breeze, high 68. Tonight, a mainly

clear sky, low 45. Tomorrow, breezy, cooler, a good amount of sunshine,

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Prices in Canada may be higher

# \$4.00

# President-Elect Spun His Own Grievances Into Political Gold

# Seeing Up Close Why Trump 'Gets Us'

#### By SHAWN McCREESH

WEST PALM BEACH, Fla. -The forces that propelled President-elect Donald J. Trump to victory will be endlessly analyzed. Many Americans woke up

CAMPAIGN

on Wednesday morning shocked NOTEBOOK that he could win again. But there is no doubt about one thing: Mr.

Trump was a ferociously effec-

tive campaigner. To watch him up close on this third run for president was to see him blend comedy, fury, optimism, darkness and cynicism like never before. He was an expert communicator, able to transmute legal and mortal peril to build upon his self mythology. He won new supporters and kept old ones in thrall.

At dozens of events, I watched as he connected with all sorts of people in all sorts of places. Suburban mothers in Washington, D.C. Military personnel in Detroit. Evangelicals in South Florida. Bitcoiners in Nashville. College football fans in Alabama. Firemen in Lower Manhattan.

At rallies in Charlotte and Atlanta and Bozeman and Virginia Beach and the Bronx and beyond, I had countless conversations with people who were quick to dismiss or rationalize whatever controversy happened to be swirling around him at any moment. People saw in him whatever they wanted to see. And they believed that, after so many years, they knew him, and that he knew them, too.

"He gets us," a hay and beef cattle farmer told me one afternoon in September in Smithton, Pa. It seemed a head-spinning assessment, but one I heard constantly and in the most unlikely of places. How could the man with the silver spoon and the golden triplex above Fifth Avenue understand anything about this woman's life? "He just knows where we're coming from," she shrugged.

We were standing inside a barn when she said this. Mr. Trump was a few yards away, sitting at a big wooden table. Behind him were stacked bales of hay and a John Deere tractor. He led a discussion about seed cost and fertilizer and shale and animal feed. Farmers nodded along as he reminded them how expensive everything had become because of inflation. "I feel very comfortable with the farmers," he said. And they felt very comfortable with him.

The bond with Mr. Trump deepened for many people after the assassination attempt in Butler, Pa., in July. Mark Zuckerberg, a co-founder of Facebook. said that the way Mr. Trump had popped back up and yelled "Fight!" was "one of the most badass things" he had ever seen and many people seemed to

It was an interesting inversion: Before that point, Mr. Trump had only ever played a tough guy on television, palling Continued on Page A15

TAXES Advisers are looking at ways to scale back Trump's more costly ideas. PAGE B1

ARAB VOTE Dearborn, Mich., delivered a win for Trump, who promised Mideast peace. PAGE A10



A Donald J. Trump rally in September. His aides mobilized men and cut into Democratic advantages among Black and Latino voters.



Notes on the "Subway Therapy" wall in Manhattan on Wednesday shortly after Vice President Kamala Harris conceded the race.

# For Black Women, Harris Loss Only Affirms Their Worst Fears

### By ERICA L. GREEN and MAYA KING

WASHINGTON - From the moment Kamala Harris entered the presidential race, Black women could see the mountain-

**NEWS ANALYSIS** 

Across the country, they led an outpouring of Dem-

ocratic elation when the vice president took over the top of the presidential ticket. But underneath their hope and determination was a persistent worry: Was America ready, they asked, to elect a Black woman?

The painful answer arrived

this week. It affirmed the worst of what

many Black women believed about their country: that it would rather choose a man who was convicted of 34 felonies, has spewed lies and falsehoods. disparaged women and people of color, and pledged to use the powers of the federal government to punish his political opponents than send a woman of

color to the White House. Many Democrats saw the brutal political environment for the party, peppered with anger about President Biden's leadership, as more to blame for Ms. Harris's crushing loss than the

Continued on Page A16

# Defeated, Deflated and Raw, And Wondering: What Now?

## By PATRICIA MAZZEI and JENNA RUSSELL

MIAMI Cynthia Shaw worked at a polling place in the Detroit suburbs on Election Day and went to bed "still hopeful" that Vice President Kamala Harris could win, she said. By Wednesday morning, she was bereft, her head pounding.

"It feels so much more definitive this time," Ms. Shaw, 65, said of Donald J. Trump's victory.

After Mr. Trump won the presidency in 2016, many Americans who had opposed him became dedicated activists. They Facebook to organize marches, joined protests against his policies and formed new organizations to recruit liberal candidates for office.

Now that Mr. Trump is president-elect once more, preparing to lead a still-divided country that voted more decisively in his favor this time, many of those same people are wondering if they can summon the strength to do it all — or even some of it — over again.

"So many of us are so exhausted," said Ms. Shaw, a Democrat who has volunteered in every presidential election since 1992. "I don't mean to be so bleak, but that's how it feels today." In Arvada, Colo., Liz Folkestad,

Continued on Page A18

# He Became Vessel for the Anger of Millions

This article is by Shane Goldmacher, Maggie Haberman and Jonathan Swan.

Donald J. Trump's chief pollster, Tony Fabrizio, had seen just about everything in his three races working for the controversystoking former president. But even he seemed to be bracing for

Mr. Trump had just debated Vice President Kamala Harris, repeatedly taking her bait, wasting time litigating his crowd sizes and spreading baseless rumors about pet-eating immigrants.

Mr. Fabrizio had predicted to colleagues that brutal media coverage of Mr. Trump's performance in a debate watched by 67 million people would lift Ms. Harris in the polls. He was right about the media coverage but wrong about the rest. His first post-debate poll shocked him: Ms. Harris had gained on some narrow attributes, like likability. But Mr. Trump had lost no ground in the contest.

"I've never seen anything like this," Mr. Fabrizio said on a call with senior campaign leaders, according to two participants.

It was yet more proof — as if more were needed - of Mr. Trump's durability over nearly a decade in politics and of his ability to defy the normal laws of gravity.

He overcame seemingly fatal political vulnerabilities criminal indictments, three expensive lawsuits, conviction on 34 felony counts, endless reckless tangents in his speeches - and transformed at least some of them into distinct advantages.

How he won in 2024 came down to one essential bet: that his grievances could meld with those of the MAGA movement, and then with the Republican Party, and then with more than half the country. His mug shot became a bestselling shirt. His criminal conviction inspired \$100 million in donations in one day. The images of him bleeding after a failed assassination attempt became the symbol of what supporters saw as a campaign of destiny.

"God spared my life for a reason," he said at his victory speech early Wednesday, adding, "We are going to fulfill that mission togeth-

At times, Mr. Trump could be so crude and self-indulgent on the stump that aides wondered if he were engaged in an absurdist experiment to test how much aberrant behavior voters would toler-

But Mr. Trump successfully harnessed the anger and frustration millions of Americans felt about some of the very institutions and systems he will soon control as the country's 47th president. Voters unhappy with the nation's direction turned him into a vessel for their rage.

"The elites cannot come to grips with how alienated they are from the country," said Newt Gingrich, the former House speaker, an informal adviser to the former and now future president.

But more than just broad societal forces were at play. His victory owed, in part, to strategic decisions by a campaign operation that was his most stable yet and was held together for nearly four years by a veteran operative, Susie Wiles — even if the candidate himself was, for much of 2024, as erratic as ever.

The Trump team schemed wavs to save its cash for a final ad blitz, Continued on Page A12

# Russian Drones, 'Like Bees Swarming,' Terrorize Ukraine Nightly

# By MARC SANTORA

KYIV, Ukraine — As Russian troops march relentlessly forward with fierce assaults in Ukraine's east, Moscow is unleashing a different form of terror on civilians in towns and cities: a wave of longrange drone strikes that has little precedent in the 32-month-old

Over the past two months, there was only a single night when Russia did not launch swarms of drones packed with explosives at targets far from the front, including near-nightly attacks aimed at

In October, the Ukrainian military said it tracked a record 2,023 unmanned aircraft against civilian and military targets, with the vast majority shot down or disabled by electronic warfare sys-

Night after night, the explosions echo across Kyiv, with tracer fire lighting up the sky as spotlights search for the triangular drones flying over residential neighborhoods.

Shots rang out once again before dawn on Thursday as air-defense teams armed with heavy machine guns opened fire on

# Kyiv Air-Defense Teams Are Left Confused and Exhausted

drones flying over the heart of the capital. Debris rained down over businesses and apartment buildings, sparking several fires.

Though air-defense teams have limited the casualties in Kyiv one 14-year-old girl was killed in October and more than 20 people injured, officials said — the Russians continue to unleash punish-

ing bombardments with drones, bombs and missiles on other towns and cities across Ukraine.

"The constant terrorist attacks on Ukrainian cities prove that the pressure on Russia and its accomplices is insufficient," President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine said on Sunday, reiterating his pleas to the Biden administration to loosen restrictions on the use of Western weapons to hit targets deep inside Russia. He also called for tougher sanctions that would prevent Russia from importing critical components for its drone and missile production.

Continued on Page A9



A residential building in Kyiv hit by debris from one of over 70 drones that were said to have attacked Ukraine on Saturday.

**INTERNATIONAL A4-9** 

### Australia's Social Media Ban

Proposed legislation would make the platforms that are the lifeblood of many teenagers — among them TikTok — off limits to anyone under 16. PAGE A6 **BUSINESS B1-5** 

### **Fed Cuts Interest Rates**

The quarter-point decrease was widely expected, signaling the belief that inflation is under control. But a second Trump presidency looms large. PAGE B1 SPORTS B6-9

# Like Gale Sayers and Brian Piccolo,

A 'Brian's Song' Reboot

Walter Payton and Matt Suhey were Bears backfield mates and forged a bond that transcends time.

WEEKEND ARTS C1-12

### Facing Racism, With Humor

The Jewish Museum in Manhattan decided to pair the Texas artist Trenton Dovle Hancock with the 20th-century master Philip Guston.

OPINION A22-23

**David Brooks** 

PAGE A22

