think we're missing? Anything you want to see more of? We'd love to hear from you. Email us at onpolitics@nytimes.com.

PHOTO: Our colleague Tanner Curtis found this helpful shirt at the popular Des Moines T-shirt store, Raygun.

Load-Date: February 3, 2020

End of Document

One Winner, or Maybe Two or Three

The New York Times

January 30, 2020 Thursday, Late Edition - Final

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Section: Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 16; ON POLITICS WITH LISA LERER

Length: 1203 words

Byline: By Lisa Lerer

Body

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<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/29/us/politics/iowa-multiple-winners.html>

Graphic

PHOTO: Our colleague Tanner Curtis found this helpful shirt at the popular Des Moines T-shirt store, Raygun.

Load-Date: January 30, 2020

End of Document

Coronavirus, New Hampshire, ‘Parasite’: Your Monday Evening Briefing

The New York Times

February 10, 2020 Monday 18:35 EST

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Section: BRIEFING

Length: 1212 words

Byline: Tom Wright-Piersanti and Hiroko Masuike

Highlight: Here’s what you need to know at the end of the day.

Body

Here’s what you need to know at the end of the day.

(Want to get this briefing by email? Here’s the sign-up.)

Good evening. Here’s the latest.

1. At least 20 Americans are among those who have been infected with the new coronavirus on a cruise ship quarantined in a Japanese port.

More than 2,500 passengers on board are being kept in effective isolation, eating meals in their cabins and keeping at least six feet from each other during the few minutes each day they are allowed on deck. And the situation is worse for crew members, who live elbow to elbow in cramped quarters.

China had extended its official Lunar New Year holiday by 10 days to help counter the virus’s spread. But when the extension ended today, stores and factories remained empty, suggesting it could be weeks — or months — before one of the world’s largest economies is humming again. Above, President Xi Jinping, who has remained conspicuously absent in recent weeks, made a rare public appearance to address the crisis.

In our Opinion section, an epidemiologist who is heading to the World Health Organization’s emergency meeting on Tuesday lists what is known, and not yet known, about the virus.

2. New Hampshire is next.

The state’s **Democratic** presidential **primary**, the second contest in the 2020 race, is on Tuesday. Bernie Sanders, above, is leading in the polls, and Pete Buttigieg isn’t far behind.

The two are trying to capitalize on their strong showings in the troubled Iowa caucuses, while increasingly training their fire on each other. Elizabeth Warren is reviving her rallying cry (“Still, she persisted”), the political outsider Andrew Yang faces a make-or-break moment, and Joe Biden is already looking beyond to his “firewall” in South Carolina.

Here are our live updates as candidates dash around New Hampshire.

Iowa: The problems with the caucuses were bigger than one bad app. According to an investigation by our reporters, there was a total system failure.

3. President Trump released a \$4.8 trillion budget proposal, but it has little chance of being fully enacted by Congress.

Coronavirus, New Hampshire, ‘Parasite’: Your Monday Evening Briefing

As is usual, it's more of a messaging document. The message: Keep shrinking the federal safety net, with deep cuts to **student loan** assistance, affordable housing, food stamps and Medicaid, and slash the E.P.A. Add funds to the military, national defense and border enforcement.

Mr. Trump faces a secure spot in New Hampshire's Republican primary, with just one opponent: Bill Weld, the former Massachusetts governor.

We'll be in Manchester, N.H., for Mr. Trump's rally tonight.

4. Four members of China's military were charged in the vast 2017 Equifax data breach, which exposed the personal information of about 145 million Americans.

The U.S. government said the attack was part of a series of big data thefts organized by the People's Liberation Army and Chinese intelligence agencies. Hackers stole names, birth dates and Social Security numbers of nearly half of all Americans — data that could be combined with artificial intelligence to help identify and target U.S. intelligence officers.

And in Israel, a “grave” security lapse in an election app promoted by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu led to the exposure of personal data of all 6.5 million eligible voters.

5. Angela Merkel's chosen successor to lead Germany has stepped aside.

Annegrat Kramp-Karrenbauer, above, announced her resignation after a local chapter of her party, the center-right Christian Democrats, allied itself with a rising far-right party, Alternative for Germany.

At a time when neighboring countries are looking to Berlin for leadership in a post-Brexit Europe, Germany is struggling with an uncomfortable sense of having lived through this before, as the growing power of the far right echoes the rise of the Nazis.

6. New rules at U.S. schools and colleges will shore up protections for victims of stalking and dating violence.

The rules will for the first time cement domestic violence, dating violence and stalking as forms of gender discrimination that schools must address. Victims' rights advocates say that while many schools have presumed such infractions fall under the broad umbrella of sexual harassment, not all have trained their staffs to address them.

Above, a memorial to Lauren McCluskey, a University of Utah track star who was kidnapped on campus and killed by a former boyfriend in 2018, and whose case helped inspire the changes.

7. The Dart Container Corporation was an American success story. But it built its fortune on a modern environmental pariah: foam containers.

As states like New York, Maine and Maryland outlaw polystyrene foam, which can harm fish and other marine life, the company that helped spur a revolution in cups and clamshells is struggling to find a path forward.

And in Africa, researchers found that an increase in temperatures over the past seven decades correlates with bigger and more frequent thunderstorms. That increase, combined with poor infrastructure, could mean more fatalities and more economic damage.

8. California was about to lose its oldest weekly newspaper. And then in stepped Carl Butz.

Since his retirement and his wife's death in 2017, Mr. Butz had considered traveling to England or Latvia, or riding the Trans-Siberian Railway. But one night, he said, he was watching “Citizen Kane” on cable and thought, I can do that.

So the 71-year-old cut a four-figure deal to buy The Mountain Messenger, earning himself a new career and saving Downieville, Calif., from becoming the latest small town to lose its newspaper.

9. Lessons from the “Parasite” landslide.

Coronavirus, New Hampshire, ‘Parasite’: Your Monday Evening Briefing

The South Korean film’s triumph as the first non-English language best picture winner is a result in part of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences’ efforts to diversify its voting base by race, gender, and nationality. It has added hundreds of new members from outside the U.S.

“The success of ‘Parasite’ makes me wonder if the best picture win for a middlebrow nothing like ‘Green Book’ last year was more anomalous than it seemed,” said Manohla Dargis, in a conversation with fellow Times critics A.O. Scott and Wesley Morris.

From the Oscars red carpet, our chief fashion critic, Vanessa Friedman, writes that “Janelle Monáe, in silver crystal-covered, hooded Ralph Lauren, had the best dress. She looked like the ruler of an entire galaxy.”

But the fashionista firepower wasn’t enough for TV viewers: The audience fell 20 percent, to an all-time low of 23.6 million.

10. What’s better than a bichon frisé? Four bichons frisés.

Tomorrow night, the Westminster Dog Show will be a scene of high tension, as a handful of four-legged finalists compete for the coveted title of best in show. Until then, enjoy these photos of pampered Pomeranians, a meeting of Dalmatians and one very hairy Maltese.

Have a doggone good evening.

Andrea Knapell and Penn Bullock contributed to the briefing.

Your Evening Briefing is posted at 6 p.m. Eastern.

And don’t miss Your Morning Briefing. Sign up here to get it by email in the Australian, Asian, European, African or American morning.

Want to catch up on past briefings? You can browse them here.

What did you like? What do you want to see here? Let us know at briefing@nytimes.com.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Load-Date: February 10, 2020

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Coronavirus, New Hampshire, T-Mobile: Your Tuesday Briefing

The New York Times

February 11, 2020 Tuesday 08:50 EST

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Section: BRIEFING

Length: 1384 words

Byline: Chris Stanford

Highlight: Here's what you need to know.

Body

(Want to get this briefing by email? Here's the sign-up.)

Good morning.

We're covering the latest updates on the coronavirus outbreak, today's New Hampshire primary, and the growing number of brain injuries found to have been suffered by U.S. troops last month in Iranian missile strikes.

Coronavirus slows China's economy

As it works to contain the spread of a dangerous epidemic, one of the world's largest economies has been largely idle, threatening a sharp reduction in the production of everything from cars to smartphones.

Chinese health officials said today that the death toll from the new coronavirus had passed 1,000. In Hong Kong, two people living on different floors of an apartment building were found to be infected, raising fears about how the virus can spread. Here are the latest updates and maps of where the virus has reached.

Quotable: "Let's not shake hands in this special time," said China's leader, Xi Jinping, as he toured Beijing on Monday after facing criticism for his relatively low profile.

Another angle: During an Ebola outbreak in 2014, Donald Trump, then a private citizen, called for measures like canceling flights and forcing quarantines. Public health experts are now concerned that a president who has spoken openly about his phobia of germs might overreact to the coronavirus crisis.

Perspective: In an opinion piece for The Times, an epidemiologist discusses what is known, and not known, about the virus.

What's at stake in New Hampshire

Three precincts voted just after midnight in the state's primaries, kicking off a day that could help narrow down a Democratic presidential field that has remained unchanged since last week's troubled Iowa caucuses. Here's what to expect.

Only 24 delegates are up for grabs today, but New Hampshire offers the potential for momentum going into the Nevada caucuses next week and the South Carolina primary on Feb. 29.

The details: Most polls close at 7 p.m. Eastern. We'll have live results for the **Democratic** race and the Republican **primary**, which President Trump is expected to win handily.

Coronavirus, New Hampshire, T-Mobile: Your Tuesday Briefing

Closer look: Senator Elizabeth Warren has largely avoided engaging her opponents, even as the **Democratic** contest has gotten fiercer. Before a **primary** that she had hoped to win (and probably won't, according to polls), we examined the state of her campaign.

"The Daily": Today's episode discusses how the uncertain results from Iowa have affected the campaign in New Hampshire.

What's in President Trump's budget

The record \$4.8 trillion budget proposal that was released on Monday would spend more on restricting immigration and bolstering the U.S. nuclear arsenal and less on safety net programs and **student loan** initiatives.

Here's a look at what's in the plan. Like most administrations' budget proposals, it's unlikely to be approved in its entirety by Congress.

Closer look: Mr. Trump's budget assumes significantly faster U.S. economic growth than most analysts predict. His last budget predicted that the economy would grow 3.2 percent in 2019; actual growth was 2.3 percent, according to the Commerce Department.

If you have 6 minutes, this is worth it

Rescuing a California community's voice

At the beginning of the year, California's oldest weekly, The Mountain Messenger, looked like it would become the latest American newspaper to go out of business and turn its rural hometown, Downieville, into a "news desert."

In stepped Carl Butz, above, a 71-year-old retiree, who bought the paper to save what he said was "something we need in order to know ourselves."

Here's what else is happening

T-Mobile-Sprint merger: A judge today ruled in favor of the deal, which would combine the nation's third- and fourth-largest wireless carriers and further concentrate corporate ownership of technology.

Indictment in Equifax hack: The Justice Department charged four members of China's military with the 2017 breach at the credit reporting agency, which exposed the personal data of about 145 million Americans.

More brain injuries: The Defense Department has again raised the number of U.S. service members it says suffered traumatic brain injuries from Iranian airstrikes last month. Of the 109 troops with diagnosed injuries, 76 have returned to duty, officials said.

Surprise in Germany: Annegret Kramp-Karrenbauer, the chosen successor of Chancellor Angela Merkel, said she would step aside after party representatives in one German state defied her by voting with the far right. Her decision leaves the race to replace Ms. Merkel wide open.

Snapshot: Above, Dane Jackson, a 26-year-old national kayaking champion from Tennessee, who recently traveled over Salto del Maule, a 134-foot waterfall in central Chile. "It's just one of the most photogenic waterfalls I've ever seen," he said. "And it's also quite tall." Watch video from his descent.

Late-night comedy: "That's right, 'Parasite' is the first non-English speaking film to win best picture, though some Arnold Schwarzenegger movies come close," Jimmy Fallon said.

What we're reading: "The 10,000-Year Clock Is a Waste of Time," in Wired. Adam Pasick of the Briefings team writes: "The piece takes a look at the complicated device being built in Texas — mind-boggling not just because of its ambition, but as an emblem of the hubris of tech megabillionaires."

Now, a break from the news

Coronavirus, New Hampshire, T-Mobile: Your Tuesday Briefing

Cook: These spicy sesame noodles with peanuts can take a choice of proteins: ground chicken, pork or beef, plant-based crumbles or tofu. (Our [Five Weeknight Dishes](#) newsletter has more recommendations.)

Watch: Our critics discussed what the Oscars success for the South Korean movie “Parasite” could mean for the film industry.

Listen: Sharon Van Etten’s new single, “Beaten Down,” is all deliberation and determination, our critic writes, hovering between dirge and homily. Here are other recent releases we recommend.

Smarter Living: Better coffee at home is within reach. These five cheap(ish) things might help.

And now for the Back Story on ...

The New Hampshire primary

Members of our politics team have been in New Hampshire for weeks. We talked to one, Matt Stevens, about the mood there ahead of today’s events.

We just came off a messy run in Iowa. Are there fears that New Hampshire’s vote could also go awry?

Short answer: Yes, absolutely. There are many, many things that could go wrong. But as some of our colleagues have pointed out, New Hampshire has a history of running elections smoothly, whereas the Iowa caucuses have encountered problems in three consecutive cycles.

How are New Hampshire voters feeling about their primary system?

Perhaps because of those divergent histories, the voters I have talked to here have both expressed confidence in their system and given the side-eye to Iowa. Caucuses and primaries are very different, and the folks here are pretty darn sure their system is best.

Last week, as the mess was unfolding in Iowa, a woman in Hampton, N.H., told me: “This is a national level campaign. You have all these years to get it straight and this is the embarrassment you’re causing the party?”

How is your team managing back-to-back votes?

Some of us went to Iowa; most of the rest of us came to New Hampshire. And a handful did both. (Bless them!) The consensus among the people who have been to both places seems to be that the workroom at our hotel here in Manchester has windows, and is therefore far superior to the one in Des Moines, but the food options around our New Hampshire hotel are way more limited. I, personally, have already been to the Olive Garden next door twice.

That’s it for this briefing. See you next time.

— Chris

Thank you

Mark Josephson and Kathleen Massara provided the break from the news. Remy Tumin, who writes our Evening Briefing, wrote today’s Back Story. You can reach the team at briefing@nytimes.com.

P.S.

We’re listening to “The Daily.” Today’s episode is about the New Hampshire primary.

Here’s today’s Mini Crossword, and a clue: Partner of peanut butter (five letters). You can find all our puzzles [here](#).

If you’re looking for a last-minute Valentine’s Day gift, The Times’s online store has a collection of items related to our Modern Love column.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Getty Images/Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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The Winners and Losers From T-Mobile and Sprint's Merger Saga

The New York Times

February 11, 2020 Tuesday 10:06 EST

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Section: BUSINESS; dealbook

Length: 1508 words

Highlight: A federal judge is expected to approve the \$26 billion deal imminently. The bankers will be happy; California and New York officials, not so much.

Body

Voting in New Hampshire's ***Democratic primary*** has begun, and Mike Bloomberg has won over one small town. Meanwhile, Pete Buttigieg is gaining support from business moguls. (Want this in your inbox each morning? Sign up here.)

T-Mobile and Sprint finally make a connection

A federal judge is expected to approve T-Mobile's \$26 billion takeover of Sprint, perhaps even today, bringing a yearslong merger campaign to an end.

The winners:

SoftBank, which pumped billions of dollars into Sprint over nearly a decade. The T-Mobile deal turned out to be its best hope of rescuing an expensive bad bet.

Bankers from nearly a dozen firms working on the transaction. Deep breath: PJT Partners, Deutsche Bank, Evercore, Goldman Sachs and Morgan Stanley for T-Mobile; Raine, Centerview, Citigroup and JPMorgan Chase for Sprint; and Mizuho and SMBC Nikko for SoftBank. They could split fees of at least \$155 million, according to the consultancy Freeman & Company.

Makan Delrahim, the Justice Department's antitrust chief, who helped save the deal from regulatory limbo — then complained about states' efforts to unwind his work.

The losers:

State attorneys general, who sought to block the deal despite its approval by the Trump administration, including those of California and New York. They argued that it would lead to a loss of competition and higher prices for consumers.

The great unknown:

Consumers, who may not feel the effects of the deal for years, for good or bad.

Trump's budget sends a message

The White House's \$4.8 trillion budget proposal features "a familiar list of deep cuts to ***student loan*** assistance, affordable housing efforts, food stamps and Medicaid," the NYT reports. It lifts spending on defense and the border wall, and extends individual tax cuts set to expire in 2025.

The Winners and Losers From T-Mobile and Sprint's Merger Saga

It won't happen. Or, at least, it's unlikely to be approved by Congress in its entirety. Instead, the budget largely serves to signal the administration's priorities ahead of its re-election campaign.

It relies on rosy economic assumptions to make the numbers work, with punchy forecasts for G.D.P. growth and government borrowing costs leading to a steady reduction in the deficit and, eventually, a balanced budget by 2035. It's common practice, of course, for administrations to publish overly optimistic forecasts alongside its policy proposals.

On the financial front, the budget cuts support for [student-loan](#) relief programs and reduces funding for the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau. There's a small increase for the Treasury Department's Financial Crimes Enforcement Network, intended to help combat "emerging virtual currency and cybercrime threats."

The fine print: Politico runs down the quirkier aspects of the budget, including the reveal of a new paint job for Air Force One, flagged by the president with much fanfare over the summer.

Amazon looks to question Trump in cloud-computing case

The tech giant isn't letting up in its legal battle over the Pentagon's cloud-computing contract, which the Trump administration awarded to Microsoft last year. Amazon wants President Trump and Defense Secretary Mark Esper to give depositions, reports Karen Weise of the NYT.

A recap: Amazon has argued that Mr. Trump let personal animus against its founder Jeff Bezos — driven largely by coverage from the WaPo, which Mr. Bezos owns — affect an important decision for American national security.

Amazon cited tweets and other public comments by Mr. Trump in its court filing seeking to depose the president. What it doesn't do is provide direct evidence that Mr. Trump directed Mr. Esper to blackball Amazon.

Both Microsoft and the Pentagon oppose the deposition request. The Defense Department called it "unnecessary, burdensome and merely seeks to delay getting this important technology into the hands of our warfighters."

Reality check: Courts don't automatically grant these kinds of requests, the WSJ notes — and deposing cabinet-level officials is relatively rare.

That huge Slack deal? It wasn't what you thought.

Shares in Slack jumped yesterday after Business Insider reported that IBM would use the workplace messaging app for all its employees — and then promptly gave up the gains after Slack clarified what the deal meant.

Here's what happened:

The big news was that all of IBM's 350,000 employees would use the messaging app, a victory for Slack over rivals like Microsoft's Teams service.

Business Insider erroneously reported that the deal would make IBM Slack's biggest customer, sending the messaging company's shares up as much as 15 percent.

Some investors even speculated that IBM would try to buy Slack outright.

Slack then published a regulatory filing clarifying that IBM was already its biggest customer, and that the new deal wouldn't meaningfully change its financial guidance.

Shares in Slack fell 7 percent in after-hours trading.

U.S. blames the Chinese military for Equifax breach

If you thought relations between Washington and Beijing had thawed after the recent trade deal breakthrough, think again.

The Winners and Losers From T-Mobile and Sprint's Merger Saga

Federal prosecutors yesterday charged four Chinese military officers with hacking into Equifax in 2017, stealing trade secrets and the personal data of 145 million Americans. It was only the second time that the Justice Department had indicted the Chinese military on suspicions of hacking.

The charges show that the Trump administration remains worried about a Chinese threat to U.S. national security:

Attorney General Bill Barr said yesterday that China could use the stolen personal information and combine it with A.I. to target American officials.

He pointed to previous cyberattacks that he said had been orchestrated by Beijing, including those affecting the health insurer Anthem and the hotel chain Marriott.

Last week, Mr. Barr suggested that the U.S. government finance takeovers of European telecoms to counter the rise of the Chinese tech firm Huawei.

Expect the Trump administration to keep up the carrot-and-stick approach with Beijing as it negotiates the second phase of a trade deal.

Brandless's failure isn't the end of the world for SoftBank

The direct-to-consumer retailer said yesterday that it was shutting down, a first for a portfolio company in SoftBank's \$100 billion Vision Fund. But it's not exactly a huge disaster for Masa Son's tech conglomerate.

SoftBank had invested \$100 million in Brandless, which sold inexpensive household and food items, such as "dog shampoo and conditioner," for \$3 each. Last year, SoftBank executives reportedly pushed the company to turn a profit. (Imagine that.)

Brandless blamed a "fiercely competitive" retail market for its collapse. But it had also gone through a carousel of management changes and tried raising prices for some products. And it had tried pivoting to trendier things like CBD oil.

It's the latest bit of bad news for SoftBank, after other Vision Fund portfolio companies — like the robot pizza company Zume — announced layoffs. News reports have also suggested that it was struggling to raise money for a second Vision Fund.

Andrew's take: The headlines suggest that Brandless is another example of trouble for SoftBank. In truth, Brandless is basically lint in Vision Fund's wallet pocket.

More trouble in direct-to-consumer start-up land: Edgewell abandoned its \$1.4 billion deal to buy shaving company Harry's, which has promised to sue. Get the popcorn out.

The speed read

Deals

Xerox raised its hostile takeover bid for HP to about \$35 billion and plans to take its offer directly to the computer maker's shareholders. (Reuters)

Simon Property Group agreed to buy 80 percent of Taubman Centers in a deal that values the mall operator at \$3.6 billion. (CNBC)

The Agnelli family of Italy reportedly plans to use the cash it will receive from the sale of its PartnerRe insurance business to buy more companies. (Reuters)

Politics and policy

The investor Tom Barrack, an ally of President Trump, says that a Democratic candidate could win in November — and cited Joe Biden and Mike Bloomberg as major rivals. (CNBC)

The Winners and Losers From T-Mobile and Sprint's Merger Saga

A bill in the House would make plastic container companies pay for the collection of plastic waste, though it has little hope of becoming law. (NYT)

Tech

A California judge refused to temporarily block a new state law that tightens legal protections for gig-economy workers like Uber drivers. (NYT)

Mobile World Congress, which is held in Barcelona, and is the world's biggest smartphone trade show, will look a lot emptier this year because of the coronavirus outbreak. (FT)

Best of the rest

Meet the former reality TV producer who has become a top adviser to Saudi Arabia's \$300 billion sovereign wealth fund. (WSJ)

Bill and Melinda Gates said their foundation's focus this year would be on climate change and gender equality. (Fortune)

We'd love your feedback. Please email thoughts and suggestions to business@nytimes.com.

PHOTO: Marcelo Claure, Sprint's executive chairman, and John Legere, T-Mobile's C.E.O., in 2018. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Brendan McDermid/Reuters FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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Democrats Plan to Highlight Health Care and Jobs Over Investigating Trump

The New York Times

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Byline: Sheryl Gay Stolberg

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Top Democrats say that oversight of the president will continue, and they plan in particular to press Attorney General William P. Barr over what they say are Mr. Trump's efforts to compromise the independence of the Justice Department. But for now, at least, they have shelved the idea of subpoenaing Mr. Trump's former national security adviser, who was a central figure in the president's impeachment trial.

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"Health care, health care, health care," the speaker said, describing the party's message during a recent closed-door meeting, according to a person in the room who insisted on anonymity to reveal private conversations. She said they had to be laser-focused on getting re-elected: "When you make a decision to win, then you have to make every decision in favor of winning."

The move is particularly striking given how aggressively Mr. Trump, emboldened by his acquittal by the Senate, has moved to take revenge on his perceived enemies and push the limits of his power. But just as they did before the 2018 midterm elections, Democrats appear to have decided that focusing on Mr. Trump's near-daily stream of norm-shattering words and deeds only elevates him, while alienating the swing voters they need to maintain their hold on the House and have a chance at winning the Senate.

Given that the House has already taken the most powerful step a Congress can take to hold a chief executive accountable — impeachment — Democrats reason that there is little more they can do. Some say Mr. Trump brings enough attention to his conduct all on his own.

"His erratic, corrupt, unconstitutional behavior speaks for itself at this point," Representative Hakeem Jeffries of New York, the chairman of the House Democratic Caucus, said in an interview Friday.

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Democrats Plan to Highlight Health Care and Jobs Over Investigating Trump

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PHOTO: Speaker Nancy Pelosi is urging her rank and file members to shift their focus to kitchen-table issues. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Load-Date: February 17, 2020

Democrats, Rebuffed on Impeachment, Pivot to Health Care and Jobs

The New York Times

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<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/16/us/politics/democrats-trump-election.html>

Graphic

PHOTO: Speaker Nancy Pelosi is urging her rank and file members to shift their focus to kitchen-table issues. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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Michael Bloomberg Leans Left With Plan to Rein In Wall St.

The New York Times

February 18, 2020 Tuesday 00:21 EST

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Byline: Andrew Ross Sorkin, Michael J. de la Merced, Emily Flitter and Stacy Cowley

Highlight: Some of the billionaire's proposals wouldn't be out of place for his more progressive presidential rivals.

Body

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Michael R. Bloomberg on Tuesday offered his proposals for regulating Wall Street, where he made his billions, promising a return of Obama-era oversight if elected president and invoking the name of one of his rivals, Senator Elizabeth Warren, in an attempt to connect with the Democratic Party's progressive wing.

As he proposed reversing some of President Trump's deregulation of the finance industry, Mr. Bloomberg said he would rework the Volcker Rule, one of the most controversial regulations set up in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis. In the past, he has criticized the way the rule put limitations on how banks can invest their money.

Mr. Bloomberg, who will join the ***Democratic primary*** debate stage for the first time on Wednesday, also said he would increase the capital requirements at large financial institutions to head off the need for another taxpayer bailout, phase in a 0.1 percent tax on transactions like stock sales and curb overdraft fees that hit the financially vulnerable.

Perhaps the most surprising proposal, given Mr. Bloomberg's close personal ties to business titans, is a plan for the Justice Department to create a team to fight corporate crime by "encouraging prosecutors to pursue individuals, not only corporations, for infractions."

"The financial system isn't working the way it should for most Americans," Mr. Bloomberg said in a statement. "The stock market is at an all-time high, but almost all of the gains are going to a small number of people."

Some of the proposals offered by Mr. Bloomberg — a former Salomon Brothers trader whose estimated \$63 billion fortune came from selling data to Wall Street — suggest how far to the left the moderate Democratic presidential hopefuls have felt they need to tack.

He shares his transaction tax proposal with three fellow candidates, Ms. Warren, Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont and Pete Buttigieg, the former mayor of South Bend, Ind. Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, an outspoken progressive from New York, last year co-sponsored a bill that called for such a tax.

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Mr. Bloomberg and his strategists have used various tactics to stress the parts of his biography that help soften his image. His ads describe his middle-class upbringing in Boston and highlight his philanthropic giving, for instance.

Michael Bloomberg Leans Left With Plan to Rein In Wall St.

He has also started talking more often about his plan to raise \$5 trillion in new tax revenue from high earners and corporations. His message to voters as he campaigns across the country has been, in essence, that the government should raise taxes on people like him because they can afford it.

The surcharge on trading, meant to raise money for social programs like expanded health care coverage, has been roundly criticized by the sort of pro-business groups that Mr. Bloomberg had long been sympathetic to, like the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

The group immediately criticized the proposal. A transaction tax “hits Main Street, not Wall Street,” said Tom Quaadman, a chamber executive. He added that it would “increase the cost of capital, decrease investment, harm businesses and hurt Americans who are saving and investing.”

Rachel Nagler, a Bloomberg campaign spokeswoman, argued that such a tax “is an effective and relatively painless way to raise more tax revenue from the wealthy,” citing its use in Britain and Hong Kong. A 2018 analysis by Congress’s Joint Committee on Taxation estimated that a tax similar to the one proposed by Mr. Bloomberg would raise \$777 billion over 10 years.

Mr. Bloomberg’s plan embraces many of the regulatory changes made in the years after the financial crisis, even though he has often argued that rules aimed at reforming Wall Street are bad for the economy. In 2010, Mr. Bloomberg urged Democratic lawmakers not to get too tough on the finance industry, and he criticized the Volcker Rule, which is meant to reduce speculative trading by banks. He called the proposed restrictions “shortsighted,” with the potential to reduce middle-class jobs.

On Tuesday, Mr. Bloomberg said he would toughen the Volcker Rule — although his idea is more like a major rewrite. It would assume that banks were engaging in safe practices as long as they didn’t gain or lose too much on a deal. Rather than getting in traders’ heads about what constitutes a speculative trade, he proposes taxing big gains and losses, reasoning that volatile outcomes beyond a certain threshold must be the result of overly speculative activity.

Ms. Nagler rejected the notion that Mr. Bloomberg was flip-flopping.

“Context matters,” she said. When the Volcker Rule was introduced, Mr. Bloomberg “was skeptical of regulators’ ability to divine traders’ intent,” which was how the law required regulators to judge investments, she added. Mr. Bloomberg’s new plan would focus “on the outcome of speculative trading — big gains and losses — rather than on traders’ intent.”

Isaac Boltansky, director of policy research at Compass Point Research and Trading, said Mr. Bloomberg was engaging in “relatively tough talk” on banks and taking positions that were “more politically progressive than originally expected.”

“But we caution that talking about altering the Volcker Rule is exponentially simpler than actually revising the rule,” Mr. Boltansky wrote in a note to investors.

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Some of his proposals were thin on specifics. For example, the consumer bureau already oversees auto loans made by banks but not by car dealers — who aren’t specifically mentioned in Mr. Bloomberg’s plan. A person familiar with the proposal said that the proposal was indeed meant to include dealers and that they had been left out unintentionally.

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Jeremy Peters contributed reporting.

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Bloomberg Tilts To Left in Plan To Curb Wall St.

The New York Times

February 19, 2020 Wednesday, Late Edition - Final

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Section: Section B; Column 0; Business/Financial Desk; Pg. 1

Length: 1498 words

Byline: By Andrew Ross Sorkin, Michael J. de la Merced, Emily Flitter and Stacy Cowley

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<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/18/business/dealbook/michael-bloomberg-wall-street.html>

Graphic

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Where's Joe Biden's Universal Child Care Plan?

The New York Times

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Section: OPINION

Length: 1232 words

Byline: Bryce Covert

Highlight: The issue is getting more attention than it has in decades, except from the Democratic front-runner.

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She’s right — particularly about child care. Ms. Warren led the pack by putting out a groundbreaking proposal for public child care last February; Bernie Sanders and Pete Buttigieg eventually followed suit. Three candidates with universal child care plans may not sound like all that much — but consider that before this race, no major candidate running for the White House had mentioned universal child care since the 1970s. That three top-tier contenders had competing plans demonstrates that this issue is an increasingly salient one for American voters. Child care is also an increasingly dire crisis facing the country — one that demands an equally aggressive response.

Of course, two of those contenders have left the race; the *Democratic primary* has essentially narrowed to a two-man contest between Mr. Sanders and Joe Biden. But where is Mr. Biden’s plan for how to address the broken child care system American families face? Without one, he risks being out of step with this historic moment.

It wasn’t so long ago that the notion of not just universal child care but publicly run universal child care was downright mainstream. The United States has had such a system in place before: During World War II, as men were shipped off to fight abroad and women were called to work in factories, President Franklin Roosevelt funneled funding from a wartime infrastructure bill to creating and running a network of child care centers. They cost about \$10 a day in today’s dollars for 12 hours of care year round, and the quality was high. They attracted qualified, trained teachers and had low child-to-teacher ratios.

Mothers loved them. In exit interviews in California, women gave them a nearly 100 percent satisfaction rating. They also improved children’s education, employment and earnings later in life, while increasing how much their mothers were able to work. But while child advocates lobbied to keep the program in place after the war, President Harry Truman shut it down as soon as Japan surrendered.

The idea of enacting a federally funded universal child care system didn’t disappear, however, and it nearly became a fixture of American life in the 1970s. As more women entered the paid work force, and research started to coalesce around the importance of early education for children’s development, Congress drafted legislation in the late 1960s that would create a federally funded but locally administered network of child care centers.

Where's Joe Biden's Universal Child Care Plan?

It was a bipartisan initiative, one that, at first, President Richard Nixon seemed to support. He himself had called for “a national commitment to providing all American children an opportunity for healthful and stimulating development during the first five years of life.” The legislation passed in 1971.

Then Nixon did a 180 at the behest of his special assistant Pat Buchanan, who told me in 2014, “My view back then was that it was philosophically out of the question for the Nixon administration to support a major new welfare program.” Nixon issued a scathing veto that called it “family-weakening” and “truly a long leap into the dark for the United States government,” comparing it to communism.

The toxicity of his words infected the debate over child care for decades — and helped bury the history of public child care in America. The 1980s and ’90s were consumed with stories of satanic rituals at day cares and studies claiming that child care would ruin children. Even as recently as 2016, the Republican Party platform initially opposed universal preschool because it “inserts the state in the family relationship in the very early stages of a child’s life.”

But it’s an issue that policymakers can no longer afford to ignore. The cost of child care has increased nearly exponentially in recent decades, far outpacing inflation. Now it consumes more of the average family’s budget than health care, transportation or food, and in most places it rivals housing, too. Full-time center care often costs more than tuition and fees for public college. That money still doesn’t buy quality, though. A 2006 survey found that fewer than 10 percent of American day care centers provided high-quality care. And that’s for the families lucky enough to get their child a spot: More than half of Americans live in a neighborhood without enough child care seats for all the children who need them.

Even the Democratic presidential hopefuls who didn’t release plans as detailed and bold as Ms. Warren’s or Mr. Sanders’s talked about child care. Amy Klobuchar sponsored the Child Care for Working Families Act, a Democratic proposal in Congress with similar aims of universal coverage. Mike Bloomberg’s early-education plan supported higher-quality and lower-cost child care and universal preschool. Even President Trump has talked about child care, proposing on the campaign trail to increase tax deductions to cover the cost and calling for a one-time \$1 billion investment in his White House budget.

This is a vast, complicated crisis that is dampening our entire economy. It makes sense for presidential hopefuls to put forward ideas that are bold enough to match the stakes.

But so far, although Mr. Biden has supported universal preschool in the past, he has been more or less silent on what parents of younger children should do. And while today he supports an increased child tax credit that can help families cover the cost, he wrote an op-ed article in 1981 arguing that the credit subsidizes the “deterioration of the family” and “encourages a couple” to “evade full responsibility for their children” by helping them put those children in day care. The article argued against any universal government child care assistance because it would go to well-to-do families, but it also repeated language from Republicans who fearmongered about child care.

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Better late than never.

Bryce Covert is a contributor at The Nation and a contributing opinion writer.

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PHOTO: Before this presidential race, no major candidate had mentioned universal child care since the 1970s. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Mark Makela for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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The New York Times

March 7, 2020 Saturday, Late Edition - Final

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Length: 1184 words

Byline: By Bryce Covert

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<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/06/opinion/childcare-biden-sanders-2020.html>

Graphic

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Coronavirus, Mick Mulvaney, Black Hole: Your Weekend Briefing

The New York Times

March 8, 2020 Sunday 06:00 EST

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Section: BRIEFING

Length: 1365 words

Byline: Penn Bullock and Elijah Walker

Highlight: Here's what you need to know about the week's top stories.

Body

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(Want to get this briefing by email? Here's the sign-up.)

Here are the week's top stories, and a look ahead.

1. Our reporters reconstructed the Trump administration's response to the coronavirus, finding "a raging internal debate about how far to go in telling Americans the truth."

Scientists and health officials sounded an early alarm, but President Trump, above at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention in Atlanta on Friday, has played down the risks in an effort to pacify increasing frantic stock markets, while a shortfall of test kits has left the medical system flying blind.

New York declared a state of emergency, and the number of cases in the U.S. passed 400. California is a locus, along with Washington State, and low-income minorities could be particularly vulnerable. Here are live updates.

At the global epicenter, in China, mass quarantines have apparently slowed the spread, but at a steep cost to livelihoods and liberties. In the most sweeping measures outside of China, Italy locked down much of the country's north, its economic engine.

2. Erik Prince, the security contractor close to the Trump administration, worked to recruit former American and British spies for secretive, politically motivated intelligence-gathering operations. Above, Mr. Prince arriving at a gala for young Republicans in New York last year.

The efforts, carried out through the conservative group Project Veritas, targeted Democratic congressional campaigns, labor organizations and other groups considered hostile to the Trump agenda. In one instance, an ex-MI6 officer supervised a 2017 operation against the American Federation of Teachers.

In other Washington news, President Trump removed Mick Mulvaney, his acting White House chief of staff, and replaced him with Representative Mark Meadows, a stalwart conservative ally.

3. A roundup of Saudi royals widened with word that a fourth senior prince had been detained under orders from Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, the kingdom's de facto ruler, above right with one of those targeted, Prince Mohammed bin Nayef, in 2016.

Coronavirus, Mick Mulvaney, Black Hole: Your Weekend Briefing

The extraordinary detentions sent fear through the royal family and created speculation that the young crown prince would soon seek to take formal power from his aging father, King Salman, 84. His ruthlessness is in no doubt after he presided over the murder of the journalist Jamal Khashoggi in 2018.

4. Brian Michelz of Madison, Wis., is buried in debt. Bernie Sanders has offered him an out.

Once apolitical, Mr. Michelz, 29, above with his wife, Sarah, was driven to support Mr. Sanders's presidential campaign by the crush of the Great Recession, of medical bills and of college loans, for which the socialist senator has promised relief.

As the fight for the **Democratic** nomination approaches a critical stage in **primaries** on Tuesday, Mr. Sanders is depending on voters like Mr. Michelz to turn out in larger numbers than they have so far.

And as other Democratic campaigns have dissolved, laid-off staffers are getting alerts on the money-transferring app Venmo that their former colleagues (and rivals) are sending funds to buy them drinks.

5. Along Greece's border with Turkey, vigilantes are mounting patrols against migrants.

Villagers from border towns are forming civilian patrols to round up migrants. Residents of the island of Lesbos have set up roadblocks to stop migrants from reaching refugee camps, like the one above. Others have physically attacked aid workers and journalists, accusing them of helping migrants come to the island.

It's a sharp turn from the 2015 European migrant crisis, when locals helped rescue refugees at sea. But for many Greeks, this crisis feels less spontaneous than manufactured: Turkey has allowed thousands of migrants to cross into Greece as it tries to pressure Europe for help in the conflict in Syria.

And in Canada, we spoke to four women from a variety of faiths who feel discriminated against by a ban in fiercely secular Quebec on public sector employees wearing religious symbols.

6. From concentration camp to quiet ranch house.

The decades-long hunt for collaborators in Nazi war crimes on American soil is nearing its end with the case of a 94-year-old suburbanite.

Friedrich Karl Berger was ordered by a federal judge this week to return to Germany, where he remains a citizen and served as a guard in the Neuengamme concentration camp network during World War II. Above, a former camp in the network near Hamburg.

After the war, Mr. Berger blended into Oak Ridge, Tenn., ingratiating himself with neighbors. Justice Department investigators, who have lodged 133 deportation cases against former Nazi officials since 1979, were led to him by a clue from a sunken ship. His case may be one of the last.

7. Did anyone else hear that?

Astronomers say they have detected the biggest explosion ever documented in the universe — very likely a gigantic outburst of energy from a supermassive black hole, which blew a crater more than a million light-years wide through a galaxy cluster far, far away called Ophiuchus. The explosion is seen above in an image comprising X-ray (pink), radio (blue) and infrared (white) data.

To create a blast that large, one scientist said, the black hole would have had to swallow about 270 million suns' worth of mass.

And undetected software errors in Starliner, a Boeing spacecraft designed to carry NASA astronauts, could have potentially led a December test flight to end in disaster, a review found. The uncrewed flight was to have been the last major milestone before NASA agreed to putting its astronauts aboard the craft, but now another test flight may be needed.

8. Since there's no surfing in Paris, organizers of the 2024 Olympic Games to be held there announced this week that the surfing competition would happen 10,000 miles away, in the village of Teahupo'o, Tahiti, in French Polynesia.

Coronavirus, Mick Mulvaney, Black Hole: Your Weekend Briefing

Teahupo'o, by the way, roughly translates to "wall of skulls." The waves there are iconic and extremely dangerous, offering the ultimate rush or a headfirst trip into sharp coral. Above, the American surfer Conner Coffin risking it last year.

Surfing will have its Olympic debut at this summer's games in Tokyo, on smaller waves that reward acrobatics. By contrast, Tahiti will be more about survival. "It's going to look like a completely different sport," said Keala Kennelly, a surfer known as the queen of the wall of skulls.

9. Want to make money in your sleep?

Hundreds of TikTok users have begun live-streaming themselves overnight, and people are tuning in to watch them snooze. "Overnight my video blew up, and I got over 6,000 new followers," said one streamer.

On the app, viewers can donate digital "coins" that can be cashed out for money. Another streamer said he received about \$10 worth of coins during his first sleep-stream — not riches, exactly, but \$10 more than he'd usually make while asleep.

10. And finally, dig in to The Weekender.

This week we had dinner with Matthew Broderick and Sarah Jessica Parker, above; examined the weird and wonderful video games of Hideo Kojima; and learned how to live in the Stone Age.

For more ideas on what to read, watch and listen to, may we suggest these 11 new books our editors liked, a glance at the latest small-screen recommendations from Watching and our music critics' latest playlist.

Have you been keeping up with the headlines? Test your knowledge with our news quiz. And here's the front page of our Sunday paper, the Sunday Review from Opinion and our crossword puzzles.

Tom Wright-Piersanti contributed to this briefing.

Your Weekend Briefing is published Sundays at 6 a.m. Eastern.

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY T.J. Kirkpatrick for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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On Politics: A Big Day in Michigan

The New York Times

March 10, 2020 Tuesday 07:14 EST

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Section: US; politics

Length: 1269 words

Byline: Giovanni Russonello

Highlight: It may not be Super, but it's a pretty important Tuesday. This is your morning tip sheet.

Body

Good morning and welcome to On Politics, a daily political analysis of the 2020 elections based on reporting by New York Times journalists.

Sign up here to get On Politics in your inbox every weekday.

Where things stand in the race

- The presidential primary race is a game of dominoes, and they may start falling very quickly in favor of Joe Biden.
- Six primaries take place across the country tonight, in the first round of voting since Biden's big victories on Super Tuesday last week. The major contest is in Michigan, where polls suggest Bernie Sanders is in danger of suffering a painful loss. He upset Hillary Clinton in the state four years ago, giving him momentum as the primary moved into the spring.
- A weak finish this year in a comparable two-person race would show that Sanders has lost ground among certain key groups, particularly white voters with college degrees — and that he has failed to pick up much-needed support among black voters, who are likely to break hard for Biden.
- Sanders is aiming his pitch squarely at female voters in a way he rarely has before. He released a reproductive health care plan on Saturday, and as the Rev. Jesse Jackson endorsed Sanders on Sunday, he said the senator had pledged to nominate a black woman to the Supreme Court. Sanders has also begun to level attacks against Biden for his past support of the Hyde Amendment, which bars the use of federal money for most abortions, and Biden's criticism (decades ago) of the Roe v. Wade decision. Sanders tends to perform better with men than women, but his campaign is targeting what it sees as a potential weak spot for Biden, while seeking to appeal to some of Elizabeth Warren's former supporters, who were overwhelmingly women.
- The domino effect from Michigan could be huge: There are contests next week in two of its Midwestern neighbors, Illinois and Ohio, as well as in delegate-rich Florida. But Sanders will have a chance to revive himself when he and Biden face off on Sunday in their first one-on-one debate.
- Another chance: Washington State. It's the second-most-populous state holding its primary today, and is much more favorable territory for Sanders. He won in a landslide there in 2016, when Washington was still a caucus state (historically a favorable format to Sanders). But the race looks much closer this time. The vote will occur under the pall of the coronavirus, which has killed more than a dozen people in the state. Sanders has not visited the state since last month.
- The recent surge of good news for Biden has paved the way for a wide lead in national polls. Both CNN and Quinnipiac University released national surveys on Monday showing Sanders trailing by double digits. The Quinnipiac poll, which had the wider margin, put Biden at 54 percent and Sanders at 35 percent. Sanders leads among liberals and young voters, but

On Politics: A Big Day in Michigan

he picked up hardly any new support among older voters as the field has narrowed. Biden has him beat by more than seven to one among voters 65 and over, according to Quinnipiac.

- In Michigan too, polls paint a disheartening picture for Sanders: A Monmouth University survey out Monday showed him trailing Biden by 15 points among likely voters.
- Just a few weeks ago, Michael Bloomberg got taken to task on national television for forcing female employees to abide by nondisclosure agreements. Now he faces a new controversy involving N.D.A.s, after closing up shop on his campaign and laying off much of its staff. Some former employees, speaking on the condition of anonymity, told our reporter Rebecca Ruiz that they had been promised jobs through the general election, even if Bloomberg dropped out. Now they say they are being told their salaries will stop arriving at the end of March. And technically, they're not allowed to speak out about it.

Photo of the day

Senator Cory Booker of New Jersey appeared with Biden at Berston Field House in Flint, Mich., on Monday afternoon after endorsing the former vice president that morning.

Could Biden hold onto Sanders's working-class base in November?

If Biden coasts to the nomination, he will have a broad base of support to thank. He currently leads in national polls among both black and white voters, women as well as men.

But the party will still have to contend with a stubborn problem: A big portion of the working class feels as if the Democratic Party has abandoned it.

That feeling has led many to support Sanders for president, though it has been simmering since well before he entered the national spotlight in 2016. As Jennifer Medina and Sydney Ember illustrate in a new article, many of Sanders's supporters are drawn to his policies because they say they directly need them: things like **student-loan** forgiveness, "Medicare for all" and a \$15 minimum wage.

"The Sanders campaign has exposed a class divide within the Democratic Party: His promises of a leg up are most alluring to those who need it, and most confounding to those who do not," Jennifer and Sydney write.

The latest Monmouth poll of Michigan has evidence that some of Sanders's voters feel unrepresented by mainstream Democrats: Just 63 percent voted for Clinton in the 2016 general election. That's compared with roughly four-fifths of Biden's voters who did.

Should Biden win the nomination, the difference in November may depend upon whether he can recover some of the working-class voters that Clinton lost to Donald Trump, especially in key Midwestern states like Michigan.

Polls suggest Biden has the potential to do relatively well among working-class white voters against Trump. But in the past, Sanders's base has also proved stubbornly loyal, to both its candidate and his ideas.

Trump's takeover of the Republican apparatus

The president's allies now control much of the apparatus that handles Republican Party voter data and fund-raising, according to a new report from Danny Hakim and Glenn Thrush.

And those Trump allies are using their new power to make money in ways that were never possible in a more transparent, analog era.

The upshot is that it has become harder for Republican candidates to run sophisticated digital campaigns without the support of Trump's associates.

One of their biggest achievements has been founding WinRed, a fund-raising platform to compete with ActBlue, which supports Democratic campaigns.

On Politics: A Big Day in Michigan

"It is completely, thoroughly ironic that Trump, who ran against anything to do with the R.N.C. and the establishment, is the guy who is breathing new life into the party," WinRed's chairman, Henry Barbour, told Danny and Glenn.

How to watch the results tonight

We'll have up-to-the-minute results and reporter analysis as the returns come in tonight from six ***Democratic primaries*** and caucuses. You can follow along at nytimes.com. (There are Republican primaries too, but there is rather less suspense for them.)

Here is what's at stake in each Democratic contest and when polls close — meaning, when final results will start to come in.

- Idaho primary (20 delegates): 10 p.m. Eastern time, except in northern counties closing at 11 p.m.
- Michigan primary (125 delegates): 8 p.m., except in four counties closing at 9 p.m.
- Mississippi primary (36 delegates): 8 p.m.
- Missouri primary (68 delegate): 8 p.m.
- North Dakota caucuses (14 delegates): 10 p.m.
- Washington primary (89 delegates): 11 p.m.

On Politics is also available as a newsletter. Sign up here to get it delivered to your inbox.

Is there anything you think we're missing? Anything you want to see more of? We'd love to hear from you. Email us at onpolitics@nytimes.com.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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This Might Be Joe Biden's Greatest Challenge

The New York Times

March 12, 2020 Thursday 15:00 EST

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Length: 1323 words

Byline: Spencer Bokat-Lindell

Highlight: Beating Bernie Sanders is not the same thing as beating Donald Trump.

Body

Beating Bernie Sanders is not the same thing as beating Donald Trump.

This article is part of the Debatable newsletter. You can sign up here to receive it Tuesdays and Thursdays.

"This is a very dangerous moment for the Democratic Party," Van Jones said on CNN Tuesday. "You now have an insurgency that's about to be defeated. What do you do with the people that you defeat?"

It's a question that looms over the close of every party primary, when warring factions are called upon to unite in the face of a general election, but especially this one: Only about half of Bernie Sanders's supporters in one January poll said they would certainly vote for the Democratic nominee.

So if Joe Biden does win the nomination, as seems likely, what will he need to do to rally the Democratic Party and avoid losing to President Trump?

'Biden is winning the primary but losing his party's future'

The primaries have made clear that Mr. Biden has a problem with younger voters, a key part of the Obama coalition, as Evan Halper and Janet Hook have reported for The Los Angeles Times. "Many young Democrats believe the political and economic system isn't working for them and want candidates who will shake things up, as many polls have shown," they write. So far, Mr. Biden does not appear to be that candidate: On Super Tuesday, he drew just 17 percent of voters under 45, according to exit polls. This week's primaries revealed a similarly stark generational schism, with younger voters overwhelmingly flocking to Mr. Sanders. The journalist Mehdi Hasan tweeted:

Adopting parts of Mr. Sanders's platform would help Mr. Biden with both younger, more left-leaning voters and moderates, Eric Levitz writes at New York magazine. Revising his conservative stance on marijuana is an obvious concession he should make, Mr. Levitz says, since legalization is popular both generally and among key Electoral College constituencies. Other parts of Mr. Sanders's platform with broad support include a wealth tax, worker representation on corporate boards, free public college tuition, and a 15 percent cap on credit-card interest rates.

[Related: "The Green New Deal Is the Answer to Joe Biden's Problems"]

Mr. Biden also needs to adopt a more receptive attitude toward young progressives, according to Mr. Jones. "You've got young people who are graduating with a quarter-million dollars in debt, you've got young people with a lot of pain, and they had a champion" in Mr. Sanders. In contrast, Mr. Biden has said he has "no empathy" for "the younger generation."

This Might Be Joe Biden's Greatest Challenge

"Vice President Biden should have just as much responsibility as the Sanders folks are asked to have around bringing the party together and really being unified," María Urbina, the political director of the liberal political organization Indivisible, said on MSNBC. "And in order to do that, there has to be a little more digging and listening" to the party's left wing. To some degree, Michelle Cottle writes in The Times, Mr. Biden is showing signs of doing so.

Biden needs to say now who'll be in his White House'

Mr. Biden needs to think carefully about his vice-presidential pick, says the Times columnist Frank Bruni. For one thing, he's 77 years old, and would be 78 upon inauguration, so voters may care even more than usual about the other name on the ticket. But also, "Biden's message is competence, experience and normalcy," Mr. Bruni writes. "The Democratic vice-presidential nominee must reflect that. If that nominee is a woman, a person of color or both, all the better."

Mr. Biden should also announce picks for his cabinet, Will Bunch argues at The Philadelphia Inquirer. Suspicion already abounds among young progressives that he might fill his administration with "Wall Street hacks." The solution, Mr. Bunch says, is to announce a team that signals "a better normal" (with Gov. Jay Inslee in charge of climate policy or the Environmental Protection Agency, for example). "The emphasis ought to be not just on competence — reminding voters that the grown-ups will be in charge after four years of Trump — but also to show young people that even if Biden isn't a card-carrying leftist, his presidency would still be the most progressive one in modern U.S. history," Mr. Bunch writes.

It may not matter how much enthusiasm Biden generates'

Mr. Biden's lack of appeal among young progressives won't matter in the general election, writes Jon Healey, the deputy editorial page editor at The Los Angeles Times. He argues that's because many such voters sat out the 2016 election for fear that Hillary Clinton and Mr. Trump were "two sides of the same coin." But three years into this administration, "no one can reasonably see even as solidly establishment a figure as Biden as interchangeable with Trump," Mr. Healey writes.

Nor is Biden as uniquely disliked as Hillary Clinton was, according to Ann Coulter. "After slaughtering Hillary in Michigan four years ago, Bernie was blown away by Biden last night," she said. "Conclusion: In 2016, Trump got to run against a massively unpopular candidate." The writer Gary Legum tweeted:

[Related: "Bernie's Whole Campaign Was Based on a Misreading of the 2016 Election"]

Biden doesn't have to be a spectacular candidate to beat Trump in November, Tim Alberta contends in Politico. The president won the Electoral College in 2016 by a minute margin of only 77,744 votes across three states (Michigan, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania). In the Michigan **primary** on Tuesday, Mr. Biden showed that he could jolt **Democratic** turnout and net more votes in key demographic groups than Mrs. Clinton did in 2016. If both things happen again in November, "the president can kiss Michigan's 16 electoral votes goodbye — and with them, more than likely, the electoral votes of Wisconsin and Pennsylvania," Mr. Alberta says.

Still, Mr. Biden's lack of appeal among young voters will be a problem even if he becomes president, Malaika Jabali writes at The Guardian. Millennials and Generation Z members can continue to expect "crushing **student loan** debt, financial insecurity and a weakened social safety net, whether Trump or Biden is in office," she says. "Even if Biden temporarily pulls these groups together on a single day in November, the inability of party leaders to express commitment to the policies the country actually cares about will continue to divide the country."

Do you have a point of view we missed? Email us at debatable@nytimes.com. Please note your name, age and location in your response, which may be included in the next newsletter.

MORE PERSPECTIVES ON A BIDEN NOMINATION

"This Is Not the Moment for Progressives to Despair" [The New York Times]

"Democrats Worry Biden Camp Is Unprepared for Coming Disinformation Onslaught" [The Daily Beast]

"Joe Biden, Not Bernie Sanders, Is the True Scandinavian" [The New York Times]

"Bernie Sanders Has Already Won the **Democratic Primary**" [The New York Times]

This Might Be Joe Biden's Greatest Challenge

“Biden’s Best Bleeping Week” [The New York Times]

WHAT YOU'RE SAYING

Here's what readers had to say about the last debate: How bad could the economy get?

Alejandro from California (via email): “The less fortunate tend to use more public transportation than the wealthier.” Free public transportation, he says, would save money for those most in need, and at the same time, reduce carbon dioxide emissions as well as reduce traffic and “point the way toward a more efficient system.”

Kurt from Uruguay (via email): “A point of view missed? Millennials don't have any money, so the stock market tanking 1,800 points yesterday — or whatever — is irrelevant. I'm old. Relatively speaking. And I follow the market. So, I made enough money yesterday shorting the Dow Jones Industrial Average to spend the next six months in Paris. Nasty, right?”

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Illustration by Nicholas Konrad; photographs by Doug Mills/The New York Times, Hannah Yoon and Hilary Swift for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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Biden vs. Sanders, Issue by Issue

The New York Times

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Byline: Matt Stevens and Maggie Astor

Highlight: Sunday's debate will be the first one-on-one matchup between Joseph R. Biden Jr. and Bernie Sanders. So, how do they actually compare on policy?

Body

Sunday's debate will be the first one-on-one matchup between Joseph R. Biden Jr. and Bernie Sanders. So, how do they actually compare on policy?

Former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. and Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont will debate one on one for the first time on Sunday, and Mr. Sanders, who is staying in the ***Democratic primary*** race despite a series of defeats, has already telegraphed his strategy.

"Joe, what are you going to do?" Mr. Sanders repeatedly asked at a news conference last week, ticking off a laundry list of issues he plans to press Mr. Biden on, including health care, student debt, climate change, mass incarceration, immigration and wealth inequality.

Mr. Biden, for his part, has criticized Mr. Sanders on gun control and on his signature policy proposal, "Medicare for all."

Here is where the two candidates stand on some of the issues each may raise.

Health care

Biden

One of the biggest distinctions between the candidates is that Mr. Biden does not support a universal government-run health insurance program like "Medicare for all." Instead, he supports maintaining the private insurance system but adding a Medicare-like public option that anyone could sign up for — a proposal that still goes well beyond the Affordable Care Act. He estimates his plan would cost \$750 billion over a decade.

Mr. Biden would also increase tax credits for people to buy insurance through the Affordable Care Act marketplace. His plan doesn't specifically address medical debt.

Sanders

One of the bedrock principles of Mr. Sanders's campaign is that health care is a human right, and he is the torchbearer for Medicare for all. He estimates his plan would cost about \$30 trillion over 10 years and would be paid for by new revenue of about \$17.5 trillion, along with "current federal, state and local government spending."

He also wants to eliminate \$81 billion in medical debt.

Biden vs. Sanders, Issue by Issue

Coronavirus

Biden

The new coronavirus has quickly become the most urgent problem facing the country, and Mr. Biden released a plan on Thursday calling for free testing, “the elimination of all cost barriers to preventive care and treatment for Covid-19,” and emergency paid leave for affected workers.

He also wants to restore a White House office that oversaw responses to global health crises — an office that the Obama administration created and the Trump administration eliminated — and direct the Justice Department to combat price gouging for medical supplies.

Sanders

Mr. Sanders outlined his plan to address the coronavirus in a speech on Thursday. He called for a national state of emergency (which President Trump subsequently declared), emergency funding for paid sick leave, an expansion of community health centers and a mandate that all medications related to coronavirus be sold at cost.

Student debt

Biden

Mr. Biden wants to make two-year community colleges and “other high-quality training programs” debt-free, but would not cancel existing student debt the way Mr. Sanders is proposing. His plan would, however, forgive the remaining balance for people who paid 5 percent of their discretionary income (with the first \$25,000 exempt) toward their loans for 20 years.

Sanders

Mr. Sanders wants to make all public colleges and universities free, cancel all student loan debt — about \$1.6 trillion owed by about 45 million Americans — and cap student loan interest rates at 1.88 percent. He says he would pay for the debt cancellation with a tax on financial transactions like stock trades.

Climate change

Biden

Mr. Biden’s \$1.7 trillion climate plan calls for 100 percent carbon-free energy and net-zero carbon emissions by 2050. It would end fossil fuel subsidies and subsidize clean energy, but envisions a continued role for fossil fuels for some time: It would not ban fracking, for instance. Mr. Biden also supports federal funding for carbon capture and sequestration programs that could, in theory, eventually offset some emissions.

Sanders

Mr. Sanders is a proponent of the Green New Deal, a sweeping resolution that calls for aggressive action to combat climate change, and has modeled his \$16.3 trillion proposal on that plan. He calls for an immediate ban on fracking, for the electricity and transportation sectors to be carbon-free by 2030, and for the United States to end the use of fossil fuels no later than 2050.

Immigration

Biden

Mr. Biden wants to undo the Trump administration’s hard-line immigration policies, reinstate the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program and create a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants.

In contrast to Mr. Sanders, he would not decriminalize unauthorized border crossings, but he is calling for a 100-day moratorium on deportations and says he would deport only people who have committed a serious crime.

Biden vs. Sanders, Issue by Issue

Sanders

Mr. Sanders has called for a moratorium on deportations pending a review of the current immigration system. He also supports the reinstatement and expansion of the DACA program, which protected from deportation people who were brought into the United States as children.

In addition, he has backed the movement to abolish federal agencies like Immigration and Customs Enforcement and Customs and Border Protection.

Mass incarceration

Biden

Criminal justice is a fraught issue for Mr. Biden, who helped pass laws, like the 1994 crime bill, that produced mass incarceration to begin with. He has made a stark reversal on the issue during this campaign, calling for incentives for states to shift from incarceration to crime prevention, an end to mandatory minimum sentences and the death penalty, and decriminalizing marijuana.

In contrast to Mr. Sanders, however, he does not want to legalize marijuana.

Sanders

Mr. Sanders has promised to cut the national prison population in half and end mass incarceration. To do that, he wants to abolish the death penalty, three-strikes laws and mandatory minimum sentences, among other measures.

Gun control

Biden

Mr. Biden supports an assault weapons ban, a voluntary buyback program and a ban on online gun sales, as well as a slew of proposals that are nearly universal among Democratic candidates now, like background checks and red-flag laws. He is also calling for incentives for states to enact gun licensing programs.

Sanders

Mr. Sanders, like Mr. Biden, supports an assault weapons ban, a voluntary buyback program and many other gun restrictions. But much like criminal justice for Mr. Biden, gun control is a difficult area for Mr. Sanders, politically speaking: Earlier in his career, he voted against federal background checks and legal liability for gun manufacturers.

Abortion

Biden

Mr. Biden has a long and complicated record on abortion. In the 1980s, he supported an attempt to let states overturn Roe v. Wade, and he supported the Hyde Amendment — which prevents Medicaid from covering abortion in most circumstances — until just last year.

Today, however, he supports the same basic set of policies every major Democrat in the race did, including legislation to codify Roe v. Wade, repeals of the Hyde Amendment and the global and domestic “gag rules,” and a pledge to nominate only Supreme Court justices who support abortion rights.

Sanders

Mr. Sanders also supports legislation to codify Roe v. Wade, opposes the Hyde Amendment and the global and domestic gag rules, and has promised to nominate only Supreme Court justices who would uphold Roe v. Wade.

Homelessness

Biden vs. Sanders, Issue by Issue

Biden

Mr. Biden is proposing \$640 billion over 10 years for affordable housing, as well as a “bill of rights” that would provide protections against eviction, foreclosure and predatory mortgages. He also wants to create tax credits for renters and first-time homeowners and expand the Section 8 housing voucher program.

Sanders

Mr. Sanders proposes spending \$2.5 trillion to build about 10 million permanently affordable housing units. He also wants to implement a national rent control standard and spend \$70 billion to repair public housing.

Money in politics

Biden

Mr. Biden is calling for a constitutional amendment to make elections completely publicly funded, eliminating all private contributions — a significant step beyond what Mr. Sanders has proposed. In the shorter term, he wants to put new restrictions on super PACs and publicly finance major parties’ national conventions.

Sanders

Like most Democrats, Mr. Sanders wants to overturn Citizens United — the Supreme Court decision that prevents the government from banning political spending by corporations in elections — and then pass a constitutional amendment that makes clear that money is not speech. He also wants to abolish super PACs and has called for a ban on corporate contributions to the Democratic National Convention.

He has criticized Mr. Biden for accepting campaign contributions from billionaires.

Wealth inequality

Biden

Mr. Biden wants to strengthen collective bargaining, hold corporate executives personally liable for anti-union efforts and enforce labor laws more strongly. He is also calling, like many Democrats, for a \$15 minimum wage, and for higher taxes on corporations and wealthy investors.

Sanders

Mr. Sanders has suggested taxing the rich with a wealth tax and progressive estate tax while also enacting a federal jobs guarantee, doubling union membership and taking other steps to bolster the working and middle class. He also wants to break up big banks.

PHOTOS: Climate change, the cost of health care and gun control are just a few of the issues on which Senator Bernie Sanders and former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. have had significant differences. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JOHAN ORDONEZ/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES; MARIO ANZUONI/REUTERS; JOSHUA ROBERTS/REUTERS)

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'Joe, What Are You Going to Do?': Biden vs. Sanders, Issue by Issue

The New York Times

March 15, 2020 Sunday, Late Edition - Final

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Body

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Climate change

Biden

Mr. Biden's \$1.7 trillion climate plan calls for 100 percent carbon-free energy and net-zero carbon emissions by 2050. It would end fossil fuel subsidies and subsidize clean energy, but envisions a continued role for fossil fuels for some time: It would not ban fracking, for instance. Mr. Biden also supports federal funding for carbon capture and sequestration programs that could, in theory, eventually offset some emissions.

Sanders

Mr. Sanders is a proponent of the Green New Deal, a sweeping resolution that calls for aggressive action to combat climate change, and has modeled his \$16.3 trillion proposal on that plan. He calls for an immediate ban on fracking, for the electricity and transportation sectors to be carbon-free by 2030, and for the United States to end the use of fossil fuels no later than 2050.

Immigration

Biden

Mr. Biden wants to undo the Trump administration's hard-line immigration policies, reinstate the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program and create a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants.

In contrast to Mr. Sanders, he would not decriminalize unauthorized border crossings, but he is calling for a 100-day moratorium on deportations and says he would deport only people who have committed a serious crime.

Sanders

'Joe, What Are You Going to Do?': Biden vs. Sanders, Issue by Issue

Mr. Sanders has called for a moratorium on deportations pending a review of the current immigration system. He also supports the reinstatement and expansion of the DACA program, which protected from deportation people who were brought into the United States as children.

In addition, he has backed the movement to abolish federal agencies like Immigration and Customs Enforcement and Customs and Border Protection.

Mass incarceration

Biden

Criminal justice is a fraught issue for Mr. Biden, who helped pass laws, like the 1994 crime bill, that produced mass incarceration to begin with. He has made a stark reversal on the issue during this campaign, calling for incentives for states to shift from incarceration to crime prevention, an end to mandatory minimum sentences and the death penalty, and decriminalizing marijuana.

In contrast to Mr. Sanders, however, he does not want to legalize marijuana.

Sanders

Mr. Sanders has promised to cut the national prison population in half and end mass incarceration. To do that, he wants to abolish the death penalty, three-strikes laws and mandatory minimum sentences, among other measures.

Gun control

Biden

Mr. Biden supports an assault weapons ban, a voluntary buyback program and a ban on online gun sales, as well as a slew of proposals that are nearly universal among Democratic candidates now, like background checks and red-flag laws. He is also calling for incentives for states to enact gun licensing programs.

Sanders

Mr. Sanders, like Mr. Biden, supports an assault weapons ban, a voluntary buyback program and many other gun restrictions. But much like criminal justice for Mr. Biden, gun control is a difficult area for Mr. Sanders, politically speaking: Earlier in his career, he voted against federal background checks and legal liability for gun manufacturers.

Abortion

Biden

Mr. Biden has a long and complicated record on abortion. In the 1980s, he supported an attempt to let states overturn Roe v. Wade, and he supported the Hyde Amendment -- which prevents Medicaid from covering abortion in most circumstances -- until just last year.

Today, however, he supports the same basic set of policies every major Democrat in the race did, including legislation to codify Roe v. Wade, repeals of the Hyde Amendment and the global and domestic "gag rules," and a pledge to nominate only Supreme Court justices who support abortion rights.

Sanders

Mr. Sanders also supports legislation to codify Roe v. Wade, opposes the Hyde Amendment and the global and domestic gag rules, and has promised to nominate only Supreme Court justices who would uphold Roe v. Wade.

Homelessness

Biden

'Joe, What Are You Going to Do?': Biden vs. Sanders, Issue by Issue

Mr. Biden is proposing \$640 billion over 10 years for affordable housing, as well as a "bill of rights" that would provide protections against eviction, foreclosure and predatory mortgages. He also wants to create tax credits for renters and first-time homeowners and expand the Section 8 housing voucher program.

Sanders

Mr. Sanders proposes spending \$2.5 trillion to build about 10 million permanently affordable housing units. He also wants to implement a national rent control standard and spend \$70 billion to repair public housing.

Money in politics

Biden

Mr. Biden is calling for a constitutional amendment to make elections completely publicly funded, eliminating all private contributions -- a significant step beyond what Mr. Sanders has proposed. In the shorter term, he wants to put new restrictions on super PACs and publicly finance major parties' national conventions.

Sanders

Like most Democrats, Mr. Sanders wants to overturn Citizens United -- the Supreme Court decision that prevents the government from banning political spending by corporations in elections -- and then pass a constitutional amendment that makes clear that money is not speech. He also wants to abolish super PACs and has called for a ban on corporate contributions to the Democratic National Convention.

He has criticized Mr. Biden for accepting campaign contributions from billionaires.

Wealth inequality

Biden

Mr. Biden wants to strengthen collective bargaining, hold corporate executives personally liable for anti-union efforts and enforce labor laws more strongly. He is also calling, like many Democrats, for a \$15 minimum wage, and for higher taxes on corporations and wealthy investors.

Sanders

Mr. Sanders has suggested taxing the rich with a wealth tax and progressive estate tax while also enacting a federal jobs guarantee, doubling union membership and taking other steps to bolster the working and middle class. He also wants to break up big banks.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/15/us/politics/joe-biden-bernie-sanders-issues.html>

Graphic

PHOTOS: Climate change, the cost of health care and gun control are just a few of the issues on which Senator Bernie Sanders and former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. have had significant differences. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JOHAN ORDONEZ/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE -- GETTY IMAGES

MARIO ANZUONI/REUTERS

JOSHUA ROBERTS/REUTERS)

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Young Voters Know What They Want. But They Don't See Anyone Offering It.

The New York Times

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Length: 1617 words

Byline: Maggie Astor

Highlight: For the first time, millennials and Generation Z have enough electoral clout to seriously compete with their elders. But many feel more disillusioned than empowered.

Body

For the first time, millennials and Generation Z have enough electoral clout to seriously compete with their elders. But many feel more disillusioned than empowered.

The oldest of them were just out of college on 9/11; the youngest were not yet born. Over the two decades that followed, they all came of age under storm clouds: of war, of recession, of mass shootings, wildfires and now a pandemic.

The result is perhaps the most profound generational gap since the 1960s: between the Generation X, baby boomer and Silent Generation voters who remember one world, and the millennial and Generation Z voters for whom that world never existed.

In November, for the first time, the new generations will have enough electoral clout to seriously compete with the old. But, with Senator Bernie Sanders's campaign barely clinging to life, many feel more disillusioned than empowered.

In the ***Democratic primary*** race, most millennial and Gen Z voters — meaning, roughly, people ages 18 to 39 — have supported Mr. Sanders, of Vermont, or Senator Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts, and few are enthusiastic about former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. On the Republican side, young voters are less likely than older ones to support President Trump, and some conservatives have left the party altogether.

The problem is circular and self-reinforcing. Just when millennial and Gen Z voters have the most power to choose their leaders, many feel no one is speaking to them. So many of them don't vote. So many candidates continue not to speak to them. So they get still more disillusioned.

"I would love to see more emphasis on listening to young people and talking to us instead of at us," said Deana Ayers, 21, a senior at the University of North Texas who voted for Mr. Sanders. "I'm the future of your party. You should be giving me resources and training and listening to the way I want this party to look."

Within the Democratic Party, the generational tension has played out most vividly through the contest between Mr. Biden and Mr. Sanders. But it is fundamentally about young voters' sense that they are living in an entirely different world than their parents, and that politicians — or at least the ones winning elections — aren't acknowledging it.

Millions of millennials, born between 1981 and 1996, cast their first votes for Barack Obama, and members of Generation Z, born after 1996, began entering the electorate as Mr. Obama's term was ending. For them, his administration is a reference point for who is electable and what is achievable.

Young Voters Know What They Want. But They Don't See Anyone Offering It.

"We grew up with a black president who ran on a platform of change," said Michael May, 20, a student at the University of Toronto who voted for Ms. Warren in his home state, California. "We think that more is possible than older generations do."

They also think more is needed — and that, too, is a function of experience.

Older generations "had a lot more economic stability when they were growing up and a lot less of this existential looming threat of the next big political or global crisis," said Lucas Ryan, 23, a student at Washburn University in Kansas who supported Ms. Warren. "It feels like we just never stopped living in some crisis or another."

Those crises, especially the Great Recession, stunted millennials' professional and financial growth in ways that did not resolve after the recession ended. Now, the coronavirus threatens to once again upend any gains they have made.

BreAnna Caslake of Arizona said that at 34, she still owed \$23,000 in ***student loans***, and that she and her husband were struggling to pay their water bill. Tom Kilian, 28, of Jacksonville, Fla., said he and his wife had been delaying having a child because of financial instability, health care costs and climate change. Both he and Ms. Caslake voted for Mr. Sanders.

Ms. Caslake said she was unlikely to vote for Mr. Biden in November. Mr. Kilian said he would, but reluctantly.

"I am very aware of the contempt that conservative Democrats hold my generation in," he said. "And the feeling is definitely mutual."

Millennials and Gen Z lean left, and they largely oppose Mr. Trump: His approval rating in a Gallup poll this month was 36 percent among 18- to 34-year-olds, compared with 44 percent over all.

But many of them also oppose what they see as an outdated Democratic establishment. And they don't necessarily think replacing Mr. Trump will make their lives better.

"Beating Trump is important to me, but that is not the primary issue of this campaign," said Adam Miller, 24, who lives in Chicago and voted for Mr. Sanders. "When I hear Bernie speak about the bold action he wants to take against climate change, I see a future where I can consider starting a family again. When he talks about canceling student debt, medical debt and recognizing health care as a human right, I see a life for myself where I can live without these financial burdens."

Young conservatives, of course, do not want the same policies as young liberals — but many of them express the same disillusionment with their leaders, and the same sense that neither party is addressing their needs.

In particular, young Republicans tend to be more liberal than older ones on issues of gender, sexual orientation, race and multiculturalism.

"The older people in my party are more wedded to preserving culture than preserving liberty," said Natalia Castro, 23, who grew up in rural Florida and now works in Washington. "A lot of older conservatives are a lot slower to advocate for legal immigration because they're concerned with what they see as the American identity, and I think that's problematic."

Climate change is also a big issue for young Republicans, just as it is for young Democrats. They don't necessarily support proposals like the Green New Deal. But they do want the government to take urgent action, and the resistance at the top of their party has been alienating.

Blair Egan, 22, said she had argued over climate change with older Republicans, including her father, who she said "isn't thinking about what the world's going to look like 50 years down the line because it honestly doesn't impact him."

Ms. Egan, a graduate student at the University of Illinois Springfield, also wants the government to address the student debt crisis and the cost of higher education, even if she doesn't support the sweeping loan forgiveness some Democrats have proposed. She recently graduated from Ohio University with \$30,000 in debt despite academic scholarships, and was able to enroll in a master's program only because of a tuition waiver.

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Both she and Ms. Castro are loath to vote for Mr. Trump — who Ms. Egan argued used conservative ideas “as a smoke screen for a message and platform that’s based in anxiety, fear, suspicion and conspiracy” — but are deeply frustrated that their choice is him or a Democrat with whom they disagree on important policies.

Ms. Castro said that she would never vote for a Democrat who supported gun control — her one nonnegotiable issue — but that she wouldn’t vote for Mr. Trump either. She said she wished Representative Justin Amash, the Michigan libertarian who left the Republican Party last year, would run third-party. More likely, she will cast a write-in vote.

Much like young Democrats, many young Republicans say they are frustrated at the degree to which their views isolate them within the party.

“I’ve been called a RINO more times than I can count, which I don’t appreciate, because that’s their way of questioning my integrity and my principles,” Ms. Egan said. “There are plenty of other young Republicans, even if they’re not saying it, who feel alienated or ostracized because they’re being asked to support an ideology they didn’t sign up for.”

Their elders may say much of what is true now was also true decades ago. Boomers grew up with the threat of nuclear extinction and the view that previous generations had made a mess of everything from war and peace to sex. Many young Democrats were alienated from the party establishment and bitter when their favored candidates lost to more conventional ones. Rare is the political moment when the choices of the young trump those of older generations.

Still, in dozens of interviews, young voters on both sides of the aisle said that they felt their generation had been left to clean up after older ones, and that they resented what they saw as a choice by leaders in both parties not to prioritize the issues they cared about.

“I still feel like I relate more to Republicans than Democrats,” said Hannah Daniel, 21, a student at Union University in Tennessee. “But I really do feel a bit politically homeless.”

Their open frustration is really exhaustion, some said: at educating themselves, explaining themselves and still feeling ignored or patronized.

The outright anger comes because they see the stakes as life and death.

“We are quite literally fighting for our lives, for our survival, when it comes to issues of gun safety, when it comes to the climate crisis, when it comes to treating people with dignity and respect,” said Evan Feldberg-Bannatyne, 21, a student at Earlham College in Indiana who supports Mr. Sanders.

“It strikes me as almost tragic that the world has gotten to a place where I feel like my childhood was ended abruptly,” he continued, “and I was forced into a position where I had to fight.”

PHOTOS: Supporters of Senator Bernie Sanders in Ann Arbor, Mich., this month, above. Mr. Sanders is a favorite with young voters, but that hasn’t assured him political success. Below, applause for Senator Elizabeth Warren at a Get Out the Vote rally in Orangeburg, S.C., in February. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY BRITTANY GREESON/GETTY IMAGES; RUTH FREMSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Load-Date: March 23, 2020

Who Will Speak to America's Young People?

The New York Times

March 23, 2020 Monday, Late Edition - Final

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Byline: By Maggie Astor

Body

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The oldest of them were just out of college on 9/11; the youngest were not yet born. Over the two decades that followed, they all came of age under storm clouds: of war, of recession, of mass shootings, wildfires and now a pandemic.

The result is perhaps the most profound generational gap since the 1960s: between the Generation X, baby boomer and Silent Generation voters who remember one world, and the millennial and Generation Z voters for whom that world never existed.

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<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/22/us/politics/young-voters-biden-sanders.html>

Graphic

PHOTOS: Supporters of Senator Bernie Sanders in Ann Arbor, Mich., this month, above. Mr. Sanders is a favorite with young voters, but that hasn't assured him political success. Below, applause for Senator Elizabeth Warren at a Get Out the Vote rally in Orangeburg, S.C., in February. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY BRITTANY GREESON/GETTY IMAGES

RUTH FREMSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Load-Date: March 23, 2020

The Most Powerful People in American Politics Are Over 65

The New York Times

March 27, 2020 Friday 16:03 EST

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Length: 2137 words

Byline: Katie Glueck and Sabrina Tavernise

Highlight: President Trump is 73. His leading rival is 77. And many of their strongest supporters — vulnerable to the coronavirus but enormously influential politically — are eligible for Social Security.

Body

President Trump is 73. His leading rival is 77. And many of their strongest supporters — vulnerable to the coronavirus but enormously influential politically — are eligible for Social Security.

LAS VEGAS — Joseph R. Biden Jr. wasn't accustomed to overflow audiences.

It was a Tuesday evening in February and Mr. Biden had limped into Las Vegas, bruised from his disappointing showings in the Iowa and New Hampshire nominating contests. But at Harbor Palace Seafood Restaurant, a dim sum spot here, a crowd of retirees had packed in to see the 77-year-old former vice president, forming a line that snaked out the door.

"I don't like Warren and I don't like Bernie because they want 'Medicare for all,'" said Alan Davis, 80, dismissing the single-payer health care system promoted by Senator Bernie Sanders, 78. "I'm totally against it. I have a good health plan."

Mr. Biden is "really human. He can feel how an ordinary person feels," said Minerva Honkala, a retired teacher who identified herself as "65-plus."

Mr. Biden's ability to connect with Ms. Honkala's age group — through his résumé and more centrist tendencies, his talk of shared values and his perceived general election promise — helped him regain his footing in Nevada, surge to victory in South Carolina and catapult to his perch as the likely Democratic nominee. It was a rapid reversal of fortunes fueled by overwhelming support first from older black voters and, ultimately, from older voters more broadly, a key part of his larger coalition.

Now that age group is top of mind for many Americans as the nation confronts the staggering costs of the coronavirus crisis. It's a vulnerable population in terms of the outbreak — and has become the focus of the public conversation. Health officials are pleading for young people to stay home to protect their parents and grandparents, while in Texas, Dan Patrick, the Republican lieutenant governor, suggested that older people might be willing to take risks in order to protect the economy, sparking a national controversy.

But politically, the primary results this election season have highlighted the extraordinary, sustained power of older Americans: Exit polls, surveys and interviews with political strategists and demographers show that the concerns and preferences of these voters have played a critical role in defining the trajectory of the Democratic race so far, and are poised to do so in the general election as well.

In Florida, a state with a significant retiree population, Mr. Biden won the ***Democratic primary*** last week by nearly 40 percentage points, a reflection of both his momentum in the race and his strength with constituencies including more moderate Latino voters, African-Americans and college-educated white suburbanites. Among voters aged 65 and over, Mr. Biden's advantage was even

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starker: He was the choice of 70 percent of those voters, while 5 percent said the same of Mr. Sanders, according to a National Election Pool pre-election survey of Florida voters.

“Older voters, after African-American voters, have been the single most important constituency for Joe Biden,” said Celinda Lake, a veteran Democratic pollster and political strategist who works with the Biden team but spoke in her personal capacity.

Younger voters have had “tremendous influence” in shaping the contours of the Democratic debate, pushing boldly progressive ideas on matters like student loan debt reform to the fore, said John Della Volpe, the director of polling at Harvard Kennedy School’s Institute of Politics.

When it comes to electoral outcomes, however, young people are being outflanked: “Rather than increasing their influence in 2020, what’s happened is, their parents and grandparents have increased their influence,” he said.

Those Democratic grandparents, especially, tend to be more moderate, more swayed by traditional government experience and more keenly focused on the tactics they believe are needed to defeat President Trump, strategists and pollsters said.

Mr. Biden, who once faced significant competition for older Americans, emerged in recent weeks as the dominant front-runner among those highly committed Democratic voters who have now helped bring him to the cusp of his party’s presidential nomination.

Older voters have punched above their political weight for years, with turnout among those 65 and older often double, or more, than that of the youngest voters. As Americans age and become more rooted in their communities, political participation tends to rise with their stake in society.

Even in the midterm elections in 2018, hailed as a high-water mark for youth voting because the share of 18- to 24-year-olds nearly doubled from the previous midterm election, the gap with older voters remained about the same. About 66 percent of eligible older people turned out, compared with about 36 percent of 18- to 24-year-olds, said William Frey, a demographer at the Brookings Institution.

“There’s no magic age for becoming a regular voter,” said Carroll Doherty, the director of political research at the Pew Research Center. “But when people move into their 40s, that’s when you see voter turnout grow.”

Certainly, Mr. Sanders, the overwhelming favorite with younger voters, is continuing to campaign. And while the Vermont senator has acknowledged that younger voters did not appear to turn out at the rate he had hoped for, polls and exit surveys show that Mr. Biden faces major challenges with that constituency, a liberal slice of the electorate that, his advisers acknowledge, he will need to energize if he is the nominee.

His standing with older voters is also poised to look different in a general election, where that demographic is again influential — but traditionally has tilted much more conservative.

“The irony is that the pattern is about to reverse in the general,” Ms. Lake said, pointing to Mr. Trump’s overall strength with older voters, even as she added that “Donald Trump is despised by younger voters.”

The virus has thrown politics completely, and unpredictably, up in the air. What will happen in Florida’s retirement communities — some of the most vulnerable in the nation to the virus — if Mr. Trump’s push to reopen the country fast comes to pass? It’s a question with potentially partisan implications.

Older people have long leaned Republican. A majority have chosen Republicans in four of the last seven presidential elections, according to Mr. Frey. In recent years they have also become more demographically distinct from the rest of the country: About 78 percent of eligible senior voters are white, compared with just 67 percent of eligible voters in the country as a whole.

Older voters favored Mr. Trump in 2016. In Pennsylvania, they preferred him by a 10-point margin, Mr. Frey said. In all, 52 percent of older people — and 58 percent of white seniors — voted for Mr. Trump in 2016, Mr. Frey said.

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Seniors also show up, particularly in swing states. In the Midwestern states of Michigan and Wisconsin in 2016, turnout among older voters was higher than the national average for that age group, according to Mr. Frey. In Michigan, for example, 74 percent of older eligible voters turned out, compared with just 38 percent of 18- to 24-year-old eligible voters.

This presents a challenge for Mr. Biden, should he win the nomination: how to get younger voters — who did not prefer him to begin with — to turn out for him, while persuading their older counterparts, who tend to choose Republicans, to vote for him over Mr. Trump.

In recent weeks, Mr. Biden has increased his efforts to appeal to younger and more progressive voters, ramping up outreach and embracing portions of proposals from Mr. Sanders and Senator Elizabeth Warren that take aim at the student debt burden.

But throughout the primary contest, Mr. Biden's most consistent overtures were to older voters, both substantively and through explicit and more subtle messaging.

His inaugural bus trip across Iowa was called the “No Malarkey” tour, a phrase that struck some younger voters as dated, following Mr. Biden’s proactive mention, in an autumn debate, of a record player. It didn’t seem out of step with the older crowds at his events, where Mr. Biden would often aim to connect over what he cast as similar upbringings.

“The way we were raised, all of you were raised, the way I was raised, everything’s about integrity and decency,” he said in Emmetsburg, Iowa, in December.

On the policy front, his experience in foreign affairs and his support for building on the Affordable Care Act while allowing Americans the option of maintaining their private insurance resonated with older voters.

There were “almost pragmatic, urgent worries about health care that people want addressed in the short term,” Stanley B. Greenberg, a longtime Democratic pollster, said when asked about the age gap at play in the primary. Several Sanders priorities, he continued, including “Medicare for all, climate change and student debt — almost all of them are kind of long term.”

Younger voters who were focused on the future, he added, “have more space to deal with it.”

Mr. Biden struggled in Iowa and New Hampshire, when he faced a crowded primary field and significant competition for many demographics. Over the summer and into the fall, older people often voiced concerns about Mr. Biden’s sharpness and stamina. Voters who were close to Mr. Biden’s age were often keenly aware of their own limitations — and some worried about whether he faced the same challenges they did.

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The Most Powerful People in American Politics Are Over 65

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PHOTOS: Former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. at a rally in Las Vegas last month. Voters age 65 and over in Nevada and South Carolina, left, helped Mr. Biden reverse course and catapult into his perch as the most likely unstoppable front-runner to grab the Democratic nomination. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY BRIDGET BENNETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; TRAVIS DOVE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) Though Senator Bernie Sanders, 78, has done well with younger voters, only about 5 percent of Florida voters over age 65 said they preferred him over Mr. Biden, who dominated there. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ALLISON FARRAND FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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Body

President Trump is 73. His leading rival is 77. And many of their strongest supporters -- vulnerable to the coronavirus but enormously influential politically -- are eligible for Social Security.

LAS VEGAS -- Joseph R. Biden Jr. wasn't accustomed to overflow audiences.

It was a Tuesday evening in February and Mr. Biden had limped into Las Vegas, bruised from his disappointing showings in the Iowa and New Hampshire nominating contests. But at Harbor Palace Seafood Restaurant, a dim sum spot here, a crowd of retirees had packed in to see the 77-year-old former vice president, forming a line that snaked out the door.

"I don't like Warren and I don't like Bernie because they want 'Medicare for all,'" said Alan Davis, 80, dismissing the single-payer health care system promoted by Senator Bernie Sanders, 78. "I'm totally against it. I have a good health plan."

Mr. Biden is "really human. He can feel how an ordinary person feels," said Minerva Honkala, a retired teacher who identified herself as "65-plus."

Mr. Biden's ability to connect with Ms. Honkala's age group -- through his résumé and more centrist tendencies, his talk of shared values and his perceived general election promise -- helped him regain his footing in Nevada, surge to victory in South Carolina and catapult to his perch as the likely Democratic nominee. It was a rapid reversal of fortunes fueled by overwhelming support first from older black voters and, ultimately, from older voters more broadly, a key part of his larger coalition.

Now that age group is top of mind for many Americans as the nation confronts the staggering costs of the coronavirus crisis. It's a vulnerable population in terms of the outbreak -- and has become the focus of the public conversation. Health officials are pleading for young people to stay home to protect their parents and grandparents, while in Texas, Dan Patrick, the Republican lieutenant governor, suggested that older people might be willing to take risks in order to protect the economy, sparking a national controversy.

But politically, the primary results this election season have highlighted the extraordinary, sustained power of older Americans: Exit polls, surveys and interviews with political strategists and demographers show that the concerns and preferences of these voters have played a critical role in defining the trajectory of the Democratic race so far, and are poised to do so in the general election as well.

In Florida, a state with a significant retiree population, Mr. Biden won the ***Democratic primary*** last week by nearly 40 percentage points, a reflection of both his momentum in the race and his strength with constituencies including more moderate Latino voters, African-Americans and college-educated white suburbanites. Among voters aged 65 and over, Mr. Biden's advantage was even starker: He was the choice of 70 percent of those voters, while 5 percent said the same of Mr. Sanders, according to a National Election Pool pre-election survey of Florida voters.

Trump: 73. Biden: 77. Youth: Zero.

"Older voters, after African-American voters, have been the single most important constituency for Joe Biden," said Celinda Lake, a veteran Democratic pollster and political strategist who works with the Biden team but spoke in her personal capacity.

Younger voters have had "tremendous influence" in shaping the contours of the Democratic debate, pushing boldly progressive ideas on matters like **student loan** debt reform to the fore, said John Della Volpe, the director of polling at Harvard Kennedy School's Institute of Politics.

When it comes to electoral outcomes, however, young people are being outflanked: "Rather than increasing their influence in 2020, what's happened is, their parents and grandparents have increased their influence," he said.

Those Democratic grandparents, especially, tend to be more moderate, more swayed by traditional government experience and more keenly focused on the tactics they believe are needed to defeat President Trump, strategists and pollsters said.

Mr. Biden, who once faced significant competition for older Americans, emerged in recent weeks as the dominant front-runner among those highly committed Democratic voters who have now helped bring him to the cusp of his party's presidential nomination.

Older voters have punched above their political weight for years, with turnout among those 65 and older often double, or more, than that of the youngest voters. As Americans age and become more rooted in their communities, political participation tends to rise with their stake in society.

Even in the midterm elections in 2018, hailed as a high-water mark for youth voting because the share of 18- to 24-year-olds nearly doubled from the previous midterm election, the gap with older voters remained about the same. About 66 percent of eligible older people turned out, compared with about 36 percent of 18- to 24-year-olds, said William Frey, a demographer at the Brookings Institution.

"There's no magic age for becoming a regular voter," said Carroll Doherty, the director of political research at the Pew Research Center. "But when people move into their 40s, that's when you see voter turnout grow."

Certainly, Mr. Sanders, the overwhelming favorite with younger voters, is continuing to campaign. And while the Vermont senator has acknowledged that younger voters did not appear to turn out at the rate he had hoped for, polls and exit surveys show that Mr. Biden faces major challenges with that constituency, a liberal slice of the electorate that, his advisers acknowledge, he will need to energize if he is the nominee.

His standing with older voters is also poised to look different in a general election, where that demographic is again influential -- but traditionally has tilted much more conservative.

"The irony is that the pattern is about to reverse in the general," Ms. Lake said, pointing to Mr. Trump's overall strength with older voters, even as she added that "Donald Trump is despised by younger voters."

The virus has thrown politics completely, and unpredictably, up in the air. What will happen in Florida's retirement communities -- some of the most vulnerable in the nation to the virus -- if Mr. Trump's push to reopen the country fast comes to pass? It's a question with potentially partisan implications.

Older people have long leaned Republican. A majority have chosen Republicans in four of the last seven presidential elections, according to Mr. Frey. In recent years they have also become more demographically distinct from the rest of the country: About 78 percent of eligible senior voters are white, compared with just 67 percent of eligible voters in the country as a whole.

Older voters favored Mr. Trump in 2016. In Pennsylvania, they preferred him by a 10-point margin, Mr. Frey said. In all, 52 percent of older people -- and 58 percent of white seniors -- voted for Mr. Trump in 2016, Mr. Frey said.

Seniors also show up, particularly in swing states. In the Midwestern states of Michigan and Wisconsin in 2016, turnout among older voters was higher than the national average for that age group, according to Mr. Frey. In Michigan, for example, 74 percent of older eligible voters turned out, compared with just 38 percent of 18- to 24-year-old eligible voters.

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This presents a challenge for Mr. Biden, should he win the nomination: how to get younger voters -- who did not prefer him to begin with -- to turn out for him, while persuading their older counterparts, who tend to choose Republicans, to vote for him over Mr. Trump.

In recent weeks, Mr. Biden has increased his efforts to appeal to younger and more progressive voters, ramping up outreach and embracing portions of proposals from Mr. Sanders and Senator Elizabeth Warren that take aim at the student debt burden.

But throughout the primary contest, Mr. Biden's most consistent overtures were to older voters, both substantively and through explicit and more subtle messaging.

His inaugural bus trip across Iowa was called the "No Malarkey" tour, a phrase that struck some younger voters as dated, following Mr. Biden's proactive mention, in an autumn debate, of a record player. It didn't seem out of step with the older crowds at his events, where Mr. Biden would often aim to connect over what he cast as similar upbringings.

"The way we were raised, all of you were raised, the way I was raised, everything's about integrity and decency," he said in Emmetsburg, Iowa, in December.

On the policy front, his experience in foreign affairs and his support for building on the Affordable Care Act while allowing Americans the option of maintaining their private insurance resonated with older voters.

There were "almost pragmatic, urgent worries about health care that people want addressed in the short term," Stanley B. Greenberg, a longtime Democratic pollster, said when asked about the age gap at play in the primary. Several Sanders priorities, he continued, including "Medicare for all, climate change and student debt -- almost all of them are kind of long term."

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<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/27/us/politics/biden-trump-seniors.html>

Graphic

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