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# [***White Working Class Shunning Democrats***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DFP-C161-JBG3-64WX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 15

**Length:** 1562 words

**Byline:** By Katie Glueck

**Body**

Democrats hoped to lose by less in blue-collar areas that had drifted toward Donald Trump. In many places, they may have lost by more.

In Ohio, Senator Sherrod Brown, a longtime champion of ***working-class*** voters, was toppled by a rich Republican former car dealer.

In Washington, President Biden -- who won the Democratic nomination four years ago with the help of blue-collar voters -- must now hand back power to Republicans and surrender leadership of a party increasingly dominated by highly educated voters.

And in Pennsylvania, Senator Bob Casey, whose family name has for years been synonymous with white ***working-class*** Democrats, is confronting the real possibility of defeat.

Eight years after fury among white ***working-class*** voters propelled Donald J. Trump to victory, Democrats swore that this time, they would try to do better with that group.

Instead, the party's staggering challenges with blue-collar voters have only worsened. Widespread frustration with high prices and alienation from Democrats have turned the party's lawmakers in Trump territory into an ever-more-endangered species.

''When the change doesn't show up, the hope for change turns into anger,'' said Representative Matt Cartwright, a battle-tested Pennsylvania Democrat from the Scranton area who narrowly lost this month. ''The anger showed up.''

The new inroads Mr. Trump made this year with ***working-class*** voters of color, particularly Latino ones, have alarmed Democrats. At the same time, the party's Trump-era Achilles' heel -- its struggle to earn the trust of white ***working-class*** voters -- was even starker this year, especially in the Industrial Midwest, where the ''blue wall'' states of Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin all broke for Mr. Trump.

In many of those states' blue-collar counties, Vice President Kamala Harris lost by greater margins than Mr. Biden did in 2020.

Certainly, a number of Democratic House and Senate candidates significantly outran Ms. Harris. She also contended with many political barriers Mr. Biden did not face four years ago, including racism and sexism, along with the extraordinary challenge of running a 107-day campaign after the unpopular president was forced out of the race.

But she and other Democrats also faced a deepening, newly worrisome perception problem: a widespread belief among ***working-class*** Americans that the Democratic Party does not fully grasp their struggles -- and in some cases, disdains them outright.

''This doesn't have to be the end of white ***working-class*** Democrats,'' said Justin Barasky, a Democratic strategist who was Mr. Brown's 2018 campaign manager. ''But it will be if we don't start being more inclusive.''

Warring over words and culture

Democrats have not been shy about offering diagnoses for their devastating losses.

Voters, sour about pandemic-era inflation and bothered by the migrant crisis, punished the party in power. Republicans effectively caricatured Democrats as overly liberal and ''woke.'' Democrats needed a stronger populist message. Misinformation thrived in a fractured news environment. The country was simply not ready to elect a woman, especially a woman of color.

There is some truth to each theory, according to Democrats who have thought deeply about politics in blue-collar America.

But one of the biggest problems, these Democrats say, is that voters in white ***working-class*** neighborhoods now see the party as unresponsive to their most pressing daily troubles.

Representative-elect Kristen McDonald Rivet, a Michigan Democrat, won a district that is home to many white ***working-class*** residents, even as Ms. Harris struggled in many counties there.

Ms. McDonald Rivet said that for many voters in her area, high costs were not just an inconvenience. They raised ''fear in people, right, about their ability to make it,'' she said.

To those voters, she said, litigating other subjects -- whether Mr. Trump was a ''fascist,'' for example, or the violence of the 2021 Capitol riot -- simply felt less urgent.

''Those sorts of conversations don't impact what is happening in their lives on a daily basis,'' she said. ''It comes down to, what is the price of a gallon of milk?''

Frustration with the cost of living was not unique to one demographic or one state, noted Patrick Murray, who directs the polling institute at Monmouth University. But it made it harder for Ms. Harris to meet a Democratic goal of holding or improving on Mr. Biden's 2020 margins in strongly pro-Trump territory.

''There's no question that she did not make up ground,'' Mr. Murray said. ''Not only were they not going to win over Republican-leaning voters, but they were having a hard time getting out their own voters.''

To some extent, voters signaled in interviews this year, Mr. Trump benefited from nostalgia for the prepandemic era -- while the chaos of his previous administration receded for some.

''I don't like the rhetoric from the Democrats,'' said Jeff Markey, 66, a former airport technician from Wyoming, Mich., a more blue-collar city outside Grand Rapids. He said he had supported Democrats until Mr. Trump's 2016 candidacy, and supported him again this year.

''I like how safe the country was when Trump was in, internationally and financially,'' he added.

Senator John Fetterman, a Pennsylvania Democrat who campaigned for Ms. Harris in conservative areas, also conceded that Republicans were sometimes effective at painting the Democratic Party as out of touch.

He cited a widely aired, anti-transgender Trump ad that concluded: ''Kamala's for they/them. President Trump is for you.''

The ad was the ''ultimate ear worm of this cycle,'' Mr. Fetterman said. The last beat, he argued, could be interpreted by voters not just as anti-trans bigotry, which he deplored, but also as a subtler promise to help Americans economically.

''It's reprehensible to weaponize and to pick on members of a marginalized community,'' he said. But, he added, ''I can understand why it was very effective.''

A pitch for populism

Ms. Harris and especially her running mate, Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, campaigned in white ***working-class*** areas, promising that they did care about the struggles of those Americans.

In a barrage of advertising, Democrats also vowed to lower costs and protect working people, and attacked Mr. Trump as a plutocrat beholden to other wealthy Americans.

But some Democrats argued that efforts to engage moderate suburban Republicans who abhorred Mr. Trump's style and saw him as threatening democracy came at the expense of a more full-throated populist message.

''They shied away from the populist economic stuff, which they thought would turn off those voters,'' said Mike Lux, a longtime Democratic strategist who has spent years studying blue-collar workers. ''That was a real mistake. Because it made all of those folks back in Bethlehem and Scranton and Erie think, 'Well, I guess they really don't care about me very much.'''

With nearly all of the returns in, Ms. Harris does appear to have improved slightly on Mr. Biden's 2020 showing in some suburban areas.

But that was not enough to counteract the rightward shift in so many other places.

A Pennsylvania problem

Perhaps nowhere were the challenges with white ***working-class*** voters more painful for Democrats than in Pennsylvania, the state of Mr. Biden's birth and the one that cemented his 2020 victory.

This year, Ms. Harris lost the state, Republicans flipped two House seats and Mr. Casey is locked in a recount battle against his Republican challenger, David McCormick.

Mr. Casey's struggle -- even as Democrats prevailed outright in Senate races in Michigan and Wisconsin -- was arguably the most striking reflection of the national headwinds the party faced, and how key slices of voters recoiled from its message.

Mr. Casey, a three-term senator, is a son of a popular former governor of Pennsylvania, Robert P. Casey Sr., and his family is an institution in state politics. For years, conservative Democrats were known in the state as ''Casey Democrats.''

The younger Mr. Casey won his last race, in 2018, by 13 percentage points. This year, the recount was triggered because Mr. McCormick led Mr. Casey by less than half of a percentage point.

In an interview, former Representative Charlie Dent, a Pennsylvania Republican, reflected on the political realignment that has been especially vivid in his state.

Highly educated or more moderate Republicans have become more open to Democrats, while onetime culturally conservative Democrats have shifted hard to the right in the Trump era.

'''Pro-labor, pro-life, pro gun' -- that was a big part of the Democratic Party in Pennsylvania,'' said Mr. Dent, who supported Ms. Harris this year. ''It seems that that population has migrated solidly into the Republican camp.''

Still, even some Democrats in Pennsylvania bucked the national trends.

Representative Chris Deluzio, a Democrat from Western Pennsylvania, noted that he improved his standing in Beaver County -- a heavily white, ***working-class*** county -- this year, though he did not win it.

He urged his party not to cede the ''fighter'' mantle, encouraging fellow Democrats to embrace a clear economic message that includes confronting corporate power and fighting to defend unions.

''We certainly have to have a national party that can win in the Rust Belt,'' he added.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/18/us/politics/democrats-white-****working-class****-harris.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/18/us/politics/democrats-white-working-class-harris.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Senator Bob Casey of Pennsylvania is headed to a recount in his re-election contest against David McCormick, a Republican. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIC LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, visiting Volant, Pa., repeatedly campaigned in white ***working-class*** areas across the country. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFF SWENSEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Senator Sherrod Brown of Ohio, second from left, was one of several Democrats who lost this fall. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MADDIE MCGARVEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A15.

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[***A Real Working-Class Hero***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DMT-N9Y1-JBG3-63RP-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Bret Stephens

**Body**

One of the more moving stories in The Times this week is an account of the life of Brian Thompson, the United Healthcare chief executive who was gunned down on Dec. 4 outside of a Midtown Manhattan hotel.

Thompson ''grew up in a ***working-class*** family in Jewell, Iowa,'' a tiny farming community north of Des Moines, Amy Julia Harris and Ernesto Londoño report. ''His mother was a beautician, according to family friends, and his father worked at a facility to store grain.'' Thompson's childhood was spent ''going row by row through the fields to kill weeds with a knife, or working manual labor at turkey and hog farms.''

Those details are worth bearing in mind as some people seek to cast his killing as a tale of justified, or at least understandable, fury against faceless corporate greed. One ex-Times reporter, Taylor Lorenz, said she felt ''joy'' at the killing. Elizabeth Warren, the Massachusetts senator, offered that ''violence is never the answer'' but ''people can only be pushed so far.'' Pictures of Luigi Mangione, the 26-year-old charged with the murder of Thompson, have also elicited a fair amount of oohing and ahhing on social media over his toned physique and bright smile.

But if Mangione's personal story (at least what we know of it so far) is supposed to serve as some sort of parable, it isn't one that progressives should take comfort in. He is the scion of a wealthy and prominent Maryland family, was educated at an elite private school and the University of Pennsylvania and worked remotely from a nice apartment in Hawaii. And while Mangione, like millions of people, apparently suffered from debilitating back pain, excellent health care is not generally an issue for Americans of great wealth.

All this suggests that Mangione may prove to be a figure out of a Dostoyevsky novel -- Raskolnikov with a silver spoon. It's a familiar type. Ilich Ramírez Sánchez, better known as Carlos the Jackal, was a lawyer's son whose mother moved him to London before he went on to become an international terrorist. Osama bin Laden came from immense wealth. Angry rich kids jacked up on radical, nihilistic philosophies can cause a lot of harm, not least to the ***working-class*** folks whose interests they pretend to champion.

As for the suggestion that Thompson's murder should be an occasion to discuss America's supposed rage at private health insurers, it's worth pointing out that a 2023 survey from the nonpartisan health policy research institute KFF found that 81 percent of insured adults gave their health insurance plans a rating of ''excellent'' or ''good.'' Even a majority of those who say their health is ''fair'' or ''poor'' still broadly like their health insurance. No industry is perfect -- nor is any health care model -- and insurance companies make terrible calls all the time in the interest of cost savings. But the idea that those companies represent a unique evil in American life is divorced from the experience of most of their customers.

Thompson's life may have been cut brutally short, but it will remain a model for how a talented and determined man from humble roots can still rise to the top of corporate life without the benefit of rich parents and an Ivy League degree. As for the killer, John Fetterman had the choicest words: He's ''going to die in prison,'' the peerless Pennsylvania senator told HuffPost. ''Congratulations if you want to celebrate that.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/12/04/opinion/thepoint/brian-thompson-luigi-mangione*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/12/04/opinion/thepoint/brian-thompson-luigi-mangione)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A25.

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[***Working Class Proves Elusive For Democrats***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DB2-P871-DXY4-X4TS-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1

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**Byline:** By Jeanna Smialek

**Body**

Kamala Harris's plans offer a bigger boost for the ***working class***, but Donald Trump seems to be convincing voters.

Bernadette Daywalt had yet to decide whom to vote for in the presidential election. But the 69-year-old retiree said her decision would probably come down to economics.

She and her 82-year-old sister have struggled to keep up with rising grocery prices over the past few years, and they now frequent a food pantry in the Philadelphia suburb where they live.

''I think we're headed downhill right now, with the cost of food, the cost of everything,'' Ms. Daywalt said as she checked on her voter registration at an outreach van parked outside the Elmwood Park Zoo on a crisp October afternoon. She voted for Mr. Trump in 2016, and she felt better economically when he was president.

Ms. Daywalt's perceptions underscore a tough reality facing Democrats, who have been trying to recapture a ***working-class*** vote that has been slipping away from them.

Many economists say Vice President Kamala Harris's economic proposals would do more to help everyday Americans than the agenda put forward by former President Donald J. Trump. One model suggests that her package would boost post-tax income for the poorest Americans by 18 percent by 2026, much more than the 1.4 percent bump Mr. Trump's ideas would offer.

Yet America's recent burst of inflation has put a serious dent in the nation's economic confidence, and it has been especially tough for those on a tight budget. After decades of economic backsliding, many ***working-class*** voters are eager to hear that significant changes are coming -- and are skeptical of the experts who say Mr. Trump's promises to remake America might do little to benefit them.

The upshot is that Ms. Harris's targeted economic proposals, many of which aim at the ***working class***, may not be enough to change political reality. America's blue-collar voters have been turning increasingly red in recent years, and they seem to be leaning in that direction once again.

''Concrete, specific political promises are often not as powerful in the electorate as emotional appeals that tap into fears and anxieties,'' said Julian Zelizer, a professor of political history at Princeton University.

***Working-Class*** Shift

***Working-class*** voters have been moving their support toward Republicans for years, a trend that has been especially true for white voters with less than a college education. Mr. Trump appears to be poised to maintain that foothold on Tuesday.

A national New York Times/Siena College poll of the nation's likely electorate taken in late October found that 64 percent of white voters without a college degree planned to cast a ballot for Mr. Trump, and just 34 percent for Ms. Harris. And while Ms. Harris retains much higher support among nonwhite voters without a college degree, support for Democrats has been slipping over time even among minority voters.

The reasons for the shift are complex. Some are economic -- tied to the erosion of unions and a loss of manufacturing jobs -- and others are cultural.

''Even before Trump appeared, white ***working-class*** culture began turning more conservative and Republican,'' said Paul Clark, a professor at Pennsylvania State University who studies labor and employment relations. He said that being a Trump voter had increasingly become an identity: It often goes right along with owning a truck and a gun in battleground states like Pennsylvania.

Mr. Trump has branded himself as a ''blue-collar billionaire'' who embraces irreverence and wears trucker hats. He's famously rich, which political scientists said made him an aspirational model for many voters.

But the shift also comes as Mr. Trump and Ms. Harris are offering very different visions of the economic future. And if the analyses are right, it may mean that the ***working class*** is poised to vote against its self-interest.

'Robin Hood in Reverse'

Mr. Trump's economic proposals amount to a disruptive bid to restore an economy of the past -- one in which America was more industrial and more squarely dependent on fossil fuels.

The former president is pledging to lift tariffs even more than he did in his first term. He has promised the ''largest deportation operation in American history.'' And he says he will lower prices by encouraging domestic oil and gas production to drive fuel costs lower. He argues that cheaper fuel will lower the costs of other products and prod the Federal Reserve to cut interest rates, though economists and oil analysts have voiced skepticism about the feasibility of such plans.

At the same time, Mr. Trump has proposed a smorgasbord of tax cuts, including no taxes on tips. Which proposals would actually pass and how much they might help the ***working class*** are unclear, because much depends on how they would be structured.

But several analysts pointed out that the tax cuts passed in 2017 provided the largest benefits for the rich -- and that Mr. Trump's other proposals could push up prices, which could hurt the poor and ***working class***. Tariffs are generally passed along to domestic producers and customers, so raising them is likely to lift prices. Sudden deportations could lead to overnight worker shortages in construction or agriculture, further pushing up prices.

''I call it Robin Hood in reverse: It's this shift in resources away from the poor and ***working class*** and up the chain,'' said Kimberly Clausing, an economist at the Peterson Institute for International Economics who worked at the Treasury Department in the Biden administration.

But Joe LaVorgna, a former chief economist of the White House National Economic Council under Mr. Trump, said it was important to understand the tariffs as part of Mr. Trump's broader economic package, not as a stand-alone policy.

''The intent is to re-industrialize,'' he said.

Building on Biden

Ms. Harris's economic vision is one of greater continuity.

Her campaign has said that she would resist unfair trading practices, but also that she ''believes in upholding and strengthening international economic rules.'' She has pledged to continue the Biden administration's sweeping efforts to ramp up clean energy development. She has talked about cutting costs for families, but has focused on doing so by lowering drug prices and giving incentives to increase home buying. She has proposed a new $6,000 tax credit for families with infants.

Economists do not uniformly embrace Ms. Harris's proposals: She has suggested a tax break for first-time home buyers that some have fretted might feed into higher home prices. Many see her promise to curb corporate price gouging as more of a political message than a practical plan for lowering prices.

But many analysts have suggested that her ideas could benefit rank-and-file workers.

Wall Street economic analyses of the two packages have regularly suggested that Mr. Trump's ideas come at a bigger risk of stoking further inflation. More than a dozen Nobel Prize-winning economists have signed an open letter supporting Ms. Harris.

And a Penn Wharton Budget Model analysis has found that Ms. Harris's policies would be comparatively good for the bottom three-fifths of the income distribution, while Mr. Trump's would be better for the richest groups. And that is without taking into account the effects of tariffs or deportations.

''There is no question that Harris is much more focused on lower-income, middle-income,'' said Kent Smetters, a professor at the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School and head of the Penn Wharton Budget Model. And while Mr. Trump's proposals do slightly boost lower-income earnings, ''nothing is paid for in the case of Trump.''

Both Penn Wharton and the nonpartisan Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget have estimated that Ms. Harris's proposals would add to the deficit and national debt by much less than Mr. Trump's.

Enough to Change Things?

But even if economists are lining up behind Ms. Harris's ideas, it seems unlikely to change the tide of proletarian politics.

In a sign of how much workers are gravitating toward the Republican Party and a blow to Ms. Harris, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, a union with 1.3 million members, did not endorse a presidential candidate this year.

While Democrats have typically been more union-friendly, the Teamsters carried out several polls of its members this year and found that they were moving toward Mr. Trump. Two later surveys showed that roughly 60 percent preferred him and just 30 percent preferred Ms. Harris.

Part of the longer-term problem for Democrats may be that the nation's bottom half has been falling behind for decades. Wealth inequality has widened substantially, and there are fewer opportunities for economic progress, especially for those without a college degree.

''***Working-class*** people -- some ***working-class*** people -- feel that the Democrats have not offered a meaningful solution to the blah economic situation they've seen,'' said Jared Abbott, the director of the Center for ***Working-Class*** Politics, which aims to push progressives to focus more on workers.

That is what's keeping Paul Brown, 47, from voting at all. Mr. Brown, who is Black, was headed into a Dollar General in a Philadelphia suburb on Sunday. He has worked in food production in the past, but an injury is preventing him from working right now, and it has been hard to keep up with his bills.

He doesn't believe that either candidate will bring real changes for people like him, and he hasn't cast a vote since Barack Obama ran for office. But his friends are split between voting for Ms. Harris and Mr. Trump.

When they're voting for the former president, it is often because they think his policies benefited them economically -- especially pandemic stimulus checks that went out under both Mr. Trump and President Biden, but that only Mr. Trump made a point of signing.

''I'm like: I don't think that was Trump,'' Mr. Brown said. He himself remains unconvinced. ''Nothing they're going to do is going to help us out.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/01/business/economy/harris-economy-****working-class****-voters.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/01/business/economy/harris-economy-working-class-voters.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Many economists have said Kamala Harris's policies would do more to help everyday Americans than those of Donald J. Trump. But voters remain skeptical of experts who say Mr. Trump's promises might do little to benefit them. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY HIROKO MASUIKE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

EMILY ELCONIN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A19) This article appeared in print on page A1, A19.

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[***Strong Showing Spurs Midwest Mechanic to Empower Working Class***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DG4-9CD1-JBG3-61W2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 14

**Length:** 873 words

**Byline:** By Jonathan Weisman

**Body**

Mr. Osborn, the industrial mechanic who turned a long-shot Senate bid in red Nebraska into an unexpectedly tight race, is starting a PAC aimed at recruiting more blue-collar candidates like himself.

Dan Osborn, an industrial mechanic who ran as an independent Senate candidate in Nebraska, came up short in his quest to unseat Senator Deb Fischer, a low-profile Republican whose closer-than-expected victory in a red state clinched Senate control for her party on election night.

But Mr. Osborn's 47 percent of the vote in Nebraska well outpaced Vice President Kamala Harris's 39 percent, and in what he called his ''almost success,'' there might be clues to how a more populist approach could wrest the ***working class*** from Republicans, not through partisan warfare but class consciousness.

''Who's the one doing the dividing here?'' Mr. Osborn asked in an interview on Monday. ''I think it's the people who are laughing all the way to the bank while us common folk live paycheck to paycheck.''

On Tuesday, Mr. Osborn, 49, will return to work as a union steamfitter in Omaha, facing a pile of bills from his time off campaigning, including a $4,000 veterinarian's bill for the Addison's disease his dog developed during the election year. He is also announcing a new super PAC, the ***Working Class*** Heroes Fund, to try to recruit more blue-collar workers to run for office, and to organize the ***working class*** to vote in their economic self-interest.

''I just think it means everything that working people have a seat at the table because we have enough, you know, high-profile lawyers and business execs,'' Mr. Osborn said. ''I'm not saying they shouldn't have a seat at the table. Of course they should for what they've accomplished in their lives. But I feel like what I've accomplished as a working person, although it's not as glittery and glorious as a C.E.O. starting a company, I've certainly given my family a good life.''

Before Mr. Osborn announced his campaign late last year, his only leadership role had been leading his union on strike at an Omaha Kellogg's cereal plant in 2021. With little money and almost no name recognition, the mechanic crisscrossed Nebraska, leaning on union workers far from the Democratic pockets of Omaha and Lincoln while rejecting the endorsement of the Nebraska Democratic Party.

He tried to prove his independence with a pro-gun, tough-on-the-border message, but he also favored abortion rights and new rules to make it easier for unions to organize.

Mainly, though, his biggest calling card was his genuine ***working-class*** identity and a penchant for listening. It wasn't a particularly substantive campaign -- he still struggles to articulate the policies that distinguished him from Republicans and Democrats -- but it was one that avoided the impression that many Democrats leave, that in appealing to ***working-class*** voters, they talk down to them.

''I'm not a huge political person,'' Mr. Osborn allowed. ''I'm not certain how many people ran similar to me, numbers-wise. I can just tell you I spoke to people like a person. And that was the secret to my almost success.''

He added, ''I had 180 publicly advertised events; a lot of those people in the events were just like me, people who live paycheck to paycheck, working for a living.''

''And whether it was a group of five or a group of 80, we would sit down, focus on issues and try to resolve things,'' he said.

The most resonant issues, he said, revolved around the yawning wealth gap between the billionaire classes on the coasts and virtually everyone else in the middle. Advocacy, he said, should not be built around forcing everyone to share but creating ''an equal playing field'' where ''mom-and-pop shops'' are able to compete with prices of chain stores like the Dollar Generals commonplace in Nebraska's small towns.

For much of this year, Ms. Fischer and the Republican campaign apparatus in Washington largely ignored Mr. Osborn, but last month, as polling showed a tight race, Republican super PACs and operatives swept in to rescue Ms. Fischer. A blitz of advertising portrayed Mr. Osborn as ''a Democrat in disguise.'' The race also turned personal, with attacks on his family.

Mr. Osborn, a political neophyte, remains angry and hurt by the way the campaign closed.

''I've been in a hole, licking my wounds,'' he said, before adding that he can't afford to take any more time off.

''I'm going back to work tomorrow as a steamfitter because I tried to call all my bill collectors,'' he said, and they didn't care ''that I ran a close Senate race. They want their money, they want their mortgage, they want their car payments, their insurance, their electrical bills.''

Even now, with the campaign over, he insists he is an independent, although he has supported Democrats in the past. But he said his super PAC's recruitment of genuinely ***working-class*** candidates will be nonpartisan. He does not care what party they want to run with, as long as they truly come from the ***working class***.

''If I have to go around the country on my weekends to help other ***working-class*** people get a seat at their table,'' he said, ''whether that's state legislatures or county boards, however that looks, that's how I want to help.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/us/politics/dan-osborn-****working-class****-pac.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/us/politics/dan-osborn-working-class-pac.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Running as an independent, Dan Osborn, a union steamfitter, won 47 percent of the vote against a sitting G.O.P. senator in Nebraska. (PHOTOGRAPH BY BONNIE RYAN/ASSOCIATED PRESS) This article appeared in print on page A14.

**Load-Date:** November 21, 2024

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[***Is This the End of the White Working-Class Democrat?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DFG-S6P1-DXY4-X0MD-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** US; politics

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**Byline:** Katie GlueckKatie Glueck covers American politics with a focus on the Democratic Party.

**Highlight:** Democrats hoped to lose by less in blue-collar areas that had drifted toward Donald Trump. In many places, they may have lost by more.

**Body**

Democrats hoped to lose by less in blue-collar areas that had drifted toward Donald Trump. In many places, they may have lost by more.

In Ohio, Senator Sherrod Brown, a longtime champion of ***working-class*** voters, [*was toppled*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/us/elections/ohio-senate-brown-moreno.html) by a [*rich Republican*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/us/elections/ohio-senate-brown-moreno.html) former car dealer.

In Washington, President Biden — who won the Democratic nomination four years ago with the help of [*blue-collar voters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/us/elections/ohio-senate-brown-moreno.html) — must now hand back power to Republicans and surrender leadership of a party increasingly dominated by highly educated voters.

And in Pennsylvania, Senator Bob Casey, whose family name has for years [*been synonymous*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/us/elections/ohio-senate-brown-moreno.html) with white ***working-class*** Democrats, is confronting the [*real possibility of defeat*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/us/elections/ohio-senate-brown-moreno.html).

Eight years after fury among [*white* ***working-class*** *voters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/us/elections/ohio-senate-brown-moreno.html) propelled Donald J. Trump to victory, Democrats swore that this time, they would try to [*do better with that group*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/us/elections/ohio-senate-brown-moreno.html).

Instead, the party’s staggering challenges with blue-collar voters have only worsened. Widespread frustration with high prices and alienation from Democrats have turned the party’s lawmakers in Trump territory into an ever-more-endangered species.

“When the change doesn’t show up, the hope for change turns into anger,” said Representative Matt Cartwright, a battle-tested Pennsylvania Democrat from the Scranton area who [*narrowly lost*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/us/elections/ohio-senate-brown-moreno.html) this month. “The anger showed up.”

The new inroads Mr. Trump made this year with [***working-class*** *voters of color*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/us/elections/ohio-senate-brown-moreno.html), particularly Latino ones, have alarmed Democrats. At the same time, the party’s Trump-era Achilles’ heel — its struggle to earn the trust of white ***working-class*** voters — was even starker this year, especially in the Industrial Midwest, where the “blue wall” states of Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin all broke for Mr. Trump.

In many of those states’ [*blue-collar counties*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/us/elections/ohio-senate-brown-moreno.html), Vice President Kamala Harris lost by greater margins than Mr. Biden did in 2020.

Certainly, a number of Democratic House and Senate candidates significantly outran Ms. Harris. She also contended with many political barriers Mr. Biden did not face four years ago, including [*racism and sexism*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/us/elections/ohio-senate-brown-moreno.html), along with the [*extraordinary challenge*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/us/elections/ohio-senate-brown-moreno.html) of running a [*107-day campaign*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/us/elections/ohio-senate-brown-moreno.html) after the unpopular president was forced out of the race.

But she and other Democrats also faced a deepening, newly worrisome perception problem: a widespread belief among ***working-class*** Americans that the Democratic Party does not fully grasp their struggles — and in some cases, disdains them outright.

“This doesn’t have to be the end of white ***working-class*** Democrats,” said Justin Barasky, a Democratic strategist who was Mr. Brown’s 2018 campaign manager. “But it will be if we don’t start being more inclusive.”

Warring over words and culture

Democrats have not been shy about [*offering diagnoses for their devastating losses*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/us/elections/ohio-senate-brown-moreno.html).

Voters, sour about pandemic-era inflation and bothered by the [*migrant crisis*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/us/elections/ohio-senate-brown-moreno.html), punished the party in power. Republicans effectively caricatured Democrats as overly liberal and “woke.” Democrats needed a stronger populist message. Misinformation thrived in a fractured news environment. The country was simply not ready to elect a woman, especially a woman of color.

There is some truth to each theory, according to Democrats who have thought deeply about politics in blue-collar America.

But one of the biggest problems, these Democrats say, is that voters in white ***working-class*** neighborhoods now see the party as unresponsive to their most pressing daily troubles.

Representative-elect Kristen McDonald Rivet, a Michigan Democrat, won a district that is home to many white ***working-class*** residents, even as Ms. Harris struggled in many counties there.

Ms. McDonald Rivet said that for many voters in her area, high costs were not just an inconvenience. They raised “fear in people, right, about their ability to make it,” she said.

To those voters, she said, litigating other subjects — [*whether Mr. Trump was a “fascist,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/us/elections/ohio-senate-brown-moreno.html) for example, or the violence of the 2021 Capitol riot — simply felt less urgent.

“Those sorts of conversations don’t impact what is happening in their lives on a daily basis,” she said. “It comes down to, what is the price of a gallon of milk?”

Frustration with the cost of living was not unique to one demographic or one state, noted Patrick Murray, who directs the polling institute at Monmouth University. But it made it harder for Ms. Harris to meet a Democratic goal of holding or improving on Mr. Biden’s 2020 margins in strongly pro-Trump territory.

“There’s no question that she did not make up ground,” Mr. Murray said. “Not only were they not going to win over Republican-leaning voters, but they were having a hard time getting out their own voters.”

To some extent, voters signaled in interviews this year, Mr. Trump benefited from nostalgia for the prepandemic era — while the chaos of his previous administration [*receded for some.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/us/elections/ohio-senate-brown-moreno.html)

“I don’t like the rhetoric from the Democrats,” said Jeff Markey, 66, a former airport technician from Wyoming, Mich., a more blue-collar city outside Grand Rapids. He said he had supported Democrats until Mr. Trump’s 2016 candidacy, and supported him again this year.

“I like how safe the country was when Trump was in, internationally and financially,” he added.

Senator John Fetterman, a Pennsylvania Democrat who [*campaigned for*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/us/elections/ohio-senate-brown-moreno.html) Ms. Harris in conservative areas, also conceded that Republicans were sometimes effective at painting the Democratic Party as out of touch.

He cited a widely aired, anti-transgender [*Trump ad*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/us/elections/ohio-senate-brown-moreno.html) that concluded: “Kamala’s for they/them. President Trump is for you.”

The ad was the “ultimate ear worm of this cycle,” Mr. Fetterman said. The last beat, he argued, could be interpreted by voters not just as anti-trans bigotry, which he deplored, but also as a subtler promise to help Americans economically.

“It’s reprehensible to weaponize and to pick on members of a marginalized community,” he said. But, he added, “I can understand why it was very effective.”

A pitch for populism

Ms. Harris and especially her running mate, Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, [*campaigned in*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/us/elections/ohio-senate-brown-moreno.html) white ***working-class*** areas, promising that they did care about the struggles of those Americans.

In a barrage of advertising, Democrats also vowed to lower costs and protect working people, and [*attacked Mr. Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/us/elections/ohio-senate-brown-moreno.html) as a plutocrat beholden to other wealthy Americans.

But some Democrats argued that [*efforts to engage*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/us/elections/ohio-senate-brown-moreno.html) moderate suburban Republicans who abhorred Mr. Trump’s style and saw him as threatening democracy came at the expense of a more full-throated populist message.

“They shied away from the populist economic stuff, which they thought would turn off those voters,” said Mike Lux, a longtime Democratic strategist who has [*spent years*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/us/elections/ohio-senate-brown-moreno.html) studying blue-collar workers. “That was a real mistake. Because it made all of those folks back in Bethlehem and Scranton and Erie think, ‘Well, I guess they really don’t care about me very much.’”

With nearly all of the returns in, Ms. Harris does appear to have improved slightly on Mr. Biden’s 2020 showing [*in some*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/us/elections/ohio-senate-brown-moreno.html) [*suburban areas*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/us/elections/ohio-senate-brown-moreno.html).

But that was not enough to counteract the rightward shift in [*so many other places*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/us/elections/ohio-senate-brown-moreno.html).

A Pennsylvania problem

Perhaps nowhere were the challenges with white ***working-class*** voters more painful for Democrats than in Pennsylvania, the state of Mr. Biden’s birth and the one that [*cemented his 2020 victory.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/us/elections/ohio-senate-brown-moreno.html)

This year, Ms. Harris lost the state, [*Republicans flipped two House seats*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/us/elections/ohio-senate-brown-moreno.html) and Mr. Casey is locked in a [*recount battle*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/us/elections/ohio-senate-brown-moreno.html) against his Republican challenger, David McCormick.

Mr. Casey’s struggle — even as Democrats prevailed outright in Senate races in Michigan and Wisconsin — was arguably the most striking reflection of the national headwinds the party faced, and how key slices of voters recoiled from its message.

Mr. Casey, a three-term senator, is a son of a popular former governor of Pennsylvania, [*Robert P. Casey Sr.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/us/elections/ohio-senate-brown-moreno.html), and his family is an institution in state politics. For years, conservative Democrats were known in the state as “[*Casey Democrats*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/us/elections/ohio-senate-brown-moreno.html).”

The younger Mr. Casey won his last race, in 2018, by [*13 percentage points*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/us/elections/ohio-senate-brown-moreno.html). This year, the recount was triggered because Mr. McCormick led Mr. Casey by less than half of a percentage point.

In an interview, former Representative Charlie Dent, a Pennsylvania Republican, reflected on the political realignment that has been especially vivid in his state.

Highly educated or more moderate Republicans have become more open to Democrats, while onetime culturally conservative Democrats have shifted hard to the right in the Trump era.

“‘Pro-labor, pro-life, pro gun’ — that was a big part of the Democratic Party in Pennsylvania,” said Mr. Dent, who supported Ms. Harris this year. “It seems that that population has migrated solidly into the Republican camp.”

Still, even some Democrats in Pennsylvania bucked the national trends.

Representative Chris Deluzio, a Democrat from Western Pennsylvania, noted that he improved his standing in [*Beaver County*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/us/elections/ohio-senate-brown-moreno.html) — a heavily white, ***working-class*** county — this year, though he did not win it.

He urged his party not to cede the “fighter” mantle, encouraging fellow Democrats to embrace a clear economic message that includes confronting corporate power and fighting to defend unions.

“We certainly have to have a national party that can win in the Rust Belt,” he added.

PHOTOS: Senator Bob Casey of Pennsylvania is headed to a recount in his re-election contest against David McCormick, a Republican. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIC LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES); Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, visiting Volant, Pa., repeatedly campaigned in white ***working-class*** areas across the country. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFF SWENSEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Senator Sherrod Brown of Ohio, second from left, was one of several Democrats who lost this fall. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MADDIE MCGARVEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A15.

**Load-Date:** November 18, 2024

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[***Bernie Sanders Is Wrong That Democrats Abandoned the Working Class***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DD8-SV81-DXY4-X4HD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 12, 2024 Tuesday 16:17 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 500 words

**Byline:** David Swerdlick

**Highlight:** The party’s record is clear and strong.

**Body**

There are a lot of theories about what went wrong for Democrats in 2024, but Senator Bernie Sanders’s statement that they “[*abandoned*](https://x.com/BernieSanders/status/1854271157135941698)” white, Black and Latino ***working-class*** people doesn’t hold up. Look at the last two Democratic administrations.

Barack Obama signed the Affordable Care Act, a law that [*most Americans favor*](https://x.com/BernieSanders/status/1854271157135941698). He signed legislation ranging from the Dodd-Frank financial reform to the [*Credit Card Accountability Responsibility and Disclosure Act*](https://x.com/BernieSanders/status/1854271157135941698). Sanders voted for these. Obama [*bailed out*](https://x.com/BernieSanders/status/1854271157135941698) the auto industry. He did a bunch of stuff that didn’t specifically target ***working-class*** Americans, but that many ***working-class*** Americans presumably liked: repealing Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell, tripling the number of women on the Supreme Court, signing the Fair Sentencing Act.

During Obama’s presidency, the [*unemployment rate*](https://x.com/BernieSanders/status/1854271157135941698) went from 7.8 percent to 4.7 percent. Black unemployment went from 12.7 percent to 7.5 percent, and Latino unemployment went from 10.1 percent to 5.8 percent. (All while the Dow Jones industrial average went up 149 percent, and lots of ***working-class*** and middle-class Americans have 401(k)s.)

President Biden’s American Rescue Plan Act included the now-expired expanded child tax credit. His Inflation Reduction Act permits the government to negotiate prescription drug prices for Medicare recipients. He signed a bipartisan infrastructure law. Sanders voted for these.

During Biden’s tenure, the unemployment rate has gone from 6.4 percent to 4.1 percent. Black unemployment has gone from 9.3 percent to 5.7 percent, and Latino unemployment has gone from 8.5 percent to 5.1 percent. (While the Dow has increased 41 percent as of Tuesday’s close.)

Kamala Harris laid out a raft of [*economic plans*](https://x.com/BernieSanders/status/1854271157135941698), including those specifically focused on [*Black*](https://x.com/BernieSanders/status/1854271157135941698) and [*Latino*](https://x.com/BernieSanders/status/1854271157135941698) men. I think she wound up promising too much — if she had won, it would have been better to have under-promised and over-delivered. Democrats, in general, need to rely less on policy proposals to win presidential elections; in the weeks that followed her convincing debate win against Donald Trump, Harris needed to tell a more cohesive story about where she wanted to take the country in the next four years to counter the story that Trump was telling.

Sanders may not think Harris promised enough — but even if that’s the case, it’s hard to say she didn’t lay out a platform focused on working Americans.

Four years ago, making the case for a Sanders presidency, former Labor Secretary Robert Reich [*argued*](https://x.com/BernieSanders/status/1854271157135941698): “Today’s main divide isn’t left versus right. It’s establishment versus anti-establishment.” That’s fair. It’s also fair to argue, as Sanders does, that Democrats haven’t done enough to address wealth inequality and are too beholden to moneyed interests.

Four years from now, Democrats may nominate a candidate who favors a more social democratic platform — maybe Sanders. But as a response to an election with a binary choice, the notion that Democrats have “abandoned” the ***working class*** really isn’t backed up by the record.

**Load-Date:** November 12, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Dan Osborn Wants to Help the Working Class Run for Office***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DFP-RC91-JBG3-6097-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 19, 2024 Tuesday 23:26 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 900 words

**Byline:** Jonathan WeismanJonathan Weisman is a politics writer, covering campaigns with an emphasis on economic and labor policy. He is based in Chicago.

**Highlight:** Mr. Osborn, the industrial mechanic who turned a long-shot Senate bid in red Nebraska into an unexpectedly tight race, is starting a PAC aimed at recruiting more blue-collar candidates like himself.

**Body**

Mr. Osborn, the industrial mechanic who turned a long-shot Senate bid in red Nebraska into an unexpectedly tight race, is starting a PAC aimed at recruiting more blue-collar candidates like himself.

Dan Osborn, an industrial mechanic [*who ran as an independent Senate candidate in Nebraska*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/18/us/politics/nebraska-union-senate-race.html), [*came up short in his quest to unseat Senator Deb Fischer*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/18/us/politics/nebraska-union-senate-race.html), a low-profile Republican whose closer-than-expected victory in a red state clinched Senate control for her party on election night.

But Mr. Osborn’s 47 percent of the vote in Nebraska well outpaced Vice President Kamala Harris’s 39 percent, and in what he called his “almost success,” there might be clues to how a more populist approach could wrest the ***working class*** from Republicans, not through partisan warfare but class consciousness.

“Who’s the one doing the dividing here?” Mr. Osborn asked in an interview on Monday. “I think it’s the people who are laughing all the way to the bank while us common folk live paycheck to paycheck.”

On Tuesday, Mr. Osborn, 49, will return to work as a union steamfitter in Omaha, facing a pile of bills from his time off campaigning, including a $4,000 veterinarian’s bill for the Addison’s disease his dog developed during the election year. He is also announcing a new super PAC, the ***Working Class*** Heroes Fund, to try to recruit more blue-collar workers to run for office, and to organize the ***working class*** to vote in their economic self-interest.

“I just think it means everything that working people have a seat at the table because we have enough, you know, high-profile lawyers and business execs,” Mr. Osborn said. “I’m not saying they shouldn’t have a seat at the table. Of course they should for what they’ve accomplished in their lives. But I feel like what I’ve accomplished as a working person, although it’s not as glittery and glorious as a C.E.O. starting a company, I’ve certainly given my family a good life.”

Before Mr. Osborn announced his campaign late last year, his only leadership role had been [*leading his union on strike at an Omaha Kellogg’s cereal plant*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/18/us/politics/nebraska-union-senate-race.html) in 2021. With little money and almost no name recognition, the mechanic crisscrossed Nebraska, [*leaning on union workers far from the Democratic pockets of Omaha*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/18/us/politics/nebraska-union-senate-race.html) and Lincoln while rejecting the endorsement of the Nebraska Democratic Party.

He [*tried to prove his independence with a pro-gun, tough-on-the-border message*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/18/us/politics/nebraska-union-senate-race.html), but he also favored abortion rights and new rules to make it easier for unions to organize.

Mainly, though, his biggest calling card was his genuine ***working-class*** identity and a penchant for listening. It wasn’t a particularly substantive campaign — he still struggles to articulate the policies that distinguished him from Republicans and Democrats — but it was one that avoided the impression that many Democrats leave, that in appealing to ***working-class*** voters, they talk down to them.

“I’m not a huge political person,” Mr. Osborn allowed. “I’m not certain how many people ran similar to me, numbers-wise. I can just tell you I spoke to people like a person. And that was the secret to my almost success.”

He added, “I had 180 publicly advertised events; a lot of those people in the events were just like me, people who live paycheck to paycheck, working for a living.”

“And whether it was a group of five or a group of 80, we would sit down, focus on issues and try to resolve things,” he said.

The most resonant issues, he said, revolved around the yawning wealth gap between the billionaire classes on the coasts and virtually everyone else in the middle. Advocacy, he said, should not be built around forcing everyone to share but creating “an equal playing field” where “mom-and-pop shops” are able to compete with prices of chain stores like the Dollar Generals commonplace in Nebraska’s small towns.

For much of this year, Ms. Fischer and the Republican campaign apparatus in Washington largely ignored Mr. Osborn, but [*last month, as polling showed a tight race*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/18/us/politics/nebraska-union-senate-race.html), Republican super PACs and operatives swept in to rescue Ms. Fischer. A blitz of advertising portrayed Mr. Osborn as [*“a Democrat in disguise*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/18/us/politics/nebraska-union-senate-race.html).” The race also turned personal, with attacks on his family.

Mr. Osborn, a political neophyte, remains angry and hurt by the way the campaign closed.

“I’ve been in a hole, licking my wounds,” he said, before adding that he can’t afford to take any more time off.

“I’m going back to work tomorrow as a steamfitter because I tried to call all my bill collectors,” he said, and they didn’t care “that I ran a close Senate race. They want their money, they want their mortgage, they want their car payments, their insurance, their electrical bills.”

Even now, with the campaign over, he insists he is an independent, although he has supported Democrats in the past. But he said his super PAC’s recruitment of genuinely ***working-class*** candidates will be nonpartisan. He does not care what party they want to run with, as long as they truly come from the ***working class***.

“If I have to go around the country on my weekends to help other ***working-class*** people get a seat at their table,” he said, “whether that’s state legislatures or county boards, however that looks, that’s how I want to help.”

PHOTO: Running as an independent, Dan Osborn, a union steamfitter, won 47 percent of the vote against a sitting G.O.P. senator in Nebraska. (PHOTOGRAPH BY BONNIE RYAN/ASSOCIATED PRESS) This article appeared in print on page A14.

**Load-Date:** November 20, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Harris Hunting For White Votes In Working Class***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D8C-4111-JBG3-63C7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 25, 2024 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1644 words

**Byline:** By Jonathan Weisman

**Body**

Unions and their affiliates think they can still break through with the Democrats' worst demographic, white ***working-class*** voters, by hustling on the ground. But it has been a slog.

Vice President Kamala Harris's allies in organized labor have begun a late drive to help her with white ***working-class*** voters, her weakest demographic, in the face of great skepticism over inflation, old grudges about free trade, new ones about student-loan forgiveness, and a profound blue-collar affinity for Donald J. Trump.

Working America, a political affiliate of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. built to reach nonunion workers, has around 1,600 paid canvassers knocking on doors in the battleground states of Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin on any given day -- just one part of a concerted effort by organized labor to eat into Mr. Trump's advantage and deliver a Democratic victory through sheer hustle.

''We are the difference-makers in the election,'' said Liz Shuler, president of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., the nation's largest federation of unions.

But beneath the bravado is realism.

For Ms. Harris, there is no sugarcoating her numbers with white ***working-class*** voters. Earlier this month, a poll of Pennsylvania by The New York Times, Siena College and The Philadelphia Inquirer found the vice president leading Mr. Trump overall, 50 percent to 47 percent. But Mr. Trump led by seven percentage points among likely voters without a college degree.

Among white voters without a college degree, that gap grew to a chasm: 58 percent favored Mr. Trump, 40 percent Ms. Harris. By a wide margin, 57 percent to 41 percent, college-educated voters said Ms. Harris would be better than Mr. Trump at helping the ***working class***. But if educational attainment is a stand-in for class, the white ***working class*** trusts Mr. Trump; 56 percent say he would help them best, compared with 41 percent who say that about the vice president.

April Verrett, president of the Service Employees International Union, said Democratic hand-wringing over a slight slippage of support among Black men misses the real problem.

''It is white men and white women who vote for Donald Trump. We're not going to sway the majority of them, but over time, we have to tackle that challenge,'' she said.

The ***working class***'s issues with Ms. Harris are complex and, with less than two weeks until Election Day, probably not remediable. As Zaeveona Rainey, 25, a canvasser and crew chief for Working America, made her way last Thursday through Coraopolis, Pa., a mostly white ***working-class*** suburb of Pittsburgh, she found very few voters who were not already dug in.

Older ***working-class*** voters still associate the party with the free-trade principles of Bill Clinton's New Democrats, an association emphasized by Mr. Trump's protectionist takeover of the Republican Party, said Michael Podhorzer, who recently retired as the A.F.L.-C.I.O.'s longtime political chief. Many younger ***working-class*** voters, crushed economically by the coronavirus pandemic, then hit by inflation just as they emerged from isolation, appear to have given up.

''Most young ***working-class*** people, for good reason, think Democrats, Republicans or the political class have done nothing for them,'' Mr. Podhorzer said. ''People don't trust the system.''

But as Matt Morrison, the executive director of Working America, sees it, there are voters to reach with a large enough army. He has a theory to drive the canvassers blanketing the swing states -- that the personal connections they make night after night will make a difference.

''It's a numbers game,'' Mr. Morrison said. ''You get to enough people on a large enough scale to get to the soft commits or undecideds.''

And union leaders say they are making the effort, while acknowledging the headwinds.

''I want to stress, we still have work to do,'' said Lee Saunders, president of the 1.6-million-strong American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and chairman of the A.F.L.-C.I.O.'s political committee, ''especially in the economic areas.''

Mr. Trump may be just getting better advice, said Faiz Shakir, an adviser to Senator Bernie Sanders, independent of Vermont, and the executive director of a nonprofit media organization, More Perfect Union, aimed at ***working-class*** viewers.

When the former president talks about going into a drugstore and finding all the products behind locked plastic plates, he is almost certainly not speaking from personal experience, Mr. Shakir said. Yet Mr. Trump's story of crime and decline is instantly relatable and recognizable to voters in a way that Ms. Harris's refrain of growing up middle class somehow isn't, he argued.

The Harris campaign believes it has a winning strategy for winning enough ***working-class*** votes in the closing days of the campaign, through union hall visits by Ms. Harris and her running mate, Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, labor surrogates leading the outreach, and advertising strategically placed in college and professional football games and other major sporting events.

''Here's the bottom line,'' Ms. Harris told union workers in Lansing, Mich., on Friday, ''Donald Trump's track record is a disaster for working people, and he is an existential threat to America's labor movement.''

Organized labor insists it can break through. On Saturday, a coalition of industrial and service-industry unions began a final push that their leaders say will reach five million union members. Shawn Fain, president of the United Automobile Workers, has become one of Ms. Harris's most trusted surrogates, barnstorming through Michigan and Pennsylvania.

Public sector unions, such as AFSCME, the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers, may have their existence at stake: The Trump allies who wrote the Project 2025 blueprint for another Trump term, have vowed to phase them out.

More than 5,000 S.E.I.U. members would be knocking on more than a million doors in the final drive to get out the vote.

Mr. Morrison portrayed chipping away at Mr. Trump's advantage almost as a science, and he brandished the numbers to prove it. Through follow-up call and control groups, he said Working America concluded it had netted 250,000 additional votes for Democratic candidates in 2022, 90,000 of them for John Fetterman, the victorious Senate candidate in Pennsylvania, 21,000 for Katie Hobbs, now the governor of Arizona.

On a recent day in Pittsburgh, around 250 canvassers had come up from Atlanta to supplement the Pennsylvania crew set to blanket the ***working-class*** suburbs south of the Ohio River. At a training session that afternoon, they were advised to highlight Ms. Harris's policies, and not to try to convince people Mr. Trump is bad.

Be personable and memorable, they were told. If voters identify themselves as Trump supporters most concerned about immigration, move on. They are set. If a Trump voter says he is most concerned about health care, lean in. That person could flip.

Ms. Rainey did not find many of those ''soft commits.'' There was Michael Carden, 42, a meat cutter in what he called ''a very blue-collar job,'' who told her on Thursday evening that he was adamantly for Ms. Harris.

''I've thought a lot about who I am and what has become of us since 2016,'' he said. ''What Trump brought out in people, it's made me think a lot less of a lot of folks.''

But Trump supporters had their own reasons. One cited President Biden's ''giveaway'' to college graduates who have had student loans forgiven. A 55-year-old landscaper who declined to give his name liked Mr. Trump's swagger and unpredictability in an unstable world.

''It's like having Mike Tyson walking behind you,'' he said of Mr. Trump's foreign policy.

If nothing else, Working America has been good for the Americans working for it. Base pay for a canvasser is $20 an hour, $25 for a canvasser working five days a week. If a canvasser records 33 completed conversations a night, that can be bumped to $30 an hour. A completed conversation is simply getting through four questions: What is your top issue? Which presidential candidate are you voting for? Which Senate candidate are you voting for? Would you accept a Working America for Harris yard sign?

''Human connection is what drives the outcome,'' Mr. Morrison said.

Even some of the canvassers have their doubts. Maria Wesley, 54, a door-knocker who came up from Atlanta with dozens of others to help in Pennsylvania, said she had been breaking down wooden pallets for $14 an hour before connecting with Working America. ''For a lot of us, this is the most money we've ever made,'' she said.

But if she doesn't make her average of 30 conversations a night, she can be dismissed, which once happened to her, and the bosses are diligent about random checks to make sure canvassers are truthful in their reports. That can drive canvassers to rush through their scripts -- or ''raps'' -- instead of really working to change minds, Ms. Wesley said.

Still, every once in a while, the canvassers connect. At the end of her night, as darkness enveloped Coraopolis, Ms. Rainey found Victor Martinelli, not exactly ***working class***. He retired at 63 from his job as tax director at a venture capital fund. But he was genuinely undecided. Ms. Harris had the better economic agenda, he said, but he saw Mr. Trump as the better commander in chief in a world edging toward war.

As he talked through his concerns with Ms. Rainey, he seemed to lean toward Ms. Harris. ''She does have a plan,'' he allowed. ''At least she is telling us what she wants to do.''

He thanked Ms. Rainey for stopping by and talking it through: ''It just gets you thinking,'' he said.

Jazmine Ulloa contributed reporting from Saginaw, Mich., and Ruth Igielnik from New York.Jazmine Ulloa contributed reporting from Saginaw, Mich., and Ruth Igielnik from New York.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/24/us/politics/unions-****working-class****.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/24/us/politics/unions-working-class.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Zaeveona Rainey, left, a crew chief for Working America, canvassing in Coraopolis, Pa., a mostly white ***working-class*** suburb. Matt Morrison, executive director of Working America, said, ''Human connection is what drives the outcome.'' (PHOTOGRAPHS BY KRISTIAN THACKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A17) This article appeared in print on page A1, A17.

**Load-Date:** October 25, 2024

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[***Brian Thompson, Not Luigi Mangione, Is the Real Working-Class Hero***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DMN-83P1-JBG3-62MW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 12, 2024 Thursday 12:46 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 570 words

**Byline:** Bret StephensBret Stephens is an Opinion columnist for The Times, writing about foreign policy, domestic politics and cultural issues.

**Highlight:** He’s a model for how a talented, determined man from humble roots can rise to the top of corporate life.

**Body**

One of the [*more moving stories in The Times*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/10/nyregion/unitedhealthcare-brian-thompson-funeral.html) this week is an account of the life of Brian Thompson, the United Healthcare chief executive who was gunned down on Dec. 4 outside a Midtown Manhattan hotel.

Thompson “grew up in a ***working-class*** family in Jewell, Iowa,” a tiny farming community north of Des Moines, Amy Julia Harris and Ernesto Londoño report. “His mother was a beautician, according to family friends, and his father worked at a facility to store grain.” Thompson’s childhood was spent “going row by row through the fields to kill weeds with a knife, or working manual labor at turkey and hog farms.”

Those details are worth bearing in mind as some people seek to cast his killing as a tale of justified, or at least understandable, fury against faceless corporate greed. One ex-Times reporter, Taylor Lorenz, said she felt “joy” at the killing. Elizabeth Warren, the Massachusetts senator, offered that “violence is never the answer” but “people can only be pushed so far.” Pictures of Luigi Mangione, the 26-year-old charged with the murder of Thompson, have also elicited a fair amount of oohing and ahhing on social media over his toned physique and bright smile.

But if Mangione’s personal story (at least what we know of it so far) is supposed to serve as some sort of parable, it isn’t one that progressives should take comfort in. He is the scion of a wealthy and prominent Maryland family, was educated at an elite private school and the University of Pennsylvania and worked remotely from a nice apartment in Hawaii. And while Mangione, like millions of people, apparently [*suffered from debilitating back pain*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/10/nyregion/unitedhealthcare-brian-thompson-funeral.html), excellent health care is not generally an issue for Americans of great wealth.

All this suggests that Mangione may prove to be a figure out of a Dostoyevsky novel — Raskolnikov with a silver spoon. It’s a familiar type. Ilich Ramírez Sánchez, better known as Carlos the Jackal, was a lawyer’s son whose mother moved him to London before he went on to become an international terrorist. Osama bin Laden came from immense wealth. Angry rich kids jacked up on radical, nihilistic philosophies can cause a lot of harm, not least to the ***working-class*** folks whose interests they pretend to champion.

As for the suggestion that Thompson’s murder should be an occasion to discuss America’s supposed rage at private health insurers, it’s worth pointing out that [*a 2023 survey*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/10/nyregion/unitedhealthcare-brian-thompson-funeral.html) from the nonpartisan health policy research institute KFF found that 81 percent of insured adults gave their health insurance plans a rating of “excellent” or “good.” Even a majority of those who said their health was “fair” or “poor” still broadly liked their health insurance. No industry is perfect — nor is any health care model — and insurance companies make terrible calls all the time in the interest of cost savings. But the idea that those companies represent a unique evil in American life is divorced from the experience of most of their customers.

Thompson’s life might have been cut brutally short, but it will remain a model for how a talented and determined man from humble roots can still rise to the top of corporate life without the benefit of rich parents and an Ivy League degree. As for the killer, John Fetterman had the choicest words: He’s “going to die in prison,” the peerless Pennsylvania senator told HuffPost. “Congratulations if you want to celebrate that.”

This article appeared in print on page A25.

**Load-Date:** December 20, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Working-Class Voters Are Pivotal. Both Candidates Are Vying for Their Support.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D9W-3FR1-JBG3-64CX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 1, 2024 Friday 20:18 EST

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**Section:** BUSINESS; economy

**Length:** 1716 words

**Byline:** Jeanna SmialekJeanna Smialek covers the Federal Reserve and the economy for The Times from Washington.

**Highlight:** Kamala Harris’s plans offer a bigger boost for the ***working class***, but Donald Trump seems to be convincing voters.

**Body**

Kamala Harris’s plans offer a bigger boost for the ***working class***, but Donald Trump seems to be convincing voters.

Bernadette Daywalt had yet to decide whom to vote for in the presidential election. But the 69-year-old retiree said her decision would probably come down to economics.

She and her 82-year-old sister have struggled to keep up with rising grocery prices over the past few years, and they now frequent a food pantry in the Philadelphia suburb where they live.

“I think we’re headed downhill right now, with the cost of food, the cost of everything,” Ms. Daywalt said as she checked on her voter registration at an outreach van parked outside the Elmwood Park Zoo on a crisp October afternoon. She voted for Mr. Trump in 2016, and she felt better economically when he was president.

Ms. Daywalt’s perceptions underscore a tough reality facing Democrats, who have been trying to recapture a ***working-class*** vote that has been slipping away from them.

Many economists say Vice President Kamala Harris’s economic proposals would do more to help everyday Americans than the agenda put forward by former President Donald J. Trump. One model suggests that her package would boost post-tax income for the poorest Americans by [*18 percent*](https://budgetmodel.wharton.upenn.edu/issues/2024/8/26/harris-campaign-policy-proposals-2024) by 2026, much more than the [*1.4 percent bump*](https://budgetmodel.wharton.upenn.edu/issues/2024/8/26/harris-campaign-policy-proposals-2024) Mr. Trump’s ideas would offer.

Yet America’s recent burst of inflation has put a serious dent in the nation’s economic confidence, and it has been especially tough for those on a tight budget. After decades of economic backsliding, many ***working-class*** voters are eager to hear that significant changes are coming — and are skeptical of the experts who say Mr. Trump’s promises to remake America might do little to benefit them.

The upshot is that Ms. Harris’s targeted economic proposals, many of which aim at the ***working class***, may not be enough to change political reality. America’s blue-collar voters have been turning increasingly red in recent years, and they seem to be leaning in that direction once again.

“Concrete, specific political promises are often not as powerful in the electorate as emotional appeals that tap into fears and anxieties,” said Julian Zelizer, a professor of political history at Princeton University.

***Working-Class*** Shift

***Working-class*** voters have been moving their support toward Republicans for years, a trend that has been especially true for white voters with less than a college education. Mr. Trump appears to be poised to maintain that foothold on Tuesday.

A national [*New York Times/Siena College*](https://budgetmodel.wharton.upenn.edu/issues/2024/8/26/harris-campaign-policy-proposals-2024) poll of the nation’s likely electorate taken in late October found that 64 percent of white voters without a college degree planned to cast a ballot for Mr. Trump, and just 34 percent for Ms. Harris. And while Ms. Harris retains much higher support among nonwhite voters without a college degree, support for Democrats has been slipping over time even [*among minority voters*](https://budgetmodel.wharton.upenn.edu/issues/2024/8/26/harris-campaign-policy-proposals-2024).

The reasons for the shift are complex. Some are economic — tied to the erosion of unions and a loss of manufacturing jobs — and others are cultural.

“Even before Trump appeared, white ***working-class*** culture began turning more conservative and Republican,” said Paul Clark, a professor at Pennsylvania State University who studies labor and employment relations. He said that being a Trump voter had increasingly become an identity: It often goes right along with owning a truck and a gun in battleground states like Pennsylvania.

Mr. Trump has branded himself as a “blue-collar billionaire” who embraces irreverence and wears trucker hats. He’s famously rich, which political scientists said made him an aspirational model for many voters.

But the shift also comes as Mr. Trump and Ms. Harris are offering very different visions of the economic future. And if the analyses are right, it may mean that the ***working class*** is poised to vote against its self-interest.

‘Robin Hood in Reverse’

Mr. Trump’s economic proposals amount to a disruptive bid to restore an economy of the past — one in which America was more industrial and more squarely dependent on fossil fuels.

The former president is pledging to [*lift tariffs even more*](https://budgetmodel.wharton.upenn.edu/issues/2024/8/26/harris-campaign-policy-proposals-2024) than he did in his first term. He has promised the “[*largest deportation operation*](https://budgetmodel.wharton.upenn.edu/issues/2024/8/26/harris-campaign-policy-proposals-2024) in American history.” And he says he will lower prices by encouraging domestic oil and gas production to drive fuel costs lower. He argues that cheaper fuel will lower the costs of other products and prod the Federal Reserve to cut interest rates, though economists and oil analysts have voiced skepticism about [*the feasibility*](https://budgetmodel.wharton.upenn.edu/issues/2024/8/26/harris-campaign-policy-proposals-2024) of such plans.

At the same time, Mr. Trump has proposed a [*smorgasbord of tax cuts*](https://budgetmodel.wharton.upenn.edu/issues/2024/8/26/harris-campaign-policy-proposals-2024), including no taxes on tips. Which proposals would actually pass and how much they might help the ***working class*** are unclear, because much depends on how they would be structured.

But several analysts pointed out that [*the tax cuts*](https://budgetmodel.wharton.upenn.edu/issues/2024/8/26/harris-campaign-policy-proposals-2024) passed in 2017 provided the largest benefits for the rich — and that Mr. Trump’s other proposals could push up prices, which could hurt the poor and ***working class***. Tariffs are generally passed along to domestic producers and customers, so raising them is likely to lift prices. Sudden deportations could lead to overnight worker shortages in construction or agriculture, further pushing up prices.

“I call it Robin Hood in reverse: It’s this shift in resources away from the poor and ***working class*** and up the chain,” said Kimberly Clausing, an economist at the Peterson Institute for International Economics who worked at the Treasury Department in the Biden administration.

But Joe LaVorgna, a former chief economist of the White House National Economic Council under Mr. Trump, said it was important to understand the tariffs as part of Mr. Trump’s broader economic package, not as a stand-alone policy.

“The intent is to re-industrialize,” he said.

Building on Biden

Ms. Harris’s economic vision is one of greater continuity.

[*Her campaign has said*](https://budgetmodel.wharton.upenn.edu/issues/2024/8/26/harris-campaign-policy-proposals-2024) that she would resist unfair trading practices, but also that she “believes in upholding and strengthening international economic rules.” She has pledged to continue the Biden administration’s [*sweeping efforts*](https://budgetmodel.wharton.upenn.edu/issues/2024/8/26/harris-campaign-policy-proposals-2024) to ramp up clean energy development. She has talked about cutting costs for families, but has focused on doing so by lowering drug prices and giving incentives to increase home buying. She has proposed a new [*$6,000 tax credit*](https://budgetmodel.wharton.upenn.edu/issues/2024/8/26/harris-campaign-policy-proposals-2024) for families with infants.

Economists do not uniformly embrace Ms. Harris’s proposals: She has suggested a tax break for [*first-time home buyers*](https://budgetmodel.wharton.upenn.edu/issues/2024/8/26/harris-campaign-policy-proposals-2024) that some have fretted might feed into higher home prices. Many see her promise to curb [*corporate price gouging*](https://budgetmodel.wharton.upenn.edu/issues/2024/8/26/harris-campaign-policy-proposals-2024) as more of a political message than a practical plan for lowering prices.

But many analysts have suggested that her ideas could benefit rank-and-file workers.

Wall Street economic analyses of the two packages have regularly suggested that Mr. Trump’s ideas come at a bigger [*risk of*](https://budgetmodel.wharton.upenn.edu/issues/2024/8/26/harris-campaign-policy-proposals-2024) stoking further inflation. More than a dozen Nobel [*Prize-winning economists*](https://budgetmodel.wharton.upenn.edu/issues/2024/8/26/harris-campaign-policy-proposals-2024) have signed an open letter supporting Ms. Harris.

And a Penn Wharton Budget Model analysis has found that Ms. Harris’s policies would be comparatively good for the bottom three-fifths of the income distribution, while Mr. Trump’s would be better for the richest groups. And that is without taking into account the effects of tariffs or deportations.

“There is no question that Harris is much more focused on lower-income, middle-income,” said Kent Smetters, a professor at the University of Pennsylvania’s Wharton School and head of the Penn Wharton Budget Model. And while Mr. Trump’s proposals do slightly boost lower-income earnings, “nothing is paid for in the case of Trump.”

Both Penn Wharton and the nonpartisan Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget [*have estimated*](https://budgetmodel.wharton.upenn.edu/issues/2024/8/26/harris-campaign-policy-proposals-2024) that Ms. Harris’s proposals would add to the deficit and national debt by much less than Mr. Trump’s.

Enough to Change Things?

But even if economists are lining up behind Ms. Harris’s ideas, it seems unlikely to change the tide of proletarian politics.

In a sign of how much workers are gravitating toward the Republican Party and a blow to Ms. Harris, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, a union [*with 1.3 million members*](https://budgetmodel.wharton.upenn.edu/issues/2024/8/26/harris-campaign-policy-proposals-2024), did not endorse a presidential candidate this year.

While Democrats have typically been more union-friendly, the Teamsters carried out several polls of its members this year and found that they were moving toward Mr. Trump. Two [*later*](https://budgetmodel.wharton.upenn.edu/issues/2024/8/26/harris-campaign-policy-proposals-2024) surveys showed that roughly 60 percent preferred him and just 30 percent preferred Ms. Harris.

Part of the longer-term problem for Democrats may be that the nation’s bottom half has been falling behind for decades. Wealth inequality has widened substantially, and there are fewer opportunities for economic progress, especially for those without a college degree.

“***Working-class*** people — some ***working-class*** people — feel that the Democrats have not offered a meaningful solution to the blah economic situation they’ve seen,” said Jared Abbott, the director of the Center for ***Working-Class*** Politics, which aims to push progressives to focus more on workers.

That is what’s keeping Paul Brown, 47, from voting at all. Mr. Brown, who is Black, was headed into a Dollar General in a Philadelphia suburb on Sunday. He has worked in food production in the past, but an injury is preventing him from working right now, and it has been hard to keep up with his bills.

He doesn’t believe that either candidate will bring real changes for people like him, and he hasn’t cast a vote since Barack Obama ran for office. But his friends are split between voting for Ms. Harris and Mr. Trump.

When they’re voting for the former president, it is often because they think his policies benefited them economically — especially pandemic stimulus checks that went out under both Mr. Trump and President Biden, but that only Mr. Trump [*made a point of signing*](https://budgetmodel.wharton.upenn.edu/issues/2024/8/26/harris-campaign-policy-proposals-2024).

“I’m like: I don’t think that was Trump,” Mr. Brown said. He himself remains unconvinced. “Nothing they’re going to do is going to help us out.”

PHOTOS: Many economists have said Kamala Harris’s policies would do more to help everyday Americans than those of Donald J. Trump. But voters remain skeptical of experts who say Mr. Trump’s promises might do little to benefit them. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY HIROKO MASUIKE/THE NEW YORK TIMES; EMILY ELCONIN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A19) This article appeared in print on page A1, A19.

**Load-Date:** November 1, 2024

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[***Short on Time, Harris’s Labor Allies Sprint to Reach Working-Class Voters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D85-B1F1-JBG3-62N4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1683 words

**Byline:** Jonathan WeismanJonathan Weisman is a politics writer, covering campaigns with an emphasis on economic and labor policy. He is based in Chicago.

**Highlight:** Unions and their affiliates think they can still break through with the Democrats’ worst demographic, white ***working-class*** voters, by hustling on the ground. But it has been a slog.

**Body**

Unions and their affiliates think they can still break through with the Democrats’ worst demographic, white ***working-class*** voters, by hustling on the ground. But it has been a slog.

Vice President Kamala Harris’s allies in organized labor have begun a late drive to help her with white ***working-class*** voters, her weakest demographic, in the face of great skepticism over inflation, old grudges about free trade, new ones about student-loan forgiveness, and a profound blue-collar affinity for Donald J. Trump.

Working America, a [*political affiliate of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. built*](https://www.nytimes.com/2003/08/29/us/afl-cio-begins-group-for-workers-not-in-unions.html) to reach nonunion workers, has around 1,600 paid canvassers knocking on doors in the battleground states of Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin on any given day — just one part of a concerted effort by organized labor to eat into Mr. Trump’s advantage and deliver a Democratic victory through sheer hustle.

“We are the difference-makers in the election,” said Liz Shuler, president of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., the nation’s largest federation of unions.

But beneath the bravado is realism.

For Ms. Harris, there is no sugarcoating her numbers with white ***working-class*** voters. Earlier this month, a poll of Pennsylvania by The New York Times, Siena College and The Philadelphia Inquirer found the vice president leading Mr. Trump overall, 50 percent to 47 percent. But Mr. Trump led by seven percentage points among likely voters without a college degree.

Among white voters without a college degree, that gap grew to a chasm: 58 percent favored Mr. Trump, 40 percent Ms. Harris. By a wide margin, 57 percent to 41 percent, college-educated voters said Ms. Harris would be better than Mr. Trump at helping the ***working class***. But if educational attainment is a stand-in for class, the white ***working class*** trusts Mr. Trump; 56 percent say he would help them best, compared with 41 percent who say that about the vice president.

April Verrett, president of the Service Employees International Union, said Democratic hand-wringing over a slight slippage of support among Black men misses the real problem.

“It is white men and white women who vote for Donald Trump. We’re not going to sway the majority of them, but over time, we have to tackle that challenge,” she said.

The ***working class***’s issues with Ms. Harris are complex and, with less than two weeks until Election Day, probably not remediable. As Zaeveona Rainey, 25, a canvasser and crew chief for Working America, made her way last Thursday through Coraopolis, Pa., a mostly white ***working-class*** suburb of Pittsburgh, she found very few voters who were not already dug in.

Older ***working-class*** voters still associate the party with the free-trade principles of Bill Clinton’s New Democrats, an association emphasized by Mr. Trump’s protectionist takeover of the Republican Party, said Michael Podhorzer, who recently retired as the A.F.L.-C.I.O.’s longtime political chief. Many younger ***working-class*** voters, crushed economically by the coronavirus pandemic, then hit by inflation just as they emerged from isolation, appear to have given up.

“Most young ***working-class*** people, for good reason, think Democrats, Republicans or the political class have done nothing for them,” Mr. Podhorzer said. “People don’t trust the system.”

But as Matt Morrison, the executive director of Working America, sees it, there are voters to reach with a large enough army. He has a theory to drive the canvassers blanketing the swing states — that the personal connections they make night after night will make a difference.

“It’s a numbers game,” Mr. Morrison said. “You get to enough people on a large enough scale to get to the soft commits or undecideds.”

And union leaders say they are making the effort, while acknowledging the headwinds.

“I want to stress, we still have work to do,” said Lee Saunders, president of the 1.6-million-strong American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and chairman of the A.F.L.-C.I.O.’s political committee, “especially in the economic areas.”

Mr. Trump may be just getting better advice, said Faiz Shakir, an adviser to Senator Bernie Sanders, independent of Vermont, and the executive director of a nonprofit media organization, More Perfect Union, aimed at ***working-class*** viewers.

When the former president talks about going into a drugstore and finding all the products behind locked plastic plates, he is almost certainly not speaking from personal experience, Mr. Shakir said. Yet Mr. Trump’s story of crime and decline is instantly relatable and recognizable to voters in a way that Ms. Harris’s refrain of growing up middle class somehow isn’t, he argued.

The Harris campaign believes it has a winning strategy for winning enough ***working-class*** votes in the closing days of the campaign, through union hall visits by Ms. Harris and her running mate, Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, labor surrogates leading the outreach, and advertising strategically placed in college and professional football games and other major sporting events.

“Here’s the bottom line,” Ms. Harris told union workers in Lansing, Mich., on Friday, “Donald Trump’s track record is a disaster for working people, and he is an existential threat to America’s labor movement.”

Organized labor insists it can break through. On Saturday, a coalition of industrial and service-industry unions began a final push that their leaders say will reach five million union members. Shawn Fain, president of the United Automobile Workers, has become one of Ms. Harris’s most trusted surrogates, barnstorming through Michigan and Pennsylvania.

Public sector unions, such as AFSCME, the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers, may have their existence at stake: The Trump allies who wrote the Project 2025 blueprint for another Trump term, have vowed to phase them out.

More than 5,000 S.E.I.U. members would be knocking on more than a million doors in the final drive to get out the vote.

Mr. Morrison portrayed chipping away at Mr. Trump’s advantage almost as a science, and he brandished the numbers to prove it. Through follow-up call and control groups, he said Working America concluded it had netted 250,000 additional votes for Democratic candidates in 2022, 90,000 of them for John Fetterman, the victorious Senate candidate in Pennsylvania, 21,000 for Katie Hobbs, now the governor of Arizona.

On a recent day in Pittsburgh, around 250 canvassers had come up from Atlanta to supplement the Pennsylvania crew set to blanket the ***working-class*** suburbs south of the Ohio River. At a training session that afternoon, they were advised to highlight Ms. Harris’s policies, and not to try to convince people Mr. Trump is bad.

Be personable and memorable, they were told. If voters identify themselves as Trump supporters most concerned about immigration, move on. They are set. If a Trump voter says he is most concerned about health care, lean in. That person could flip.

Ms. Rainey did not find many of those “soft commits.” There was Michael Carden, 42, a meat cutter in what he called “a very blue-collar job,” who told her on Thursday evening that he was adamantly for Ms. Harris.

“I’ve thought a lot about who I am and what has become of us since 2016,” he said. “What Trump brought out in people, it’s made me think a lot less of a lot of folks.”

But Trump supporters had their own reasons. One cited President Biden’s “giveaway” to college graduates who have had student loans forgiven. A 55-year-old landscaper who declined to give his name liked Mr. Trump’s swagger and unpredictability in an unstable world.

“It’s like having Mike Tyson walking behind you,” he said of Mr. Trump’s foreign policy.

If nothing else, Working America has been good for the Americans working for it. Base pay for a canvasser is $20 an hour, $25 for a canvasser working five days a week. If a canvasser records 33 completed conversations a night, that can be bumped to $30 an hour. A completed conversation is simply getting through four questions: What is your top issue? Which presidential candidate are you voting for? Which Senate candidate are you voting for? Would you accept a Working America for Harris yard sign?

“Human connection is what drives the outcome,” Mr. Morrison said.

Even some of the canvassers have their doubts. Maria Wesley, 54, a door-knocker who came up from Atlanta with dozens of others to help in Pennsylvania, said she had been breaking down wooden pallets for $14 an hour before connecting with Working America. “For a lot of us, this is the most money we’ve ever made,” she said.

But if she doesn’t make her average of 30 conversations a night, she can be dismissed, which once happened to her, and the bosses are diligent about random checks to make sure canvassers are truthful in their reports. That can drive canvassers to rush through their scripts — or “raps” — instead of really working to change minds, Ms. Wesley said.

Still, every once in a while, the canvassers connect. At the end of her night, as darkness enveloped Coraopolis, Ms. Rainey found Victor Martinelli, not exactly ***working class***. He retired at 63 from his job as tax director at a venture capital fund. But he was genuinely undecided. Ms. Harris had the better economic agenda, he said, but he saw Mr. Trump as the better commander in chief in a world edging toward war.

As he talked through his concerns with Ms. Rainey, he seemed to lean toward Ms. Harris. “She does have a plan,” he allowed. “At least she is telling us what she wants to do.”

He thanked Ms. Rainey for stopping by and talking it through: “It just gets you thinking,” he said.

Jazmine Ulloa contributed reporting from Saginaw, Mich., and Ruth Igielnik from New York.

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PHOTOS: Zaeveona Rainey, left, a crew chief for Working America, canvassing in Coraopolis, Pa., a mostly white ***working-class*** suburb. Matt Morrison, executive director of Working America, said, “Human connection is what drives the outcome.” (PHOTOGRAPHS BY KRISTIAN THACKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A17) This article appeared in print on page A1, A17.

**Load-Date:** October 25, 2024

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[***For Minority Working-Class Voters, Dismay With Democrats Led to Distrust; political memo***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DFP-RC91-JBG3-608N-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1757 words

**Byline:** Jennifer MedinaJennifer Medina is a Los Angeles-based political reporter for The Times, focused on political attitudes and demographic change.

**Highlight:** In scores of interviews throughout 2024, Latino, Black and Asian American voters, many of whom voted for Donald Trump, said they no longer trusted Democrats to improve the economy.

**Body**

In scores of interviews throughout 2024, Latino, Black and Asian American voters, many of whom voted for Donald Trump, said they no longer trusted Democrats to improve the economy.

The ***working-class*** voters Vice President Kamala Harris’s presidential campaign needed were not moved by [*talk of joy.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/21/us/politics/undecided-voters.html) They were too angry about feeling broke.

For decades, Democrats had been the party of labor and of the ***working class***, the choice for voters who looked to government to increase the minimum wage or provide a safety net for the poor, the old and the sick. But this year’s election results show how thoroughly that idea has collapsed even among Latino, Black and Asian American voters who had stuck by the party through Donald J. Trump’s first term.

Latinos had signaled what was coming: They drifted away from Democrats and toward Mr. Trump in 2020, before defecting in greater numbers this year. But ***working-class*** Black and Asian American voters have also now broken ranks in startling numbers.

The losses up and down the ballot leave Democrats in crisis. Voters without a college degree make up a solid majority of the electorate. Without them, the White House could be out of reach. And for a party that stands for and takes pride in its diversity, the erosion of support from voters of color calls its identity into question.

Yet interviews over the past year with hundreds of ***working-class*** minority voters revealed the challenges confronting Democrats as both clear and daunting. For many, hope had already hardened into cynicism. Promises about affordable housing fell flat and promoting accomplishments on insulin prices failed to break through. Simply put, their trust in the Democratic Party was gone.

“Democrats flipped,” said Daniel Trujillo, who owns a [*barbershop in East Las Vegas*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/21/us/politics/undecided-voters.html) and watched many of his customers shift from supporting Barack Obama to favoring Mr. Trump. “They went from being for the ***working class*** to, if you’re not college-educated and have money, you’re not worthy.” He said he had watched with delight as his customers increasingly warmed toward Mr. Trump.

“The right turned blue-collar and went full border-control, strong-economy and law-and-order,” Mr. Trujillo added. “Who doesn’t want that?”

In Milwaukee, Phoenix and Atlanta; in swap meets and strip malls; on the sidelines of soccer and baseball fields; and at community centers in big cities and diverse suburbs, voters sounded similar refrains. The system wasn’t working for them.

Many said Democrats’ dire warnings about threats to democracy felt far less compelling compared with the [*urgency of their own struggles to pay the rent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/21/us/politics/undecided-voters.html).

Black voters, on the whole, still voted overwhelmingly for Democrats, as did a narrower majority of Latinos and Asian Americans. But Republicans made gains in big cities and diverse suburbs. Hispanic-majority counties shifted to the right by 13 percentage points, preliminary results showed, as did counties with large numbers of Asian American voters; Black-majority counties shifted to the G.O.P. by about three points.

Though Republicans were quick to celebrate a long-sought political realignment, interviews this year with ***working-class*** voters suggest that the shifts may not prove so enduring. For many, their choices were as much a [*message-sending rejection of Democrats*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/21/us/politics/undecided-voters.html) as an embrace of Mr. Trump, his policies and his party.

“A deep reckoning is needed among Democrats and other leaders who claim to represent working Latinos,” said Carlos Odio, a director at Equis, a Democratic-leaning research group that focuses on Latino voters. “What happened in this election does not come to pass without years of neglect that finally came to a head.”

David Paiz, 52, works in maintenance for the city of Las Vegas, where he moved during the pandemic, frustrated with the cost of living in California. He was thrilled when he and his wife could wear “Thug Life” T-shirts emblazoned with Mr. Trump’s face and not elicit nasty remarks from neighbors or friends.

“There’s a lot of things that I want to do, that we want to do for our sons, for their future, to prepare them for success,” Mr. Paiz said. “But with the current administration, I didn’t see that happening. Now that Trump’s going to be our new president, I see a lot more opportunities.”

For months, Democratic operatives suggested that voters like Mr. Paiz were merely “Trump-curious” and that most would eventually be repelled by Mr. Trump’s coarseness or his hard-line immigration proposals.

But nine years after he disparaged Mexicans in his first campaign, and nine days after a comedian at Mr. Trump’s Madison Square Garden rally [*made an obscene joke*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/21/us/politics/undecided-voters.html) about Latinos making babies, he appeared to win a bigger share of the Latino and Black votes than any Republican presidential candidate since the civil-rights era.

Inflation and inequality had taken their toll.

Two-thirds of Trump voters said they had to cut back on groceries this year, compared with only a third of Harris voters, a New York Times/Siena College poll found in October.

These voters were not necessarily poor: Many said they could afford groceries, but that higher prices left them with far less disposable income. Voters earning $20 an hour complained bitterly about being unable to take their families to the movies or on carefree outings at the mall.

A week before the election, Walter Mendoza, 30, a financial adviser who lives with his mother in Allentown, Pa., was frustrated they had just enough to buy chicken and instant mashed potatoes for that night’s dinner. “People can’t afford nothing,” he said. “So I’m voting for somebody who could more manage the country better.” He said he hoped that with Mr. Trump in charge, “most of us can get a couple nice things.”

Others who said they felt held back by rising rents and by housing prices that put a home of their own out of reach described becoming convinced that Mr. Trump would improve their buying power.

Even as they held onto their faith in the American dream, many nonwhite ***working-class*** voters said they had come to see the Democratic Party as condescending, overly focused on issues irrelevant to their day-to-day lives. They bristled over social issues like the concerns of transgender children or the party’s focus on abortion rights. They felt scolded by liberals on Covid precautions — and crushed by [*the pandemic’s economic fallout*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/21/us/politics/undecided-voters.html).

Some sounded every bit as aggrieved as the white ***working-class*** voters who first fueled Mr. Trump’s MAGA movement, voicing similar complaints about migrants being given easier access to housing and food than homeless veterans living on the streets. Others said they believed that Mr. Trump — whom they viewed as particularly effective in working with foreign dictators — could bring the wars in Ukraine and the Middle East to a quick end.

“He’s a businessman, and you’ve got to run a country like business — you can’t be based off of feelings,” said Juan Sosa, a 34-year-old immigrant from Cuba who owns three small businesses in Las Vegas. “I feel like right now we’re the laughingstock of the world. Like, there’s no assertiveness in our lives and how we come across to the rest of the world.”

Another pattern emerged in scores of interviews over the past year: ***Working-class*** voters of color often chose the same things to disbelieve, downplay or dismiss.

Latino voters, in particular, discounted Mr. Trump’s draconian promise to round up and deport millions of people in the country illegally.

“Me, worried about deportations? No, not one worry,” said Angela De Los Santos, a 54-year-old immigrant from the Dominican Republic who owns a Dominican-Oaxacan restaurant in Hazleton, Pa. “Trump knows he needs immigrants to work. Us, we’re here to work, we commit no crimes, we will not have any problem with that.”

When Mr. Trump spoke of immigrants “poisoning the blood of our country,” critics cried fascism and xenophobia. But many naturalized citizens, and children and grandchildren of immigrants, said they heard a leader promising to protect his own. Far from feeling threatened by such rhetoric, they said they felt [*affirmed in their identity as Americans.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/21/us/politics/undecided-voters.html)

For years, Romeo Kintanar, 76, waited in the Philippines for a visa to come to the United States. Now a retired caregiver and self-described independent, he said he saw the Biden administration’s missteps at the border as an affront.

“Here the borders are just wide open for anybody to come in without proper scrutiny,” said Mr. Kintanar, who said he became a naturalized citizen in 2015 and voted for Mr. Trump. “To me, that’s really a failure.”

Mr. Trump’s racist remarks and anti-immigrant hostility, too, were often set aside as bluster.

“I know for a fact, as a Trump supporter, he doesn’t support racism — I don’t think he’s that kind of guy,” said Gardner Mojica, a 45-year-old first time voter from Reading, Pa., who spent several months selling MAGA merchandise at Trump rallies. “He likes family values. He’s a father. He’s a grandfather.”

Like many first-time Trump voters, Mr. Mojica is not particularly ideological or partisan. According to a Times/Siena poll of the Hispanic electorate in October, about one-third of Latino Trump voters identified as moderate and 13 percent identified as liberal. While half of Latino Trump supporters called themselves conservative, that figure was far less than Trump voters as a whole.

The Trump campaign reached nonwhite ***working-class*** voters in both unconventional and familiar ways.

It worked [*with rap artists*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/21/us/politics/undecided-voters.html), podcasters popular on YouTube, Ultimate Fighting Championship stars and [*evangelical pastors*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/21/us/politics/undecided-voters.html). And in the campaign’s final days, Mr. Trump held rallies in heavily Hispanic cities.

[*At one in Allentown*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/21/us/politics/undecided-voters.html) a week before Election Day, a heavily Latino crowd signaled the strength of Mr. Trump’s gains, but there were glimpses, too, of an even broader coalition potentially in the making: a red-white-and-blue kaffiyeh worn in solidarity with Palestinians. Korean and Japanese flags held aloft.

And everyone chanting: “Trump, Trump, Trump.”

Ruth Igielnik, Carlos Prieto and Amy Qin contributed reporting.

Ruth Igielnik, Carlos Prieto and Amy Qin contributed reporting.

PHOTOS: A store in Allentown, Pa. About two-thirds of Trump voters said they had to cut back on groceries this year, according to a poll. Walter Mendoza, far left, hoped that now “most of us can get a couple nice things.” Left, Angela De Los Santos, who is from the Dominican Republic, said she is not worried about deportation. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY HANNAH BEIER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A19) This article appeared in print on page A1, A19.

**Load-Date:** November 20, 2024

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[***A More Working-Class British Cabinet, Still Seen as Out of Touch***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D3W-3BF1-JBG3-62PB-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 1366 words

**Highlight:** Prime Minister Keir Starmer’s top team contains more lawmakers from poor backgrounds, and fewer from elite schools, than any in recent memory. Voters haven’t noticed.

**Body**

Prime Minister Keir Starmer’s top team contains more lawmakers from poor backgrounds, and fewer from elite schools, than any in recent memory. Voters haven’t noticed.

Hot water was a [*luxury*](https://www.vogue.co.uk/article/angela-rayner-interview) in the home where Angela Rayner, Britain’s deputy prime minister, was raised. Wes Streeting, the health secretary, was born to a single mother who [*pawned her jewelry*](https://www.vogue.co.uk/article/angela-rayner-interview) to make ends meet. Racist skinheads shouted abuse at the young [*David Lammy*](https://www.vogue.co.uk/article/angela-rayner-interview), a Black Briton who is now foreign secretary, near his home in a deprived part of north London.

Britain’s current cabinet, the country’s 22 senior lawmakers including the prime minister, Keir Starmer, is one of the most ***working class*** in the nation’s history. [*Only one attended a private school*](https://www.vogue.co.uk/article/angela-rayner-interview), and several spent their early lives in poverty. Mr. Starmer, whose [*father*](https://www.vogue.co.uk/article/angela-rayner-interview) worked in a factory, has [*recounted*](https://www.vogue.co.uk/article/angela-rayner-interview) when their phone was cut off because his parents couldn’t pay the bills.

Yet, while the cabinet may be more like many of the people it governs, Britons don’t seem to have noticed.

According to [*one recent opinion poll*](https://www.vogue.co.uk/article/angela-rayner-interview), fewer than one in four people see the Labour government, which came to power in July, as caring about “people like them,” while almost two-thirds of voters see it as not bothered by the interests of normal people.

That impression has been shaped in part by recent revelations that senior Labour [*figures accepted free gifts from party donors*](https://www.vogue.co.uk/article/angela-rayner-interview), including clothing and eyeglasses for Mr. Starmer and dresses for his wife.

But the glaring disparity between the humble social origins of top ministers and the way they are perceived, analysts say, underscores the disenchantment many Britons feel with the system, and with the political class in general.

Whatever their social origins, many Labour figures look like identikit politicians at a time when voters seem to be turned off by the unspoken rules of mainstream politics, said Steven Fielding, an emeritus professor of political history at the University of Nottingham.

“One reason why politicians from a ***working-class*** background who are in the cabinet are there is because they have adhered to a model that a lot of people find frustrating,” he said.

He added that the ascent to high office invariably changes the way the public perceives someone’s status. “If you are in the cabinet then — by definition — you are no longer exactly ***working class***.”

Class consciousness has historically been deeply ingrained in Britain, with ongoing debate about the impact of a regional accent or a particular school on career outcomes. Three-quarters of Britons said they believed that [*social class affects someone’s opportunities*](https://www.vogue.co.uk/article/angela-rayner-interview) “a great deal” or “quite a lot,” in a poll last year by NatCen, an annual social attitudes survey.

Labour’s landslide election victory in July ushered in a striking change in the social makeup of the government, as the Conservatives were banished to the opposition.

“Forty-three percent of Keir Starmer’s cabinet come from ***working-class*** backgrounds, in that their parents had ***working-class*** jobs,” said Aaron Reeves, co-author of a book about Britain’s elite called “Born to Rule,” and a professor at the London School of Economics. “For the outgoing Conservative cabinet that was about 7 percent.”

In terms of education, the shift is equally stark.

Nine top private schools, including Eton, Harrow and Winchester, have produced [*two-thirds of all prime ministers*](https://www.vogue.co.uk/article/angela-rayner-interview) in Britain, despite educating fewer than 0.2 percent of all British schoolchildren. The same schools have produced more than half of lawmakers who held the so-called great offices of state, which include chancellor of the Exchequer and foreign secretary, according to Sam Friedman, also a professor at the London School of Economics, and Mr. Reeves’s co-author.

Only one member of Mr. Starmer’s cabinet went to a private school, the lowest number in British history. That contrasts with almost two-thirds of the cabinet under Rishi Sunak, his predecessor, [*according to the Sutton Trust*](https://www.vogue.co.uk/article/angela-rayner-interview), an organization that promotes social mobility.

Labour ministers are not shy about advertising their ***working class*** credentials. At their annual conference last month the business and trade secretary, Jonathan Reynolds, whose father was a firefighter and whose mother worked for a door-to-door loans company, began his speech by saying he was “proud to be a part of the most ***working-class*** cabinet in British history.”

But getting that idea across has not been helped by the furor over freebies. Although no rules appear to have been broken, it has threatened to reinforce the impression that politicians of all political stripes are self-serving.

“While talking about their ***working-class*** origins has been an important and genuine way the Labour cabinet have communicated their ordinariness to the public, the freebie scandal has strongly eroded the image of being normal, meritocratic and unspectacular,” said Professor Friedman. “Free clothes, free tickets, free parties paid for, the use of expensive apartments when they need them — all this signals a life of privilege, not ordinariness.”

Britain’s right-leaning media leaped on the revelations. Conservative politicians have long done their best to put distance between Mr. Starmer and his ***working-class*** background. Many pointedly refer to him as “Sir Keir” and his wife as “Lady Victoria” — titles they rarely use — leading some voters to [*believe wrongly*](https://www.vogue.co.uk/article/angela-rayner-interview) that they were aristocrats by birth. (Mr. Starmer was given a knighthood in 2014 for serving as chief public prosecutor.)

On Wednesday, Downing Street said that Mr. Starmer had repaid more than 6,000 pounds — almost $7,900 — to cover gifts he received since becoming prime minister, including the cost of Taylor Swift concert tickets.

Three months after winning power, the government has so far implemented few policies to help working people but angered many by [*curtailing fuel subsidy payments*](https://www.vogue.co.uk/article/angela-rayner-interview) for retirees. It has announced plans to remove a tax exemption from private schools, however, something previous Labour administrations never attempted, and its first budget at the end of October may contain more targeted policies.

Of its top team, Ms. Rayner overcame considerable obstacles. She was raised in public housing and left school at 16, pregnant and with no qualifications. After becoming a care worker, she rose through the trade union movement before running for Parliament.

In her traditional union background, she is something of an exception. Other senior Labour figures have made their way to the top by working for advocacy groups, charities or as researchers and advisers for Labour lawmakers.

Bridget Phillipson, the education secretary, was [*also raised in public housing*](https://www.vogue.co.uk/article/angela-rayner-interview) and has described being ostracized on the playground because she was poor. She did well at school, got to Oxford University and managed a refuge for women and children fleeing domestic violence before becoming a lawmaker.

In spite of these meritocratic success stories, the nature of modern party management and the tightly controlled presentation of politicians in a 24/7 news environment — where one bad interview can ruin a career — can add to officials’ seeming remoteness.

Most of Labour’s top team “have been schooled into that model of how to do politics which many people now reject,” said Professor Fielding. They rarely stray from preplanned talking points and tend to be risk averse in media interviews.

By contrast, a [*populist like Nigel Farage*](https://www.vogue.co.uk/article/angela-rayner-interview), leader of the anti-immigration Reform U.K. party, has cultivated an outsider’s appeal to voters in struggling regions, even though he attended an exclusive private school and worked as a commodity trader.

“The irony,” Professor Fielding added, “is that it is someone like Nigel Farage on this side of the Atlantic, and Donald Trump on the other, who can use that to win support from voters who are ***working class***.”

PHOTOS: Deputy Prime Minister Angela Rayner, right, was raised in public housing, left school at 16 and became a care worker. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TEMILADE ADELAJA/REUTERS); Prime Minister Keir Starmer, left, with David Lammy, Britain’s foreign secretary. Mr. Lammy grew up in north London, where he endured racist abuse. (POOL PHOTO BY STEFAN ROUSSEAU) This article appeared in print on page A4.

**Load-Date:** October 4, 2024

**End of Document**



[***A More Working-Class British Cabinet, Still Seen as Out of Touch***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D3W-PMH1-DXY4-X0GN-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 4, 2024 Friday

The New York Times on the Web

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**Section:** Section ; Column 0; Foreign Desk

**Length:** 1328 words

**Byline:** By Stephen Castle

**Body**

Prime Minister Keir Starmer's top team contains more lawmakers from poor backgrounds, and fewer from elite schools, than any in recent memory. Voters haven't noticed.

Hot water was a luxury in the home where Angela Rayner, Britain's deputy prime minister, was raised. Wes Streeting, the health secretary, was born to a single mother who pawned her jewelry to make ends meet. Racist skinheads shouted abuse at the young David Lammy, a Black Briton who is now foreign secretary, near his home in a deprived part of north London.

Britain's current cabinet, the country's 22 senior lawmakers including the prime minister, Keir Starmer, is one of the most ***working class*** in the nation's history. Only one attended a private school, and several spent their early lives in poverty. Mr. Starmer, whose father worked in a factory, has recounted when their phone was cut off because his parents couldn't pay the bills.

Yet, while the cabinet may be more like many of the people it governs, Britons don't seem to have noticed.

According to one recent opinion poll, fewer than one in four people see the Labour government, which came to power in July, as caring about ''people like them,'' while almost two-thirds of voters see it as not bothered by the interests of normal people.

That impression has been shaped in part by recent revelations that senior Labour figures accepted free gifts from party donors, including clothing and eyeglasses for Mr. Starmer and dresses for his wife.

But the glaring disparity between the humble social origins of top ministers and the way they are perceived, analysts say, underscores the disenchantment many Britons feel with the system, and with the political class in general.

Whatever their social origins, many Labour figures look like identikit politicians at a time when voters seem to be turned off by the unspoken rules of mainstream politics, said Steven Fielding, an emeritus professor of political history at the University of Nottingham.

''One reason why politicians from a ***working-class*** background who are in the cabinet are there is because they have adhered to a model that a lot of people find frustrating,'' he said.

He added that the ascent to high office invariably changes the way the public perceives someone's status. ''If you are in the cabinet then -- by definition -- you are no longer exactly ***working class***.''

Class consciousness has historically been deeply ingrained in Britain, with ongoing debate about the impact of a regional accent or a particular school on career outcomes. Three-quarters of Britons said they believed that social class affects someone's opportunities ''a great deal'' or ''quite a lot,'' in a poll last year by NatCen, an annual social attitudes survey.

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Labour ministers are not shy about advertising their backgrounds. At their annual conference last month the business and trade secretary, Jonathan Reynolds, whose father was a firefighter and whose mother worked for a door-to-door loans company, began his speech by saying he was ''proud to be a part of the most ***working-class*** cabinet in British history.''

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Britain's right-leaning media leaped on the revelations. Conservative politicians have long done their best to put distance between Mr. Starmer and his ***working-class*** background. Many pointedly refer to him as ''Sir Keir'' and his wife as ''Lady Victoria'' -- titles they rarely use -- leading some voters to believe wrongly that they were aristocrats by birth. (Mr. Starmer was given a knighthood in 2014 for serving as chief public prosecutor.)

On Wednesday, Downing Street said that Mr. Starmer had repaid more than 6,000 pounds -- almost $7,900 -- to cover gifts he received since becoming prime minister, including the cost of Taylor Swift concert tickets.

Ultimately, voters will judge the government on its actions, not its origins. Three months after winning power, the government has so far implemented few policies to help working people but angered many by curtailing fuel subsidy payments for retirees. It has announced plans to remove a tax exemption from private schools, however, something previous Labour administrations never attempted, and its first budget at the end of October may contain more targeted policies.

Of its top team, Ms. Rayner overcame considerable obstacles. She was raised in public housing and left school at 16, pregnant and with no qualifications. After becoming a care worker, she rose through the trade union movement before running for Parliament.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/04/world/europe/uk-labour-cabinet-****working-class****-freebies.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/04/world/europe/uk-labour-cabinet-working-class-freebies.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Deputy Prime Minister Angela Rayner, right, and other British cabinet members at the Labour Party's annual conference last month. She was raised in public housing and left school at 16. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Temilade Adelaja/Reuters FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 4, 2024

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[***Newsom's Message to Working-Class Voters Is That Democrats Need to Do Better***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DGB-8KR1-DXY4-X0WT-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 22, 2024 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1028 words

**Byline:** By Shawn Hubler

**Body**

Gov. Gavin Newsom acknowledged that residents were frustrated by economic problems and said that Democrats needed to address their concerns.

On Thursday, Gov. Gavin Newsom made the first of three post-election visits to California counties that Donald J. Trump won in the presidential race, reaching out to ***working-class*** voters in the Central Valley who remain frustrated by economic woes.

The appearance in Fresno, to unveil a new economic development system, came as interviews and polls have shown that economic and class divisions were key to Mr. Trump's return to power.

With Democrats still mulling over their presidential and congressional losses, Mr. Newsom told a gathering at an apprenticeship program that it was clear that Americans felt ''on edge, unmoored, uneasy.''

''You know, some people talk about this economy is booming, inflation is cooling, lowest unemployment in our lifetimes,'' he said. ''But people don't feel that way. They feel like the economy is not supportive. They feel like the economy is not nourishing.''

In an earlier interview, the governor said that his party needed to learn from the recent election and to address the struggles of American workers.

''A lot of people feel like they're losing their identity or losing their future,'' Mr. Newsom said. ''Message received.''

A leading Democrat who has been viewed as a potential 2028 presidential contender, California's governor has long been a pointed critic of Mr. Trump. Over the past two and a half weeks, he has indicated that he expects his state and the Trump administration to repeat the pitched battle they waged during Mr. Trump's first term, when California sued the federal government more than 120 times.

The governor's immediate response after the Nov. 5 election was to call his state's Democrat-dominated legislature into an emergency special session that would start in December. Mr. Newsom urged Democrats to ''stand firm'' against expected efforts by Mr. Trump to deport immigrants, further limit reproductive rights and weaken environmental regulation.

In a video address shortly after the election, however, Mr. Newsom said that ''my job is not to wake up every single day and get a crowbar and try to put it in the spokes of the wheel of the Trump administration.''

On Wednesday, the governor said he felt it was critical to counter Republican claims that Democrats had failed ***working-class*** residents. During the campaign, he said, he sensed that his defense of President Biden's economic record ''wasn't landing.''

''People are being left behind, their regions are being left behind,'' the governor said. ''We as a party will be history if we don't heed the call to address the economy.''

Though dominated by Democrats, California has a conservative streak that runs from the rural far north, down through the Central Valley and into inland Southern California suburbs. Mr. Newsom has two years left before term limits require him to leave office, during which he will have to work with the Trump administration.

Fresno County had voted for Democrats in four consecutive presidential elections dating back to President Obama's first win in 2008. But this year, voters went for Mr. Trump. Mr. Newsom also soon plans to head to Kern and Colusa counties, which have been Republican strongholds.

Ashley Swearengin, a former Republican mayor of Fresno who has since registered as an independent voter, said that California leaders have historically taken economic growth for granted and argued that state programs were not needed to advance the economy.

For much of the state, that was true, she said, but not for the Central Valley: ''We were all like, Cool to be you, but sucks to be us.''

She said the day before the election, she saw the longest convoy of Trump supporters she had ever seen at a stoplight in North Fresno.

''It had to have been at least 50 vehicles,'' she said. ''Just truck after truck after truck after truck after truck.''

Since his 2018 election, Mr. Newsom has intentionally frequented parts of the state that don't support him. Driven by a California Highway Patrol security detail, he travels by car, wending his way down rural highways still dotted with signs demanding his recall.

''It has served no political benefit,'' he said, laughing off suggestions that the trips might also road-test his presidential prospects. ''But I want everyone to know I hear them, and I see them.''

Democrats in California have long succeeded by making Mr. Trump a foil in their messaging because the former Republican president has been unpopular among voters in the state. But in Mr. Trump's second term, leaders like Mr. Newsom may find the same line of attack to be less effective.

''He may want to be the hero of the Trump resistance,'' said Dan Schnur, a political analyst who teaches at the University of Southern California, Pepperdine University and the University of California, Berkeley. ''But while fighting with Trump is part of his path forward, it can't be the only thing he does.''

Mr. Newsom's economic development overhaul has been underway since before the pandemic but will formally take effect early next year, said Dee Dee Myers, director of the Governor's Office of Business and Economic Development. Drafted by more than 10,000 representatives of labor, business, schools, tribal councils and other community interests, the plan will focus on creating jobs and distributing state economic funds through a regional approach that goes beyond power centers like Los Angeles and the Silicon Valley.

The Central Valley, for instance, is an agricultural engine with more than five million people, but unemployment there tends to be higher and median incomes lower than in most of California. In the four-county region around Fresno that presented Mr. Newsom with its plan on Thursday, roughly one in five residents live in poverty and one in seven has less than a high school education, according to census data.

That disparity has increasingly come with a political cost: Although final vote tallies are still pending, more than 57 percent of the region's presidential ballots so far have been cast for Mr. Trump.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/21/us/newsom-california-counties-trump.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/21/us/newsom-california-counties-trump.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Gov. Gavin Newsom acknowledged that people in California were frustrated by economic problems, and said that Democrats needed to address their concerns. ''Message received,'' Mr. Newsom said. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIC THAYER/ASSOCIATED PRESS) This article appeared in print on page A17.

**Load-Date:** November 22, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Trump Is No Longer Even Pretending to Champion the Working Class; Michelle Goldberg***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CRF-BHT1-JBG3-64XY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 16, 2024 Friday 22:14 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1012 words

**Byline:** Michelle Goldberg Michelle Goldberg has been an Opinion columnist since 2017. She is the author of several books about politics, religion and women&amp;#8217;s rights, and was part of a team that won a Pulitzer Prize for public service in 2018 for reporting on workplace sexual harassment.

**Highlight:** He’s always longed for the approval of oligarchs.

**Body**

The most consequential moment from Donald Trump’s glitchy interview with Elon Musk on Monday came during a discussion of government cost-cutting. “Well, you, you’re the greatest cutter,” Trump told Musk, before launching, apropos of nothing, into a reverie about how Musk dominates his employees. “They go on strike,” said Trump. “I won’t mention the name of the company, but they go on strike and you say, ‘That’s OK. You’re all gone. You’re all gone. So every one of you is gone,’ and you are the greatest.”

Trump’s sympathy with plutocrats over unions is not a surprise, given both his record in office and his desperate desire for the approval and admiration of other billionaires. Though the ex-president made successful electoral appeals to the ***working class*** — particularly the white ***working class*** — his record on labor was that of a standard conservative Republican.

He appointed [*union busters*](https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2017/12/donald-trumps-union-busting-appointees-just-incinerated-obamas-labor-legacy.html) to the National Labor Relations Board, the federal agency that enforces labor law. His Department of Labor reversed the “[*persuader*](https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2017/12/donald-trumps-union-busting-appointees-just-incinerated-obamas-labor-legacy.html)” rule, which had forced transparency on companies waging anti-union propaganda campaigns. His Supreme Court appointees dealt a severe blow to public sector unions in the Janus decision, an outcome Trump [*celebrated*](https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2017/12/donald-trumps-union-busting-appointees-just-incinerated-obamas-labor-legacy.html). His signature policy accomplishment was a tax cut that disproportionately benefited the rich.

Nevertheless, Trump’s jocular delight in a centibillionaire’s war on labor shocked some of his populist sympathizers. Sean O’Brien, who last month was the first Teamsters president to speak at a Republican National Convention, [*told*](https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2017/12/donald-trumps-union-busting-appointees-just-incinerated-obamas-labor-legacy.html) Politico, “Firing workers for organizing, striking and exercising their rights as Americans is economic terrorism.” The conservative writer and editor Sohrab Ahmari, one of the [*rare figures*](https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2017/12/donald-trumps-union-busting-appointees-just-incinerated-obamas-labor-legacy.html) in the new right to take organized labor seriously, [*wrote*](https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2017/12/donald-trumps-union-busting-appointees-just-incinerated-obamas-labor-legacy.html), “By cheering Musk’s brutal treatment of his workers, the Trump campaign has sadly vindicated those who saw its pro-worker rhetoric as a mere facade.”

It’s easy to roll one’s eyes at anyone gullible enough to imagine that Trump was ever serious about curbing the influence of concentrated wealth. This is a man, after all, who consistently [*stiffed*](https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2017/12/donald-trumps-union-busting-appointees-just-incinerated-obamas-labor-legacy.html) his own workers, and who ran a fake university that scammed his economically vulnerable fans. But if Trump’s oligarchic orientation hasn’t changed, the way he talks about the economy has. “Why has Trump stopped attacking big business?” asked a recent [*essay*](https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2017/12/donald-trumps-union-busting-appointees-just-incinerated-obamas-labor-legacy.html) by Matt Stoller, a progressive writer and activist who’s been willing to make [*common cause*](https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2017/12/donald-trumps-union-busting-appointees-just-incinerated-obamas-labor-legacy.html) with right-wing populists like Senator Josh Hawley of Missouri in the name of fighting corporate power.

Stoller compared the language Trump used in his first presidential campaign, when he regularly attacked Wall Street and corporate America, to his more recent speeches. “In terms of what he promises, he’s mostly stopped challenging big corporations, except in cultural terms acceptable to Wall Street,” wrote Stoller. You could see this in the [*meandering speech*](https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2017/12/donald-trumps-union-busting-appointees-just-incinerated-obamas-labor-legacy.html) about economics that Trump delivered on Wednesday afternoon. At one point, he invited the Wall Street investor Scott Bessent — who, as it happens, is the former chief investment officer of George Soros’s Soros Fund Management — to the podium, calling him “one of the greatest on all of Wall Street respected by everybody.” He said next to nothing about corporate greed, workers’ rights, or breaking up Big Tech.

Aside from his plan to levy heavy tariffs on imported goods, Trump often sounded like an ordinary Republican promising fiscal austerity. “We will stop wasteful spending and big government special-interest giveaways and finally stand up for the American taxpayer,” he said. Ahmari [*lamented*](https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2017/12/donald-trumps-union-busting-appointees-just-incinerated-obamas-labor-legacy.html), “He’s running a conventional G.O.P. message but meaner.”

The reason for the ex-president’s change in tone seems obvious. Trump might once have shared ***working-class*** resentments against elites in business and finance, but only because he felt disrespected by them. The antimonopoly cases brought by his administration often seemed intended to punish his adversaries rather than promote competitive markets. When Trump tried to stop AT&amp;T from acquiring Time Warner, [*wrote*](https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2017/12/donald-trumps-union-busting-appointees-just-incinerated-obamas-labor-legacy.html) The New Yorker’s Jane Mayer, “many people suspected that his objection was a matter of petty retaliation against CNN,” a Time Warner subsidiary. His administration launched antitrust cases against tech companies that [*he accused*](https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2017/12/donald-trumps-union-busting-appointees-just-incinerated-obamas-labor-legacy.html) of censoring conservative viewpoints.

But since then, the politics of Big Tech have changed, with many Silicon Valley titans, Musk chief among them, lining up behind Trump. So have many figures on [*Wall Street*](https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2017/12/donald-trumps-union-busting-appointees-just-incinerated-obamas-labor-legacy.html), who’ve been angered by Joe Biden’s policies increasing protections for workers and consumers. These multimillionaires and billionaires are the people whose approbation Trump has always wanted, and whose financial support he [*needs*](https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2017/12/donald-trumps-union-busting-appointees-just-incinerated-obamas-labor-legacy.html), particularly since he could go to prison if he loses this campaign.

And so he’s come out for many things he once opposed, including [*cryptocurrency*](https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2017/12/donald-trumps-union-busting-appointees-just-incinerated-obamas-labor-legacy.html), [*TikTok*](https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2017/12/donald-trumps-union-busting-appointees-just-incinerated-obamas-labor-legacy.html) and, in least in theory, [*electric cars*](https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2017/12/donald-trumps-union-busting-appointees-just-incinerated-obamas-labor-legacy.html), though he’s still against Biden’s pro-electric vehicle policies. “Trump Keeps Flip-Flopping His Policy Positions After Meeting With Rich People,” [*said*](https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2017/12/donald-trumps-union-busting-appointees-just-incinerated-obamas-labor-legacy.html) a Politico headline.

After Trump’s election in 2016, there was a long and often frustrating debate about whether he owed his gains with the ***working class*** to his break with conservative economic orthodoxy or to his indulgence of cultural grievance. It will be interesting, then, to see if his warm embrace of America’s economic overlords costs him ***working-class*** support.

He clearly doesn’t think it will. “Today we are going to talk about one subject,” he said near the start of his speech on economics. “They say it’s the most important subject. I’m not sure it is.”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2017/12/donald-trumps-union-busting-appointees-just-incinerated-obamas-labor-legacy.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2017/12/donald-trumps-union-busting-appointees-just-incinerated-obamas-labor-legacy.html). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2017/12/donald-trumps-union-busting-appointees-just-incinerated-obamas-labor-legacy.html).

Follow the New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2017/12/donald-trumps-union-busting-appointees-just-incinerated-obamas-labor-legacy.html), [*Instagram*](https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2017/12/donald-trumps-union-busting-appointees-just-incinerated-obamas-labor-legacy.html), [*TikTok*](https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2017/12/donald-trumps-union-busting-appointees-just-incinerated-obamas-labor-legacy.html), [*WhatsApp*](https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2017/12/donald-trumps-union-busting-appointees-just-incinerated-obamas-labor-legacy.html), [*X*](https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2017/12/donald-trumps-union-busting-appointees-just-incinerated-obamas-labor-legacy.html) and [*Threads*](https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2017/12/donald-trumps-union-busting-appointees-just-incinerated-obamas-labor-legacy.html).

This article appeared in print on page SR3.

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[***It’s the Inflation, Stupid: Why the Working Class Wants Trump Back; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D85-B1F1-JBG3-62MP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1475 words

**Byline:** Adam Seessel

**Highlight:** Inflation is driving ***working-class*** voters of all ethnicities to Trump.

**Body**

Anti-Trumpers like me see the presidential election as a reckoning for American democracy. For many Donald Trump supporters, it is a simple matter of dollars and cents.

Late this summer, I left my home in New York City to talk to dozens of ***working-class*** people in the South, the Midwest and the West. I had no agenda except to hear what they were saying and try to understand the world from their point of view. I interviewed hairdressers and retired sawmill workers, bakers, truck drivers, laundromat managers, pit barbecue cooks, casino card dealers and even a former professional rodeo rider.

The most common term people used to describe the economy was “horrible.” A close second was, “It sucks.”

I talked to men and women, white people, Black people, Latinos, Asians and Native Americans. They looked different, but they sounded the same. Everyone wanted better material conditions for themselves and their families, and everyone was struggling to obtain them. Some didn’t want to talk about politics. Others felt so ignored by politicians that they have disengaged from the process altogether. Everyone who offered an opinion was for Mr. Trump.

If the nation is a body politic, then working people are the nerve endings that feel its economic spasms most acutely. While some of their reaction is the result of chronic, decades-long conditions, the most noticeable pains have presented themselves in the past few years. The worst inflation and the fastest rise in interest rates since the early 1980s — to well-off people, these are headlines. To working people, they are fundamental challenges to their daily lives. Working people worry much more about payday than they do Jan. 6.

Fair enough: But why turn to a lying, abusive billionaire to help them solve their economic problems? Their explanation is simple. Times were good when Trump was president. Now [*eggs cost nearly three times*](https://www.nerdwallet.com/article/finance/why-are-eggs-so-expensive) what they did four years ago, the rate on a car loan [*is more than 50 percent higher*](https://www.nerdwallet.com/article/finance/why-are-eggs-so-expensive), and some companies are cutting hours. Mr. Trump, they think, is the candidate to turn things around.

In many ways, those sentiments are not surprising. Commentators from Alexis de Tocqueville to James Carville have noted the centrality of money in American life and politics. After all the rhetoric and all the angst, perhaps this election will turn out to be yet another proof of Mr. Carville’s maxim: When it comes to getting votes, it’s the economy, stupid.

SOUTH BEND, IND.

On his right arm, George Lemley has a welt from a burn he got from grabbing hot brass parts off the conveyor belt at his factory job. On his left, he has small, circular needle marks from trips to the local plasma bank, where he sells his bodily fluids twice a week to supplement his income.

Mr. Lemley gets roughly $140 for two 90-minute sessions; in return, hospitals and pharmaceutical companies get important raw materials. George is 45, single, and his mother lives with him to save money. He began donating, he says, because “everything is outrageously expensive.”

Before his factory job, George worked at his local Kroger, so he is something of an expert on food prices. “I went there today for a pound of hamburger,” he says. “It used to be $2.50 at the most, now the cheapest is $4 when it’s on sale. Generic bread, you used to get it for 99 cents, now it’s $2. You might say that’s only two bucks, but it’s two bucks a week, that’s eight bucks a month.”

As a teenager, George was “a huge fan” of Bill Clinton. But he voted for Mr. Trump in 2020 and this fall, he enthusiastically plans to do so again.

“I don’t agree with everything Trump says, but I don’t care what he says,” George explains. “I care about his policies and what happens. The economy was great under Trump.”

On the south side of South Bend, far from the yellow brick buildings and emerald green lawns of the University of Notre Dame, Western Avenue is the usual collection of fast-food restaurants, liquor stores, MoneyGram outlets and dollar stores. Dollar stores are a wonderful window into the lives of working Americans, because nearly everyone who doesn’t have much money uses them.

At one of those stores, Danielle Williams and a colleague are busy ringing up the register, helping customers find items and spelling each other when one goes on break.

“Where do you want me to start?” Ms. Williams says when I ask her about the economy. “The food, the gas — I just think it sucks.”

Ms. Williams is undecided whom to vote for. Reserved and soft-spoken on most issues, she is even more diffident when discussing this one. As a Black woman, she is astonished that she’s even considering Mr. Trump. But she felt much more economically secure from 2016 to 2020. “When Trump was president,” she says, “those were some of the best times we had.”

THE DALLES, ORE.

Liz Guzman, born to Mexican immigrants who came to California to pick grapes and oranges, started a baking business out of her kitchen last year. She sees how inflation puts pressure on her microcosm of the American economy. “When my costs go up, I have to be aggressive with prices to make sure I make a profit,” she said.

Interest rate increases have also affected her. To secure a bigger kitchen, she and her husband decided to buy a new house. This required them to trade a mortgage in the mid-2 percent range for one that runs 6.5 percent — “a big swallow,” she says. Now, every month she must pay $800 more in interest.

Ms. Guzman was thinking about renting a storefront where she could sell her cheesecakes and buñuelos, but now she and her husband think it’s too risky. “We’re staying afloat, put it that way,” Ms. Guzman says. “The situation is kind of OK, but the economy is definitely not OK.”

She remembers her parents speaking favorably of Bill and Hillary Clinton but she was apolitical until last year, when, at her husband’s urging, she registered to vote so they could each pull the lever for Mr. Trump.

“We need to take action,” she recalls her husband saying, and she agrees. “The economy, the bills, the food costs, our taxes, the cost when you’re purchasing a car,” she said. “Something’s got to change.”

“I don’t like the guy personally, but I like him professionally,” she said of Mr. Trump. “He definitely has a finance brain on him.”

LUMBERTON, N.C.

On North Roberts Avenue, a woman entered one of Lumberton’s many pawn shops to make the monthly payment on her charm bracelet.

The economics of a pawnshop transaction are as straightforward as those of a plasma bank. She hocked her jewelry for $200 in cash. In return, every month she must pay $44 in interest, handling and storage fees. That’s an effective 22 percent monthly rate and a 264 percent annual rate. If she misses any of her first three payments, she forfeits the bracelet.

Because people pawn goods when they need money quickly, you might imagine the pawnshop business would be doing well. Austin Revels, the clerk, said the opposite is true. In hard times, more people pawn their belongings — but fewer people have money to come in and buy the goods others have forfeited.

“Everything is messed up completely,” said Mr. Revels, who’s in his late 20s. “The money people used to have to come into the pawnshop or the flea market, they don’t have. The little money people have after they get their gas and groceries, they don’t have that anymore. They see a leaf blower or a weed eater, normally they’d buy it. But not these days.”

I don’t have to ask Mr. Revels whom he is supporting. He is wearing a Trump hat and a Trump wristband. A Glock pistol hangs from his belt.

A SLICE OF THE AMERICAN PIE

Some of what I saw can be explained by economic changes that have occurred over the past few decades. The American pie has grown, but for most of that time it’s been cut up in grossly disproportionate ways. Forget the recent economic turbulence: Over the past 45 years, working people have been sledgehammered as the nation moved from an industrial economy to a postindustrial one. On top comes price increases many voters haven’t experienced in their lifetimes.

Given this, can you blame our compatriots if they respond to a dark and often irrational candidate who promises to restore not only their incomes but also their pride? I can’t, not really. Artificial intelligence has not yet come for my white-collar job, nor those of most of my colleagues. But if it does, I wonder how bizarre our politics will be 40 years on.

A former journalist, Adam Seessel is a money manager and the author of “Where the Money Is.”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nerdwallet.com/article/finance/why-are-eggs-so-expensive) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.nerdwallet.com/article/finance/why-are-eggs-so-expensive). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nerdwallet.com/article/finance/why-are-eggs-so-expensive).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Emily Elconin for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***5 Takeaways From Bernie Sanders’s Interview on ‘The Daily’***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DDY-2JM1-DXY4-X3FG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** PODCASTS

**Length:** 1138 words

**Byline:** The Daily Team

**Highlight:** “There was no appreciation — no appreciation — of the struggling and the suffering of millions and millions of ***working-class*** people,” the senator said.

**Body**

“There was no appreciation — no appreciation — of the struggling and the suffering of millions and millions of ***working-class*** people,” the senator said.

As the Democratic Party grapples with its sweeping electoral loss and a new political reality, Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont has been resolute about his diagnosis of where the party went wrong.

“It should come as no great surprise that a Democratic Party which has abandoned ***working class*** people would find that the ***working class*** has abandoned them,” he said in a [*statement*](https://x.com/BernieSanders/status/1854271157135941698) after the 2024 presidential election.

This week — when Republicans cemented their control of the House, giving President-elect Donald J. Trump a [*unified Congress*](https://x.com/BernieSanders/status/1854271157135941698) to enact his agenda — Senator Sanders spoke to Michael Barbaro, host of the New York Times podcast “The Daily,” about his take. The two discussed the fallout of the election and where Mr. Sanders sees the Democratic Party going from here.

Below are takeaways [*from their conversation*](https://x.com/BernieSanders/status/1854271157135941698), with excerpts edited for length and clarity. You can listen to their full conversation on “The Daily.”

Sanders is in a fighting mood, but he may be willing to work with Trump.

When asked how he felt about being in the minority with Trump poised to bring an aggressive agenda to Congress, Mr. Sanders said, “Our job is to rally the American people to make it clear, especially to working people, that we need an economy and a government that works for all and to expose as best we can what Trump and his administration are doing.”

“So you’re in a fighting mood?” Michael asked him.

“Oh, absolutely,” Mr. Sanders replied. “I think right now this is a pivotal moment in American history. And the next year or two will determine what happens in this country for decades, in my view.”

But the senator is prepared to work with the president-elect, too, on issues important to the ***working class***. “If Trump wants to impose a credit card limit on interest rates, I’ll be there,” he said. “If he comes up with reasonable ideas, yes, I would be interested in working with him.”

The Democratic Party failed to appreciate the “struggling and the suffering of millions and millions of ***working-class*** people,” Sanders says.

When Michael asked the senator about his comments that the Democratic Party had abandoned the ***working class***, Mr. Sanders argued that there was a clear difference in messaging between the Republican and Democratic campaigns:

“What happened in this campaign is Donald Trump said to the American people: You’re angry. You’re really pissed off. And I know that. And you’re right. And then he gave his explanation. And his explanation — which was obviously nonsense and false and racist, et cetera — was that millions and millions of undocumented people were coming across the border, they were invading America, we’re an occupied country. They were taking your jobs, taking your benefits, eating your cats and your dogs. That is why you are hurting. Now, that is a crazy explanation. But it is an explanation.”

With regard to Democrats’ messaging, Mr. Sanders said: “There was no appreciation — no appreciation — of the struggling and the suffering of millions and millions of ***working-class*** people. And unless you recognize that reality, and have a vision of how you get out of that, I think you’re not going to be going very far as a political party.”

Sanders criticized the party for not involving “ordinary people.”

Michael asked the senator why he thinks the Democratic Party was unable to communicate an understanding of ***working-class*** people’s pain, and whether this was related to an overreliance on college-educated voters.

“It is not beholden to college-educated people,” Mr. Sanders said. “That’s the wrong word. It is beholden to the donors who put hundreds and hundreds of millions of dollars into it and to the bloody consultants out there who will end up this campaign making zillions of dollars, doing their 30-second TV ads, rather than figuring out how we talk reality to ordinary people and get them involved in the political process.”

It was a mistake not to go on Joe Rogan’s show, Sanders says.

The senator suggested that Vice President Kamala Harris should not have declined the invitation to go on Joe Rogan’s podcast. “What every communications director knows is that there is a new world of media out there,” he said.

He continued: “And it’s not just NBC, CBS or The New York Times. It is podcasts. It is Joe Rogan. It is Fox News. It is young people who nobody in the Democratic leadership has ever heard of who have YouTube programs that attract millions of people. That is the reality. Can you ignore that? That is insane. Anyone who thinks you can ignore that reality is crazy.

“In my experience, not that I’ve been on millions of these shows, the people that I talk to treat me with respect, and I think you cannot be, ‘Oh, Joe Rogan said this or he says that.’ Yeah. So what? You know, my wife disagrees with me on this or that issue. So what? You can’t run away from somebody because they may have said something stupid or something that you disagree with. That’s life.”

Sanders offered ideas for rebuilding voters’ trust in government.

Michael asked the senator how voters can overcome the “huge loss of faith in government.” Mr. Sanders’s response involved improving governmental processes and bringing younger people into the work.

Mr. Sanders said: “Elon Musk is a very, very aggressive and capable business person — very impressive what he’s accomplished. And he says, I could do more in a week than the government can do in, you know, five years. In some ways, he is right. The problem is, at the end of his efforts, he ends up making zillions of dollars and ***working-class*** people are not any better off. The alternative is to say: Let the government do it right now. But you’ve got a government that is inefficient and bureaucratic.”

The answer to that problem, he said, is “to bring young people into government who believe in a mission to improve the lives of people.”

He continued: “Whether you work in the post office, whether you work in the veterans administration, whether you work at Social Security, pay these people well, give them good management. Let them be proud of the important work that they are doing. No more important work in this country than being a public-school teacher. Yet we underpay those teachers. We put them under terrible working conditions. Choice has got to be to modernize government, make government work for ordinary people, health care for all is a human right. If other countries around the world can have national health care programs, so can the United States of America. We are not dumber than other people.”

PHOTO: Senator Bernie Sanders said in a statement last week that the Democratic Party had “abandoned ***working class*** people.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY Eric Lee/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Trump's Re-election Defines a New Era of American Politics***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DRT-5RG3-RRTB-100H-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Nate Cohn

**Body**

The Obama-Romney race in 2012 was the last in a familiar pattern in U.S. politics, which has since become defined by Donald Trump's conservative populism.

When Barack Obama won re-election in 2012, it seemed to mark the beginning of a new era of Democratic dominance, one propelled by the rise of a new generation of young, secular and nonwhite voters.

With hindsight, the 2012 election looks more like the end of an era: the final triumph of the social movements of the 1960s over the once-dominant Reagan Republicans.

Instead, it's the three Trump elections -- in 2016, 2020 and 2024 -- that look as if they have the makings of a new era of politics, one defined by Donald J. Trump's brand of conservative populism.

Whether you call it a realignment or not, American politics hasn't been the same since Mr. Trump won his party's nomination. The two parties clash over areas of former consensus, even as they reach détente on issues that defined the polarizing 2004 and 2012 elections. It can be disorienting for anyone who came of age before Mr. Trump. It can even feel like American politics has been turned upside down.

Until Mr. Trump, there was a lot about American politics that you could take for granted. The meaning of the two parties seemed clear. Republicans represented Reagan's three-legged stool of small-government fiscal conservatism, the religious right and foreign policy hawks. Democrats represented the ***working class***, change and the causes of liberal activists.

Every four years, the two parties mostly litigated the same fights over the same issues. They rehashed arguments over war and diplomacy; entitlement spending and tax cuts; ''family values'' and the social movements of the 1960s; or trade and free enterprise versus labor and protecting jobs. It led to predictable demographic divides and recurring, long-term electoral trends.

That all changed when Mr. Trump came down the escalator. On some issues, it can even seem as if the parties have switched places. Today, Mr. Trump champions the ***working class***, rails against elites, strives to protect American jobs and criticizes traditional U.S. foreign policy, all while Democrats defend the establishment, norms and the old foreign policy consensus.

Longstanding areas of bipartisan consensus have suddenly become fiercely contested. Immigration, free trade, America's postwar alliances and even America's support for democracy at home and abroad have all become defining conflicts between the two parties during the Trump era, rather than areas of agreement. Yet at the same time, the two parties seem to have reached a truce on the most bitter fights of the Bush-Obama era, like the war in Iraq, Social Security and same-sex marriage.

Much of the Republican Party's old establishment -- like the Cheneys, the Romneys, Paul Ryan -- is now without a home. At the same time, many former Obama supporters, from Robert F. Kennedy Jr. to Elon Musk, suddenly find themselves near the center of Trump world.

This new partisan conflict has led to very different electoral coalitions. In 2016, Mr. Trump made enormous gains among white voters without a college degree, including in Northern states, where Republicans had not been able to sustain breakthroughs. Since then, he has made even larger gains among young, Black, Hispanic and Asian voters -- and did so by representing everything Democrats thought these groups opposed.

After three Trump elections, the partisan gap between white and nonwhite voters is now smaller than at any time since the enactment of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The partisan generation gap has fallen by two-thirds. Perhaps most strikingly, the old class divide between rich and poor and capital and labor has seemingly vanished.

The exit polls found Mr. Trump losing voters making over $100,000 a year, while winning among voters making less -- including those making less than $50,000. If anything, 20th-century fights are emerging as plausible areas of bipartisan consensus, with Republicans seemingly receptive to labor and spending on infrastructure, while Democrats seem more open to deregulation and supply-side remedies to problems like housing and energy.

In place of the old class conflict, there's a new educational divide. Before Mr. Trump, people voted about the same way with or without a degree. Now, the gap between voters with or without a degree is as large as the income gap was back in 2012 -- and all the way back to the dawn of survey research.

In some cases, Trump-era electoral shifts can be interpreted as an acceleration of longer-term trends; in other cases, they're new developments. Either way, these trends have brought American politics to a very different place.

The 'R' word

Whether all of this counts as a ''realignment'' depends on how one defines the term. A realignment usually means one party obtains a significant political advantage for decades. By this measure, the Trump elections plainly fall short. Republicans barely hold any meaningful advantage; even if they do, it's not at all clear whether it will even last four years.

Nonetheless, the Trump elections have two features of a realignment: They changed the basic political conflict between the two parties, and they led to corresponding changes in the two coalitions. These changes aren't minor and they're not just because of the singular force of Mr. Trump, either. Like previous realignments, it is part of a broader political change occurring across Western democracies, where the remnants of the old industrial political order is being supplanted by something different.

In country after country, the parties of the old industrial left, like Labour in Britain or the Socialists in France, have bled ***working-class*** support to a new kind of conservative populism, driven by a new set of issues, like immigration, trade and national sovereignty.

These issues don't fit on the old left-right ideological spectrum. In fact, many right-wing parties now embrace the welfare state. In each case, however, populist conservatives argue that elites have used democratic and transnational institutions to advance their own interests and causes at the expense of ordinary people. These political movements have thus far struggled to build lasting political majorities, but their critique has nonetheless been the most potent message in politics.

The parties of the center-left, on the other hand, increasingly depend on the support of a new class of affluent college graduates. These parties may still yearn to champion the ***working class***, but this hasn't been their animating force for decades. Instead, they draw their energy from idealistic, college-educated progressive activists, whose cultural and economic views often alienate ***working-class*** voters. Even when these parties do aim to help ***working-class*** voters, their policies don't pack an electoral punch. Instead, their electoral fortunes depend on forming coalitions with classically liberal but traditional conservatives, who oppose the populist right on trade, immigration, foreign policy and democracy.

The transition away from industrial-era class politics has been ongoing since the 1950s and 1960s, when postwar affluence and an expanded safety net mostly satisfied a century of demands from industrial labor. Soon thereafter, the rise of a new generation of college-educated youth activists helped bring a new set of issues to the fore -- from civil rights and women's rights to Vietnam -- that helped shatter the New Deal coalition.

This was the last great upheaval in American politics. In a sense, everything one could take for granted about politics before Mr. Trump came into place by this time or soon thereafter. The parties were redefined; even the legs of Reagan's three-legged stool can be recast as opposition to the 1960s cultural revolution, the antiwar movement and the Great Society. The fallout set the next five decades of electoral fights and trends into motion.

In hindsight, Mr. Obama's victory over Mr. Romney was the culmination of this era. For one last election, Democrats and Republicans took up their usual positions and relitigated the fights of the era. In the end, Mr. Obama won by a modest margin, but it nonetheless seemed to offer a decisive verdict on the era as a whole: Liberals won.

By 2012, America was a multiracial, secular, liberal-leaning society. Less than 50 years after the Civil Rights Act, America had elected a Black liberal president. It would soon, it was presumed, elect a female president. Same-sex marriage was popular, and it would soon be the law of the land. Marijuana was next. In just a few years, demographic shifts promised to turn Mr. Obama's modest victory into a lasting Democratic majority.

This liberal triumph in the culture war came against the backdrop of the financial crisis and the war in Iraq, which simultaneously dealt enormous blows to the Reagan-era consensus for smaller government, deregulation and a neoconservative foreign policy. With Mr. Obama's victory, the dominant post-1960s conservative political coalition was finished.

Four years later, Mr. Trump destroyed what remained of Reagan's three-legged stool and redefined the Republican Party around a new set of issues. He seized the mantles of populism, change and the ***working class***, by campaigning on newer issues: trade and China, immigration, energy and the excesses of a newly dominant college-educated, liberal, ''politically correct'' or ''woke'' left. In the end, the Democrats lost their core message and voters who they imagined were part of their base.

While Republicans didn't win in a realignment-like electoral landslide, Mr. Trump's conservative populism won the policy debate decisively enough. On border security, domestic energy production, trade, China or deregulation, Democrats are moving toward the core of Mr. Trump's agenda. The two major exceptions -- abortion and democracy -- were Republican self-inflicted wounds, wounds that at once prevented a more decisive Republican victory and obscured the extent that conservative populism had seized the center of American politics.

Whether you call it a realignment or not, it's a new era of politics.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/25/upshot/trump-era-republicans-democrats.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/25/upshot/trump-era-republicans-democrats.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: President Barack Obama and Gov. Mitt Romney during their presidential debate at Hofstra University, in New York, in 2012. The 2012 Obama-Romney race was the last in a familiar pattern. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A13.

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**Section:** UPSHOT

**Length:** 1732 words

**Byline:** Nate CohnNate Cohn is The Times&amp;#8217;s chief political analyst. He covers elections, public opinion, demographics and polling.

**Highlight:** The Obama-Romney race in 2012 was the last in a familiar pattern in U.S. politics, which has since become defined by Donald Trump’s conservative populism.

**Body**

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After three Trump elections, the partisan gap between white and nonwhite voters is now smaller than at any time since the enactment of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The partisan generation gap has fallen by two-thirds. Perhaps most strikingly, the old class divide between rich and poor and capital and labor has seemingly vanished.

The exit polls [*found*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/10/upshot/reagan-trump-gop-stool.html) Mr. Trump losing voters making over $100,000 a year, while winning among voters making less — including those making less than $50,000. If anything, 20th-century fights are emerging as plausible areas of [*bipartisan consensus*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/10/upshot/reagan-trump-gop-stool.html), with Republicans seemingly receptive to labor and spending on infrastructure, while Democrats seem more open to deregulation and [*supply-side remedies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/10/upshot/reagan-trump-gop-stool.html) to problems like housing and energy.

In place of the old class conflict, there’s a new educational divide. Before Mr. Trump, people voted about the same way with or without a degree. Now, the gap between voters with or without a degree is as large as the income gap was back in 2012 — and all the way back to the dawn of survey research.

In some cases, Trump-era electoral shifts can be interpreted as an acceleration of longer-term trends; in other cases, they’re new developments. Either way, these trends have brought American politics to a very different place.

The ‘R’ word

Whether all of this counts as a “realignment” depends on how one defines the term. A realignment usually means one party obtains a significant political advantage for decades. By this measure, the Trump elections plainly fall short. Republicans barely hold any meaningful advantage; even if they do, it’s not at all clear whether it will even last four years.

Nonetheless, the Trump elections have two features of a realignment: They changed the basic political conflict between the two parties, and they led to corresponding changes in the two coalitions. These changes aren’t minor and they’re not just because of the singular force of Mr. Trump, either. Like previous realignments, it is part of a broader political change occurring across Western democracies, where the remnants of the old industrial political order is being supplanted by something different.

In country after country, the parties of the old industrial left, like Labour in Britain or the Socialists in France, have bled ***working-class*** support to a new kind of conservative populism, driven by a new set of issues, like immigration, trade and national sovereignty.

These issues don’t fit on the old left-right ideological spectrum. In fact, many right-wing parties now embrace the welfare state. In each case, however, populist conservatives argue that elites have used democratic and transnational institutions to advance their own interests and causes at the expense of ordinary people. These political movements have thus far struggled to build lasting political majorities, but their critique has nonetheless been the most potent message in politics.

The parties of the center-left, on the other hand, increasingly depend on the support of a new class of affluent college graduates. These parties may still yearn to champion the ***working class***, but this hasn’t been their animating force for decades. Instead, they draw their energy from idealistic, college-educated progressive activists, whose cultural and economic views often [*alienate*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/10/upshot/reagan-trump-gop-stool.html) ***working-class*** voters. Even when these parties do aim to help ***working-class*** voters, their policies don’t pack an electoral punch. Instead, their electoral fortunes depend on forming coalitions with classically liberal but traditional conservatives, who oppose the populist right on trade, immigration, foreign policy and democracy.

The transition away from industrial-era class politics has been ongoing since the 1950s and 1960s, when postwar affluence and an expanded safety net mostly satisfied a century of demands from industrial labor. Soon thereafter, the rise of a new generation of college-educated youth activists helped bring a new set of issues to the fore — from civil rights and women’s rights to Vietnam — that helped shatter the New Deal coalition.

This was the last great upheaval in American politics. In a sense, everything one could take for granted about politics before Mr. Trump came into place by this time or soon thereafter. The parties were redefined; even the legs of Reagan’s three-legged stool can be recast as opposition to the 1960s cultural revolution, the antiwar movement and the Great Society. The fallout set the next five decades of electoral fights and trends into motion.

In hindsight, Mr. Obama’s victory over Mr. Romney was the culmination of this era. For one last election, Democrats and Republicans took up their usual positions and relitigated the fights of the era. In the end, Mr. Obama won by [*a modest margin*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/10/upshot/reagan-trump-gop-stool.html), but it nonetheless seemed to offer a decisive verdict on the era as a whole: Liberals won.

By 2012, America was a multiracial, secular, liberal-leaning society. Less than 50 years after the Civil Rights Act, America had elected a Black liberal president. It would soon, it was presumed, elect a female president. Same-sex marriage was popular, and it would soon be the law of the land. Marijuana was next. In just a few years, demographic shifts promised to turn Mr. Obama’s modest victory into a lasting Democratic majority.

This liberal triumph in the culture war came against the backdrop of the financial crisis and the war in Iraq, which simultaneously dealt enormous blows to the Reagan-era consensus for smaller government, deregulation and a neoconservative foreign policy. With Mr. Obama’s victory, the dominant post-1960s conservative political coalition was finished.

Four years later, Mr. Trump destroyed what remained of Reagan’s three-legged stool and redefined the Republican Party around a new set of issues. He seized the mantles of populism, change and the ***working class***, by campaigning on newer issues: trade and China, immigration, energy and the excesses of a newly dominant college-educated, liberal, “politically correct” or “woke” left. In the end, the Democrats [*lost*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/10/upshot/reagan-trump-gop-stool.html) their core message and voters who they imagined were part of their base.

While Republicans didn’t win in a realignment-like electoral landslide, Mr. Trump’s conservative populism won the policy debate decisively enough. On border security, domestic energy production, trade, China or deregulation, Democrats are moving toward the core of Mr. Trump’s agenda. The two major exceptions — abortion and democracy — were Republican self-inflicted wounds, wounds that at once prevented a more decisive Republican victory and obscured the extent that conservative populism had seized the center of American politics.

Whether you call it a realignment or not, it’s a new era of politics.

PHOTO: President Barack Obama and Gov. Mitt Romney during their presidential debate at Hofstra University, in New York, in 2012. The 2012 Obama-Romney race was the last in a familiar pattern. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A13.

**Load-Date:** December 29, 2024

**End of Document**



[***‘Disgraceful’: A Fiery Bernie Sanders Courts Blue-Collar Voters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D9N-49S1-DXY4-X31J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 31, 2024 Thursday 10:41 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 888 words

**Byline:** Simon J. LevienSimon J. Levien is a Times political reporter covering the 2024 elections and a member of the 2024-25 class, a program for journalists early in their careers.

**Highlight:** The Vermont senator’s appearances on the trail to support Vice President Kamala Harris stand in stark contrast to her optimistic message.

**Body**

The Vermont senator’s appearances on the trail to support Vice President Kamala Harris stand in stark contrast to her optimistic message.

At a rally in Erie, Pa., last weekend, Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont laid out a bleak vision to voters.

“***Working-class*** people are angry. And some of them are thinking about Trump,” he said, ticking off a litany of economic statistics. “The current system is broken!”

Mr. Sanders recounted tales of families living paycheck to paycheck, and described elites and the status quo as “disgraceful” and “disgusting.” He grew louder as he talked about the ravages of addictions to alcohol and opioids, reaching a shout as he got to what he called the worst addiction of all: “It’s greed!”

The crowd roared in agreement.

On the campaign trail on behalf of Vice President Kamala Harris, Mr. Sanders is embracing a dark tone in his outreach to frustrated ***working-class*** voters, giving voice to a grimly populist message that contrasts with her campaign’s upbeat optimism.

Mr. Sanders has stumped across swing states for months, and the 83-year-old independent said in an interview that with the campaign’s end in sight, he planned to hold rallies through Election Day. His fiery speeches aim to win over voters leaning toward former President Donald J. Trump by acknowledging ***working-class*** anger over the economy. Short of that, he hopes to motivate reliable Democratic voters to turn out.

“Workers’ rights are on the table,” Mr. Sanders said. “That’s something I can’t sit out, so I will do everything I can to see that Trump is defeated and Harris is elected.”

Mr. Trump has long stoked ***working-class*** furor over what he terms a Washington elite putting down the Everyman and trying to keep Mr. Trump, a billionaire, out of the White House. He often calls the United States “a failing nation.” The playlist at his rallies invariably features [*“Rich Men North of Richmond*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/21/arts/music/rich-men-north-of-richmond-oliver-anthony.html),” a ***working-class*** lament that topped the charts last year, and prompts his crowds to sing along.

Ms. Harris and her allies have [*courted* ***working-class*** *voters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/21/arts/music/rich-men-north-of-richmond-oliver-anthony.html), and she has secured the support of most major labor organizations, running in large part on President Biden’s record as what he calls the most pro-union president in history. But despite the Democrats’ wellspring of union support, some labor groups like the Teamsters have [*declined to endorse*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/21/arts/music/rich-men-north-of-richmond-oliver-anthony.html) Ms. Harris, and many ***working-class*** voters, first animated by Mr. Trump in 2016, have retreated from the Democratic ranks over the perception that the party has grown out of touch with them.

A [*New York Times/Siena College poll*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/21/arts/music/rich-men-north-of-richmond-oliver-anthony.html) this month found Ms. Harris’s support from white, non-college-educated voters nearly tied with the group’s support for President Biden in a [*2020 election exit poll.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/21/arts/music/rich-men-north-of-richmond-oliver-anthony.html) But [*a CNN analysis*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/21/arts/music/rich-men-north-of-richmond-oliver-anthony.html) suggested that, compared with Democratic candidates in the last three presidential elections, she could draw the smallest share of union household votes.

Mr. Sanders’s references to life under the ruling class led Rita Macomber, an Erie rallygoer and Harris supporter, to describe the Vermont senator with a phrase often applied to Mr. Trump: “He tells it like it is.”

Josh Boring, a 40-year-old member of the machinists’ union who attended the rally in Erie, said there was overlap between Mr. Sanders’s message and the energy behind Mr. Trump, which Democrats could use to their advantage. “I know a lot of people that are voting for Trump that actually like Bernie Sanders,” he said. “People on the left and Harris, they feel that anger and want to help with it.”

Mr. Sanders’s progressive reputation left some swing voters doubtful about his impact.

William Matlock, a 73-year-old former union worker at a locomotive plant, attended Mr. Sanders’s rally on Saturday and said he was already planning to vote for Ms. Harris. He described himself as a Trump-skeptical Republican with moderate political views, but said Mr. Sanders wasn’t a compelling surrogate.

“He’s a socialist and all that, so we really have not that much in common,” Mr. Matlock said, adding that he might leave to see a rally with Senator JD Vance of Ohio, Mr. Trump’s running mate, which took place around the same time in Erie. “That’s such a great weapon against her, you know? ‘Oh yeah, this communist over here, he’s voting for her.’”

But even if Mr. Sanders’s views limit his appeal in some areas, there are signs his message is amplified nationally, including to progressives who were among the most vocal to support [*his past presidential campaigns.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/21/arts/music/rich-men-north-of-richmond-oliver-anthony.html) The rally in Erie earned more than 800,000 views on X, and Mr. Sanders usually attracts hundreds of attendees in small, industrial cities, making his campaign events comparable in size to many held by the vice-presidential candidates. (Mr. Sanders is himself running for re-election.)

To longtime Sanders supporters, his focus on the economic divide will sound familiar.

“Where we are today is a nation moving rapidly in the direction of oligarchy,” Mr. Sanders said in an October rally in Baraboo, Wis. “That is where we are heading, unless together we reverse that course.”

PHOTO: Senator Bernie Sanders, on the campaign trail to back Vice President Kamala Harris, has given voice to frustrations that ***working-class*** voters say have driven them to support former President Donald J. Trump. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Eric Lee/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 31, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Broke, Dismayed and Distrusting of Democrats***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DFX-B631-DXY4-X045-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 20, 2024 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1; POLITICAL MEMO

**Length:** 1705 words

**Byline:** By Jennifer Medina

**Body**

In scores of interviews throughout 2024, Latino, Black and Asian American voters, many of whom voted for Donald Trump, said they no longer trusted Democrats to improve the economy.

The ***working-class*** voters Vice President Kamala Harris's presidential campaign needed were not moved by talk of joy. They were too angry about feeling broke.

For decades, Democrats had been the party of labor and of the ***working class***, the choice for voters who looked to government to increase the minimum wage or provide a safety net for the poor, the old and the sick. But this year's election results show how thoroughly that idea has collapsed even among Latino, Black and Asian American voters who had stuck by the party through Donald J. Trump's first term.

Latinos had signaled what was coming: They drifted away from Democrats and toward Mr. Trump in 2020, before defecting in greater numbers this year. But ***working-class*** Black and Asian American voters have also now broken ranks in startling numbers.

The losses up and down the ballot leave Democrats in crisis. Voters without a college degree make up a solid majority of the electorate. Without them, the White House could be out of reach. And for a party that stands for and takes pride in its diversity, the erosion of support from voters of color calls its identity into question.

Yet interviews over the past year with hundreds of ***working-class*** minority voters revealed the challenges confronting Democrats as both clear and daunting. For many, hope had already hardened into cynicism. Promises about affordable housing fell flat and promoting accomplishments on insulin prices failed to break through. Simply put, their trust in the Democratic Party was gone.

''Democrats flipped,'' said Daniel Trujillo, who owns a barbershop in East Las Vegas and watched many of his customers shift from supporting Barack Obama to favoring Mr. Trump. ''They went from being for the ***working class*** to, if you're not college-educated and have money, you're not worthy.'' He said he had watched with delight as his customers increasingly warmed toward Mr. Trump.

''The right turned blue-collar and went full border-control, strong-economy and law-and-order,'' Mr. Trujillo added. ''Who doesn't want that?''

In Milwaukee, Phoenix and Atlanta; in swap meets and strip malls; on the sidelines of soccer and baseball fields; and at community centers in big cities and diverse suburbs, voters sounded similar refrains. The system wasn't working for them.

Many said Democrats' dire warnings about threats to democracy felt far less compelling compared with the urgency of their own struggles to pay the rent.

Black voters, on the whole, still voted overwhelmingly for Democrats, as did a narrower majority of Latinos and Asian Americans. But Republicans made gains in big cities and diverse suburbs. Hispanic-majority counties shifted to the right by 13 percentage points, preliminary results showed, as did counties with large numbers of Asian American voters; Black-majority counties shifted to the G.O.P. by about three points.

Though Republicans were quick to celebrate a long-sought political realignment, interviews this year with ***working-class*** voters suggest that the shifts may not prove so enduring. For many, their choices were as much a message-sending rejection of Democrats as an embrace of Mr. Trump, his policies and his party.

''A deep reckoning is needed among Democrats and other leaders who claim to represent working Latinos,'' said Carlos Odio, a director at Equis, a Democratic-leaning research group that focuses on Latino voters. ''What happened in this election does not come to pass without years of neglect that finally came to a head.''

David Paiz, 52, works in maintenance for the city of Las Vegas, where he moved during the pandemic, frustrated with the cost of living in California. He was thrilled when he and his wife could wear ''Thug Life'' T-shirts emblazoned with Mr. Trump's face and not elicit nasty remarks from neighbors or friends.

''There's a lot of things that I want to do, that we want to do for our sons, for their future, to prepare them for success,'' Mr. Paiz said. ''But with the current administration, I didn't see that happening. Now that Trump's going to be our new president, I see a lot more opportunities.''

For months, Democratic operatives suggested that voters like Mr. Paiz were merely ''Trump-curious'' and that most would eventually be repelled by Mr. Trump's coarseness or his hard-line immigration proposals.

But nine years after he disparaged Mexicans in his first campaign, and nine days after a comedian at Mr. Trump's Madison Square Garden rally made an obscene joke about Latinos making babies, he appeared to win a bigger share of the Latino and Black votes than any Republican presidential candidate since the civil-rights era.

Inflation and inequality had taken their toll.

Two-thirds of Trump voters said they had to cut back on groceries this year, compared with only a third of Harris voters, a New York Times/Siena College poll found in October.

These voters were not necessarily poor: Many said they could afford groceries, but that higher prices left them with far less disposable income. Voters earning $20 an hour complained bitterly about being unable to take their families to the movies or on carefree outings at the mall.

A week before the election, Walter Mendoza, 30, a financial adviser who lives with his mother in Allentown, Pa., was frustrated they had just enough to buy chicken and instant mashed potatoes for that night's dinner. ''People can't afford nothing,'' he said. ''So I'm voting for somebody who could more manage the country better.'' He said he hoped that with Mr. Trump in charge, ''most of us can get a couple nice things.''

Others who said they felt held back by rising rents and by housing prices that put a home of their own out of reach described becoming convinced that Mr. Trump would improve their buying power.

Even as they held onto their faith in the American dream, many nonwhite ***working-class*** voters said they had come to see the Democratic Party as condescending, overly focused on issues irrelevant to their day-to-day lives. They bristled over social issues like the concerns of transgender children or the party's focus on abortion rights. They felt scolded by liberals on Covid precautions -- and crushed by the pandemic's economic fallout.

Some sounded every bit as aggrieved as the white ***working-class*** voters who first fueled Mr. Trump's MAGA movement, voicing similar complaints about migrants being given easier access to housing and food than homeless veterans living on the streets. Others said they believed that Mr. Trump -- whom they viewed as particularly effective in working with foreign dictators -- could bring the wars in Ukraine and the Middle East to a quick end.

''He's a businessman, and you've got to run a country like business -- you can't be based off of feelings,'' said Juan Sosa, a 34-year-old immigrant from Cuba who owns three small businesses in Las Vegas. ''I feel like right now we're the laughingstock of the world. Like, there's no assertiveness in our lives and how we come across to the rest of the world.''

Another pattern emerged in scores of interviews over the past year: ***Working-class*** voters of color often chose the same things to disbelieve, downplay or dismiss.

Latino voters, in particular, discounted Mr. Trump's draconian promise to round up and deport millions of people in the country illegally.

''Me, worried about deportations? No, not one worry,'' said Angela De Los Santos, a 54-year-old immigrant from the Dominican Republic who owns a Dominican-Oaxacan restaurant in Hazleton, Pa. ''Trump knows he needs immigrants to work. Us, we're here to work, we commit no crimes, we will not have any problem with that.''

When Mr. Trump spoke of immigrants ''poisoning the blood of our country,'' critics cried fascism and xenophobia. But many naturalized citizens, and children and grandchildren of immigrants, said they heard a leader promising to protect his own. Far from feeling threatened by such rhetoric, they said they felt affirmed in their identity as Americans.

For years, Romeo Kintanar, 76, waited in the Philippines for a visa to come to the United States. Now a retired caregiver and self-described independent, he said he saw the Biden administration's missteps at the border as an affront.

''Here the borders are just wide open for anybody to come in without proper scrutiny,'' said Mr. Kintanar, who said he became a naturalized citizen in 2015 and voted for Mr. Trump. ''To me, that's really a failure.''

Mr. Trump's racist remarks and anti-immigrant hostility, too, were often set aside as bluster.

''I know for a fact, as a Trump supporter, he doesn't support racism -- I don't think he's that kind of guy,'' said Gardner Mojica, a 45-year-old first time voter from Reading, Pa., who spent several months selling MAGA merchandise at Trump rallies. ''He likes family values. He's a father. He's a grandfather.''

Like many first-time Trump voters, Mr. Mojica is not particularly ideological or partisan. According to a Times/Siena poll of the Hispanic electorate in October, about one-third of Latino Trump voters identified as moderate and 13 percent identified as liberal. While half of Latino Trump supporters called themselves conservative, that figure was far less than Trump voters as a whole.

The Trump campaign reached nonwhite ***working-class*** voters in both unconventional and familiar ways.

It worked with rap artists, podcasters popular on YouTube, Ultimate Fighting Championship stars and evangelical pastors. And in the campaign's final days, Mr. Trump held rallies in heavily Hispanic cities.

At one in Allentown a week before Election Day, a heavily Latino crowd signaled the strength of Mr. Trump's gains, but there were glimpses, too, of an even broader coalition potentially in the making: a red-white-and-blue kaffiyeh worn in solidarity with Palestinians. Korean and Japanese flags held aloft.

And everyone chanting: ''Trump, Trump, Trump.''

Ruth Igielnik, Carlos Prieto and Amy Qin contributed reporting.Ruth Igielnik, Carlos Prieto and Amy Qin contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/us/politics/trump-****working-class****-voters.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/us/politics/trump-working-class-voters.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: A store in Allentown, Pa. About two-thirds of Trump voters said they had to cut back on groceries this year, according to a poll. Walter Mendoza, far left, hoped that now ''most of us can get a couple nice things.'' Left, Angela De Los Santos, who is from the Dominican Republic, said she is not worried about deportation. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY HANNAH BEIER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A19) This article appeared in print on page A1, A19.

**Load-Date:** November 20, 2024

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[***5 Takeaways From Nancy Pelosi’s Interview With The New York Times***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCK-2P41-DXY4-X214-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 9, 2024 Saturday 11:51 EST

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**Section:** MAGAZINE

**Length:** 710 words

**Byline:** Lulu Garcia-NavarroLulu Garcia-Navarro is a writer and co-host of , a series focused on interviewing the world&amp;#8217;s most fascinating people.

**Highlight:** In her first extended interview after the election, the former House speaker was not interested in analyzing Democratic losses and was eager to put a sunny spin on the future.

**Body**

In her first extended interview after the election, the former House speaker was not interested in analyzing Democratic losses and was eager to put a sunny spin on the future.

After the attack on the Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021, Nancy Pelosi made it known that she would do everything she could to prevent Donald Trump from becoming president again. Pelosi, who was both minority leader and House speaker during Trump’s first term, was reportedly instrumental in persuading President Biden to end his candidacy over the summer. Like most Democrats, she rallied around Kamala Harris and, as late as the night before the election, [*projected confidence*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UPsFvM7AmEE) that Harris would win on Tuesday. That didn’t pan out.

On Thursday, [*I spoke to Pelosi*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UPsFvM7AmEE) for the New York Times podcast I co-host, “[*The Interview*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UPsFvM7AmEE).” She dismissed the idea that Trump’s electoral success was a rebuke of her party and insisted that the Democrats were poised for future success.

Here are five takeaways from the conversation with Ms. Pelosi:

Pelosi suggests there should have been an open primary after Biden dropped out.

Pelosi suggested that it would have been better for the Democratic Party if President Biden had decided earlier that he would not run again, allowing time for an open primary. She said that she believed Harris would have done well in a primary, “but we don’t know that.”

She added: “That didn’t happen. We live with what happened.”

Pelosi also noted that Biden had “made a patriotic, selfless decision for which we are all very grateful” and argued that one reason it was still possible for Democrats to win the House was that Biden had dropped out. “So I thank him for that.”

She believes the Democrats are still the party of the ***working class***, no matter what Bernie Sanders says.

There has been much hand-wringing, and also evidence, that the Democrats have become the party of college-educated elites and that ***working-class*** voters have shifted to the right. Pelosi disagrees. “We are the kitchen table, ***working-class*** party of America,” she said.

As for Bernie Sanders’s [*accusation*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UPsFvM7AmEE) that the Democrats have abandoned the ***working class***, Pelosi was not having it. “Bernie Sanders has not won,” she said. “I think the message that Bernie Sanders has put out is not the winning message for the American people. I love him. I think he’s great. He’s been a wonderful, shall we say, champion for his point of view, but his point of view is not correct when he says the Democrats have abandoned working families.”

She thinks Republicans won in part because of cultural issues like “guns, God and gays.”

When asked, if Democrats are still the party of the ***working class***, why voters who earned less than $100,000 had gone for Trump in such large numbers, Pelosi argued that part of the reason was the culture war: “There are cultural issues involved in elections as well. Guns, God and gays — that’s the way they say it. Guns, that’s an issue; gays, that’s an issue, and now they’re making the trans issue such an important issue in their priorities; and in certain communities, what they call God, what we call a woman’s right to choose.”

She says immigration is a culture war issue, and a messaging issue.

Pelosi was not interested in talking about immigration as a policy problem. “When the candidate for president is saying that these people coming in are murderers, rapists, thieves and all the rest of that — he made that a cultural issue,” she said.

While she was reluctant to criticize Democratic policy during our conversation, she did criticize messaging: “I don’t think we were clear enough by saying fewer people came in under President Biden than came under Donald Trump. It’s clarity of the message.”

2024 wasn’t so bad for the Democrats, she says.

Pelosi was unwilling to concede that the Democrats, who lost the White House and the Senate, had been roundly defeated. She focused instead on the possibility that her party could still control the House. “I don’t see it as an outright rejection of the Democratic Party,” she said. “We lost the presidential election,” but “in many cases, our Democrats in the House ran ahead of the presidential ticket. So, your branding that we all got rejected, we didn’t.”

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Devin Oktar Yalkin for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 9, 2024

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[***This Ohio-Hating Michigan Democrat Has Thoughts on Why Her Party Lost***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DMF-N221-JBG3-61GM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 11, 2024 Wednesday 10:48 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1203 words

**Byline:** Katie GlueckKatie Glueck covers American politics with a focus on the Democratic Party.

**Highlight:** Kristen McDonald Rivet won a tough House race in a heavily white, ***working-class*** area even as many Democrats in such places lost. In an interview, she warned against a “tone-deaf” economic message.

**Body**

Kristen McDonald Rivet won a tough House race in a heavily white, ***working-class*** area even as many Democrats in such places lost. In an interview, she warned against a “tone-deaf” economic message.

Democrats, rejected by many voters and headed for life in the minority in Washington, see few reasons for optimism these days.

But a rare bright spot for the party comes from an unexpected place: a House district in Michigan [*that is home to many white,* ***working-class***](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/18/us/politics/democrats-white-working-class-harris.html) residents, as well as counties that shifted hard against Vice President Kamala Harris in the fall.

Republicans had hoped to capture the seat in Michigan’s Eighth District after Representative Dan Kildee, a Democrat and local institution, retired. Instead, State Senator Kristen McDonald Rivet won by [*6.7 percentage points*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/18/us/politics/democrats-white-working-class-harris.html).

“This was a big win, a really important win in a tough seat,” said Gov. Gretchen Whitmer, Democrat of Michigan.

Ms. McDonald Rivet is an Ohio-hating Michigan sports enthusiast and mother of six. (“I know,” she said in [*one memorable ad*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/18/us/politics/democrats-white-working-class-harris.html). “That’s a lot.”) She has a coarse take on politicians, using a bleeped-out expletive in the ad to call most of them “full of” garbage. Her milk-guzzling 15-year-old son, she liked to say, kept her closely attuned to the price of groceries.

She will hold a [*freshman leadership position*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/18/us/politics/democrats-white-working-class-harris.html) with the moderate New Democrat Coalition in Congress.

The New York Times caught up with her about why her party’s economic messaging alienated some voters, what national Democrats could learn from her race and why she spent “almost zero time” discussing the state of the nation’s democracy.

Here are excerpts from the interview, which have been edited for length and clarity:

You outperformed Vice President Kamala Harris across a challenging district for your party. What is the biggest lesson the national party should take from your victory?

We focused continuously — almost exclusively — on pocketbook issues, on getting more money in people’s pockets.

I spent a lot of time on TV looking directly into the camera and talking about how I worry about the same things.

We set out from the very beginning to not make my congressional race a surrogate for the top of the ticket. This was a race between me and my opponent, my work, not just in the State Senate but my lifetime work of having accomplished things that impact the economic stability of families.

Very basic needs feel like they’re getting further and further out of reach. Any campaign that’s not talking about that, and concrete ideas to address that, will not be able to win a district like mine.

Does the national Democratic Party have a perception problem in your district?

It’s not about a rejection of Democrats and an acceptance of Republicans. It is a rejection of anybody they feel is not like them and is not talking straight.

I don’t think that means that we’ve seen this big Republican sweep. I think what it means is that people want to feel seen.

A lot of what they see from people on both sides of the ticket, frankly, are talking points, generalities, promises that aren’t kept, language that they don’t actually use.

Like what?

I don’t want to talk about “inflation.” I talked about the price of eggs. We’re not, you know, having a conversation about the market. We’re not talking about interest rates.

A huge swath of folks in my district work in the service industry. We can talk about raising income. Or you can say, “[*I’m not going to tax your tips*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/18/us/politics/democrats-white-working-class-harris.html).” That is so real.

What’s the single most important thing Democrats can do to win back the voters who supported you but not the top of the ticket?

We have to base our campaigns in economic reality.

The system feels stacked against so many people. And when we take those messages and we want to talk about a sort of esoteric policy ideology, you lose people.

There are big parts of our government that are broken that have to get fixed. And we actually need to help people earn more money and keep more of their money, especially ***working-class*** people who are making less than 60 grand a year.

When [*you and I spoke at the beginning of 2023*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/18/us/politics/democrats-white-working-class-harris.html), you told me that in your State Senate district, “folks were outraged by Jan. 6, but if that’s all you talk to them about, you’re not going to win their vote.”

That’s right. So, honestly, I see Democrats still really — sort of hard-core Democrats — still really outraged by Jan. 6. And frankly, I’m still outraged by Jan. 6. But if you are worried that you’re not going to keep your heat on, you care less about those things.

I spent almost zero time talking about the state of the democracy.

Let me just be really clear. Of course it’s important. And there are things that we need to worry about. But the very first thing we have to do is to commit ourselves to an agenda that makes it so everybody can thrive.

There’s an interesting contrast in how you talked about cost of living and how the Biden administration often talked about it.

When we talk about the economy and the data points that are typically associated with measuring the economy, and the jobs report and all of those things — great, beautiful and nice leading indicators, all of that — that doesn’t mean anything to people who don’t have money in the market and aren’t watching at that level.

What really matters to them is how much it costs at the grocery store and the gas pump.

While we were trying to say: ‘Look, we have a softer landing. We are doing better than anyone else post-pandemic,’ it lands on families in my district as tone-deaf when they can’t afford to eat meat more than once a week.

What will be your biggest priority in your first term?

Trying to be incredibly realistic about what it means to be a freshman member in the minority, but my priority is always that space around, how do we raise median income in Michigan and make sure that every single kid is in a good, strong school and has a pathway to the middle class?

I would love to be able to make some progress on restoring the expanded child tax credit. If we can’t get that done, shame on us.

And we have got to do something about the cost of child care. I am not retiring until we’ve made progress.

If you run for re-election in 2026, you will do so during the Michigan governor’s race. With whom would you most like to share a ballot?

A moderate who focuses on more money in pockets.

What do you think of Jocelyn Benson, the Michigan secretary of state, who is widely expected to run for governor?

She’s an amazing leader.

And Pete Buttigieg? Should he run?

He actually did a rally for me. He’s also an amazing leader who I like very much. I have a long relationship with Mike Duggan, the mayor of Detroit. And then Sheriff Chris Swanson out of Genesee County is going to put together a bid for governor. He’s kind of a dark-horse candidate, but he’s also amazing.

What do you think of Mr. Duggan’s [*decision to run for governor*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/18/us/politics/democrats-white-working-class-harris.html) as an independent?

It would feel shocking if it were anyone else. But Mike Duggan is the guy who won his first race as mayor of Detroit in a [*write-in campaign*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/18/us/politics/democrats-white-working-class-harris.html). So it’s a mistake to politically underestimate Mike Duggan.

PHOTO: Kristen McDonald Rivet won a challenging House race in a heavily white, ***working-class*** district. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDREW HARNIK/GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page A16.

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[***In Trump’s Win, G.O.P. Sees Signs of a Game-Changing New Coalition***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DC3-JPJ1-JBG3-652H-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 6, 2024 Wednesday 21:35 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1550 words

**Byline:** Michael C. Bender, Katie Glueck, Ruth Igielnik and Jennifer MedinaMichael C. Bender is a Times political correspondent covering Donald J. Trump, the Make America Great Again movement and other federal and state elections.

**Highlight:** Donald J. Trump picked up support among Latino and Black ***working-class*** voters, giving the party hope for a new way to win in a diversifying nation.

**Body**

Donald J. Trump picked up support among Latino and Black ***working-class*** voters, giving the party hope for a new way to win in a diversifying nation.

Republicans have sounded alarms for more than a decade about the limits of their overwhelmingly white party. To stay competitive for the White House, strategists warned, they would need to bring more Black, Latino and other voters of color into the fold.

On Tuesday, Donald J. Trump showed how it could be done.

His victory over Vice President Kamala Harris was decisive, broad and dependent on voters from core Democratic constituencies. Results showed that Mr. Trump continued his dominance with the white, ***working-class*** voters who first propelled his political rise. But he also made modest gains in the suburbs and cities, and with Black voters, and even more significant inroads with Latinos.

Mr. Trump’s performance did not suddenly transform the Republican Party into the multiracial alliance of ***working-class*** voters that some strategists say is necessary for survival in the rapidly changing country. But he nudged it in that direction.

At a time when the nation is sharply divided — particularly between rich and poor, and between those with and without a college degree — even incremental shifts were enough to sweep Mr. Trump back into power and put him on track to win the popular vote. Conservative strategists who have pushed the party to broaden its appeal pointed to the changes as proof of concept. Democrats, who have long relied on the support of minority voters, agonized over the trends.

“The losses among Latinos is nothing short of catastrophic for the party,” said Representative Ritchie Torres, an Afro-Latino Democrat whose Bronx-based district is heavily Hispanic. Mr. Torres worried that Democrats were increasingly captive to “a college-educated far left that is in danger of causing us to fall out of touch with ***working-class*** voters.”

There was evidence of Mr. Trump’s inroads across the country. In the heavily blue-collar community of Fayette County, Pa., outside Pittsburgh, Mr. Trump won nearly 70 percent of the vote, expanding his margins by about five percentage points since 2020.

Nationally, Hispanic-majority counties on average shifted toward Mr. Trump by 10 percentage points. That included Yuma County, Ariz., a heavily Latino county along the southern border with Mexico, where Mr. Trump is on track to win by nearly 30 percentage points.

Mr. Trump’s gains with Black voters were less significant but still notable in smaller communities across Georgia. Hancock, Talbot and Jefferson Counties, all majority-Black counties with no more than 15,000 people, shifted toward Mr. Trump. The Trump campaign celebrated a victory in Baldwin County, Ga., where 42 percent of the population is Black. Republicans had not won the county for decades.

Asian American voters, who make up the fastest-growing eligible electorate in the country, also appeared to have drifted away from Democrats, according to exit polls and unofficial returns.

“The strength of Trump’s reach into the traditional Democratic coalition of voters of color was stunning,” said Daniel HoSang, a professor at Yale who has written about the rise of right-wing political attitudes among minority groups.

Ms. Harris’s defeat is not entirely explained by these voters’ embrace of Mr. Trump. After months of flagging voter enthusiasm, there were signs that many Democrats simply failed to show up in key party strongholds.

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And turnout declined about 6 percentage points in Philadelphia County, Pa., according to unofficial results. Ms. Harris’s vote total slipped while Mr. Trump’s increased.

But the common thread among those who did gravitate toward Mr. Trump appeared to be a ***working-class*** identity — regardless of neighborhood. Mr. Trump appeared to perform slightly better in some suburban areas, primarily those with large numbers of voters without a college degree.

“People kind of have this oversimplified narrative about suburbs,” said Patrick Ruffini, a Republican pollster who has focused on his party’s appeal to Black and Latino voters.

Not all suburbs are filled with upper-income white moderates resistant to Mr. Trump, he suggested, adding that those areas are also home to many first- and second-generation immigrants who are bothered by illegal immigration.

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Mr. Trump made a point of shifting his policies to speak to these new Republican voters, although it was unclear how these new proposals would dovetail with the party’s longstanding aims to cut taxes on corporations and the wealthy, and to trim the social safety net.

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And yet, many ***working-class*** voters said Mr. Trump was a better bet to help their wallets.

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“They get in office and they literally do nothing for you,” he said about Democrats.

The former president and his running mate, Senator JD Vance of Ohio, eschewed traditional efforts to reach minority voters. The campaign shut down “community centers” the Republican Party had created to build relationships in Black, Latino and Asian American communities. Instead, [*the Trump campaign focused on*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/us/politics/trump-tips-taxes.html) [*putting the candidate in people’s social media feeds*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/us/politics/trump-tips-taxes.html), relying on podcasters, influencers and hip-hop artists to help spread its message.

The effect was that an often-rambling, blunt-speaking former president largely avoided conversations about race, and when he did engage, often prompted criticism. Speaking to the National Association of Black Journalists in July, Mr. Trump [*questioned Ms. Harris’s race*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/us/politics/trump-tips-taxes.html) and referred to himself as “the best president for the Black population since Abraham Lincoln.”

More often, Mr. Trump [*invited Latino and Black voters into his us-versus-them campaign*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/us/politics/trump-tips-taxes.html), rallying them against elites, out-of-touch liberals and the undocumented immigrants he claimed were taking “Black jobs” and “totally destroying our Hispanic population.”

He used cultural issues like gender-affirming surgery for prisoners and transgender female participation in sports — issues that affect relatively few people — as broad metaphors for a left-wing ideology run amok.

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“Kamala is for they/them,” the narrator said [*at the end of the spot*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/us/politics/trump-tips-taxes.html). “President Trump is for you.”

Many Latino voters were not turned off by Mr. Trump’s hard-line immigration policies. Polling showed that [*about one-third of Latino voters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/us/politics/trump-tips-taxes.html) supported his policies for mass deportations of undocumented immigrants.

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Mr. Ashbrook said his group had found that its anti-immigration ads consistently tipped persuadable Latino and male voters to Mr. Trump. Latino voters were looking for more economic security and safer neighborhoods “just like everybody else,” he said.

The result was a far cry from the party’s infamous “autopsy” report following Mitt Romney’s defeat in 2012, which urged Republicans to adopt more compassionate immigration policies and paths to citizenship for certain undocumented people already in the country.

Instead, Mr. HoSang said, the winning formula was much closer to what Steve Bannon, Mr. Trump’s former chief strategist in the White House, has called “inclusive nationalism.”

“All of the most aggressive tones of the Trump campaign around gender, immigration and crime seemed to effectively broaden the MAGA base,” Mr. HoSang said. “The results challenge the foundations of racial liberalism that have been dominant since the civil rights movement.”

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PHOTOS: Donald J. Trump’s gains with Black voters were not large but still notable in many communities.; Hispanic-majority counties on average shifted toward Mr. Trump by 10 percentage points. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SCOTT MCINTYRE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); A common thread among those gravitating to Mr. Trump appeared to be a ***working-class*** identity. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JIM VONDRUSKA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A18.

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[***In Trump's Win, G.O.P. Sees a Game Changer: A Diverse New Coalition***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCB-P411-DXY4-X0XW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 8, 2024 Friday

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 18

**Length:** 1496 words

**Byline:** By Michael C. Bender, Katie Glueck, Ruth Igielnik and Jennifer Medina

**Body**

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/donald-trump-2024-campaign-coalition.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/donald-trump-2024-campaign-coalition.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Donald J. Trump's gains with Black voters were not large but still notable in many communities.

Hispanic-majority counties on average shifted toward Mr. Trump by 10 percentage points. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SCOTT MCINTYRE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

A common thread among those gravitating to Mr. Trump appeared to be a ***working-class*** identity. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JIM VONDRUSKA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A18.

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[***Does Biden Have to Cede the White Working Class to Trump?; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BCP-NDS1-JBG3-6172-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 21, 2024 Wednesday 14:09 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 3222 words

**Byline:** Thomas B. Edsall Thomas B. Edsall&amp;#160;has been a contributor to the Times Opinion section since 2011. His column on strategic and demographic trends in American politics appears every Wednesday. He previously covered politics for The Washington Post.

**Highlight:** Democratic strategists are asking whether the president’s attempt to recapture these voters is a fool’s errand.

**Body**

A chorus of political analysts on the center left is once again arguing that the Democratic Party must reclaim a significant share of racially and culturally conservative white ***working-class*** voters if it is to regain majority status.

[*John B. Judis*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis) and [*Ruy Teixeira*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis) have made this case repeatedly in recent years, most exhaustively in their 2023 book, “[*Where Have All the Democrats Gone?*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis)”

They are not alone.

“[*For Victory in 2024, Democrats Must Win Back the* ***Working Class***](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis),” [*Will Marshall*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis), the founder and president of the Progressive Policy Institute, wrote in October 2023. “[*Can Democrats Win Back the* ***Working Class****?*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis)” [*Jared Abbott*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis) and [*Fred DeVeaux*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis) of the Center for ***Working-Class*** Politics asked in June 2023; “[*Democrats Need Biden to Appeal to* ***Working-Class*** *Voters*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis)” is how [*David Byler*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis), the former Washington Post data columnist, put it the same month.

However persuasive they are, these arguments raise a series of questions.

First, is the Democratic attempt to recapture white ***working-class*** voters a fool’s errand? Is this constituency irrevocably committed to the Republican Party — deaf to the appeal of a Democratic Party it sees as committed to racial and cultural liberalism?

Second, do Democrats actually need more white ***working-class*** voters, a constituency declining in numbers, when they are doing as well as they are with college-educated voters, who make up a growing share of the electorate?

Third, would appeals to the more culturally conservative white ***working class*** require backing off or moderating the party’s positions on civil rights, women’s rights, reproductive rights or L.G.B.T.Q. rights in a way that would cause progressives to vote for third-party candidates or fail to vote altogether?

Judis, who is a longtime writer for The New Republic and a friend of mine, provided some context in an email:

From my standpoint, there are two different questions rolled into one. The first is what kind of political party the country needs, and the second is what can the Democrats do to win elections.

My view is that the country has enduring problems — for instance, a marked imbalance in wealth and power, and a government that reflects that imbalance in its policies and regulations, as well as a porous safety net that feeds insecurity and anxiety about health care, child care and stable employment. One prerequisite of addressing these kinds of problems is a party that unites and does not divide the working and middle classes and that provides a counterweight to the power of the people at the top of America’s banks and corporations.

With its history of support for the labor movement — the existence of which is also necessary as a counterweight — the Democrats are more likely than the Republicans to be that party.

Judis acknowledged that

Democrats have won and could win elections without winning back many of the ***working-class*** voters that deserted the party over the last decades. Democrats did so in 2022 by decrying Republican attacks on abortion rights and on gun control and by decrying Donald Trump’s leadership and his threat to democracy. Democrats could win on these issues again in 2024.

Judis argued, however, that this approach is not adequate to “establish solid majorities capable of upending the balance of power in American politics.” For Democrats to return to their position as the dominant political party, Judis maintained that “they have to win back ***working-class*** voters.”

Disaffected ***working-class*** voters, according to Judis, “have been put off by Democratic stands on free trade, immigration, crime and affirmative action and by social programs that require sacrifice primarily by those in the middle to benefit those on the bottom.”

[*Jacob Hacker*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis), a political scientist at Yale, emphasized a different dimension of the Democrats’ evolving political strategy. In an article published in December, “[*Bridging the Blue Divide*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis): The Democrats’ New Metro Coalition and the Unexpected Prominence of Redistribution,” Hacker, [*Amelia Malpas*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis), [*Paul Pierson*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis) and [*Sam Zacher*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis) readily acknowledged the importance of relatively affluent college-educated voters in the Democratic coalition and the party’s loss of support among working- and middle-class voters, especially white ones.

But they disputed the argument made by many analysts that “the Democratic Party has managed this sea change by shifting from economic to cultural and identity appeals.”

Instead, Hacker and his collaborators wrote,

even as Democrats have increasingly relied on affluent, educated voters, the party has embraced a more ambitious economic agenda. The national party has bridged the blue divide not by forswearing redistribution or foregrounding cultural liberalism but by formulating an increasingly bold economic program — albeit one that elides important inequalities within its metro-based multiracial coalition.

Instead of downplaying or abandoning the party’s commitment to liberal economic policies, Hacker and his co-authors wrote,

Democratic elites have stepped up their emphasis on big economic programs and the active use of government to shape the economy, even as they have courted affluent suburban voters. Indeed, those aspirations have actually grown more ambitious as the party’s voting base has become more affluent and suburban, culminating in a breathtakingly expansive policy agenda after Democrats captured the House, Senate and presidency in 2020.

Hacker and his colleagues wrote that President Biden’s 2021 proposals “constituted the most extensive package of economic benefits for low- and middle-income families in a majority party’s legislative agenda since at least the 1960s.”

The authors acknowledged that the changing composition of the Democratic electorate is altering the character of the party:

Given Democrats’ historical identity as the party of “the little guy,” the most striking result of this shift is the growing share of highly affluent voters who back the party. The authors note that “by 2020, Democrats enjoyed roughly the same average vote margins (a 10-15 point edge) among voters in the top income quintile as they did among voters in the bottom quintile” while doing far less well among voters in the three middle quintiles.

With Democrats’ strongest base concentrated in cities, the need to remain competitive, Hacker and his co-authors wrote,

has made the Democrats’ growing reliance on prosperous metro areas (i.e., suburbs) both necessary and consequential. The party’s base has long been in cities, but the party has dramatically expanded its reach into less dense suburban areas that are economically integrated with major urban centers.

While Hacker’s argument that Democrats’ dependence on voters in upscale areas is “both necessary and consequential” is a subject of contention, [*Frances Lee*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis), a political scientist at Princeton, argued that the consequences of the strategy Hacker described could prove problematic.

“To the extent that the nation’s political discourse is driven by highly educated people,” Lee wrote by email, “there is danger that opinion leaders are falling increasingly out of touch with the rest of the population.”

In the past, Lee continued,

there was not a strong party divide along educational lines, with highly educated people identifying as both Republicans and Democrats. This meant that the class of people prominent in opinion leadership roles (including academia and journalism) was broadly representative of the rest of the country. That is clearly less true today.

[*William Galston*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis), a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution with extensive experience in Democratic politics, disagreed to some extent with the approach outlined by Hacker. In an email, Galston wrote:

There are decisive arguments against this strategy:

1. The lines between the white ***working class*** and the nonwhite ***working class*** [*are eroding*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis). Donald Trump received 41 percent of the non-college Hispanic vote in 2020 and may well do better this time around. If this turns out to be the case, then the old Democratic formula — add minorities to college-educated voters to make a majority — becomes obsolete.

2. The share of young Americans attending and completing college [*peaked a decade ago*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis) and has been fitfully declining ever since.

3. The “stop chasing the ***working-class*** vote” approach flunks the most important test — Electoral College math. The stubborn fact is that ***working-class*** voters (especially but not only white) form a larger share of the electorate in key battleground states, Michigan, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania, than they do nationally.

Galston provided The Times with data showing that while the national share of white ***working-class*** voters is 35 percent, it is 45 percent in Pennsylvania, 52 percent in Michigan and 56 percent in Wisconsin, all battleground states Biden won in close contests in 2020 and states that the Democrats are very likely to need again this November.

In an emailed response to my inquiries, [*Sean Trende*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis), a senior elections analyst for RealClearPolitics, focused on the potential costs of any major strategic shift: “There are theoretically ways Democrats could improve their vote share with ***working-class*** whites. The question is whether the trade-offs would be worth it and whether it would be something Democrats would want to do.”

Coalitions, Trende wrote, “are like water balloons; you push down on one side, and another pops up. Democrats could conceivably move rightward on some issue to try to get ***working-class*** whites, but that would probably alienate some other group that would otherwise vote Republican or for an independent.”

Trende agreed that Democrats have experienced striking success winning over college-educated voters but added that “at a certain point, Democrats start to run into college-educated evangelicals, college-educated libertarians, etc., just in the same way that Republicans probably don’t have too much room to grow with white ***working-class*** voters because you start to run into baristas, college students, etc.”

Unlike Hacker and his co-authors, Trende was not optimistic about the Democrats’ ability to maintain an alliance of relatively upscale suburbanites and much less affluent minorities:

What happens if the Democrats move so far to the left on the cultural issues that the specific areas of race aren’t enough to keep conservative and moderate Blacks and Hispanics? At the same time, what happens if the Democrats move rightward on cultural issues to try and keep these voters in the fold but alienate suburbanites who like low taxes and don’t directly benefit from social spending but do care about abortion and L.G.B.T. rights?

While much of the focus of this debate has been on the white ***working class***, minority voters have become ever more important to election outcomes.

[*Patrick Ruffini*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis), a Republican strategist who published “[*Party of the People*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis): Inside the Multiracial Populist Coalition Remaking the G.O.P.” last year, contended in an email that “many Black and Hispanic voters are culturally and ideologically misaligned in the Democratic Party.”

For the moment, these voters, “African Americans especially,” Ruffini wrote,

are held in place due to a mutual sense of social obligation to support the Democratic Party as a vehicle for Black empowerment. But what if defection were just a bit more common than it is today? And what if that rendered voting Democratic as a social norm unenforceable? In that case, you could see a sudden shift.

Ruffini acknowledged “that the chances of that happening in the near term are pretty remote, but it underscores the fragility of a coalition based not on ideological unity but group interest.”

There are some demographic trends suggesting that there are advantages to a continuation of the Democratic strategy of building higher margins among college-educated voters.

[*William Frey*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis), a demographer and a senior fellow at Brookings, provided The Times with data showing that as white people of all education levels decline as a share of the population — and of the electorate — the decline will be concentrated among Republican-leaning non-college white people while the share of Democratic-leaning college-educated white people will remain stable.

Projections for the elections of 2024, 2028 and 2032, according to Frey, showed the non-college white share of the population falling from 38 to 36 to 34 percent and the white college-educated share remaining at 32 percent in all three presidential election years.

Those trends will, in turn, magnify the importance of minority voters, whose share of the electorate will grow from 30 percent in 2024 to 32 percent in 2028 and to 34 percent in 2032.

[*Sean Westwood*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis), a political scientist at Dartmouth, made the case by email that “it is foolhardy for Democrats to count on higher education to offset the growth of more conservative minority populations.”

The number of students entering the nation’s colleges, Westwood wrote, is about to fall off an “[*enrollment cliff*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis),” while “the nonwhite portion of America is on track to continue surging. The undeniable truth is that the future of America and of both parties rests in the hands of America’s minority population.”

In support of his argument, Westwood cited a 2022 Vox article by Kevin Carey, “[*The Incredible Shrinking Future of College*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis),” which documented a sharp decline in the number of annual births that began in the 2008 recession:

From the early 1970s until 2007, the number of [*annual births*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis) per 1,000 women ages 15 to 44 stayed between roughly 65 and 70. Starting in 2008, the ratio went down, down, down, to 56 in 2020, the lowest rate in American history. There were [*4.3 million*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis) births in 2007; in 2021 there were [*3.7 million*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis).

In 2022, the most recent year for which data is available, the number of births remained virtually the same, with what the Centers for Disease Control [*described as*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis) “a nonsignificant decline from 2021."

[*Robert Borosage*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis), a founder of the Campaign for America’s Future and the issue director of Jesse Jackson’s 1988 presidential campaign, argued in an email that white ***working-class*** voters are crucial to the ideological coherence of the Democratic Party:

You can’t build an enduring majority for progressive change vital to sustaining a democracy without a broad coalition that includes white ***working-class*** support. Without the effort to appeal to the white ***working class***, you will watch more and more erosion of working people of all races and genders.

Candidates, Borosage continued, “who lead with a populist economic agenda can, in my view, sustain their social liberalism. Candidates that lead with their social liberalism and eschew a populist economic agenda pay a severe price for that failure — Hillary Rodham Clinton as signature example.”

Politically speaking, in Borosage’s view, Democrats have suffered more because of their economic policies than from cultural liberalism and identity politics:

Where Democrats have been losing is that their economics hasn’t worked for working people. It is far more destructive to be the party of Wall Street and multinational corporations (the neoliberalism from Carter to Clinton to Obama, with Clinton the worst offender) than to be the party defending abortion or D.E.I.

In fact, Biden has done far more than his Democratic predecessors Bill Clinton and Barack Obama to enact legislation economically beneficial to the ***working class***, including the white ***working class***.

Among the measures the Biden administration has pushed through Congress are:

* The $1 trillion [*Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis), providing funding for jobs building roads, bridges, passenger and freight rail, public transit, airports and other projects.

1. The [*Inflation Reduction Act*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis), which provides $370 billion in spending and tax credits in low-emission forms of energy, extends federal health-insurance subsidies and enables the government to negotiate Medicare prescription drug prices.
2. The $280 billion [*CHIPS and Science Act*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis) to prop up the American chip manufacturing industry.

Despite these substantial programs providing well-paying jobs for non-college workers, the rollout of these measures has so far done little to improve Biden’s prospects with the white ***working class***.

During 2023, NBC News surveys found that Trump led Biden among white non-college voters by 25 points. In January, after many of the projects financed by the Biden legislation broke ground and the economy continued to improve significantly, Trump’s advantage grew to 33 points.

In other words, backed by legislative victories economically beneficial to the ***working class***, rising employment and a growing gross domestic product, Biden still lost ground with this key constituency.

While the call coming from Judis, Galston and others for the Democratic Party to do all it can to retain and expand its ***working-class*** support has merit, I think Hacker’s case for Democrats’ continued reliance on an upstairs-downstairs coalition will be the party’s de facto strategy.

Why? Not only because of the headwinds the NBC polling revealed but also because politicians are inherently cautious and reluctant to challenge the status quo.

The Democratic Party as it is now constructed is backed by a network of constituencies, each determined to protect its current status in the party hierarchy. Equally important is the network of interest groups, foundations and advocacy organizations that wield power in party deliberations.

While Democratic recruiting efforts targeting the white ***working class*** (many of whom work in declining manufacturing industries) face obstacles, there is a far more diverse ***working-class*** constituency: employees in the rapidly growing service sector. These workers offer Democrats a constituency of millions of men and women receptive to appeals from a party that continues to be closely allied with the [*labor movement*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis). [*Unions*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis) have increasingly targeted service workers in health care, hospitality, food services and related industries.

[*Richard Florida*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis), a professor of economic analysis and policy at the University of Toronto, may have the wisest guidance for Democrats. “The service class, not the ***working class***, is the key to the Democrats’ future,” Florida wrote in an [*Evonomics essay*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis):

Members of the blue-collar ***working class*** are largely white men, working in declining industries like manufacturing, as well as construction, transportation and other manual trades. Members of the service class work in rapidly growing industries like food service, clerical and office work, retail stores, hospitality, personal assistance and the caring industries. The service class has more than double the members of the ***working class*** — 65 million versus 30 million members — and is made up disproportionately of women and members of ethnic and racial minorities.

On one hand, the 2024 election, as it stands, will be determined by how many undecided men and women Trump alienates.

On the other, as CNN [*reported*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis) on Feb. 12, “the 2024 campaign gets grimmer, with Trump’s extremism on full display alongside concerns over Biden’s age.”

Not a great choice this time around, either way.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis). And here&#39;s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis).

Follow the New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis), [*Instagram*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis), [*TikTok*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis), [*X*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis) and [*Threads*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Judis).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Haiyun Jiang for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Democrats' Vote Totals Dropped Across All City Neighborhoods***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DPS-91J3-RS49-X29G-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 22, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section MB; Column 0; Metropolitan Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 588 words

**Byline:** By Keith Collins, Zach Levitt, Malika Khurana and Nicholas Fandos

**Body**

Donald J. Trump won 30 percent of the votes cast in New York City in this year's presidential election. It was a seven-point jump from his performance in 2020, and a higher share of the vote than any Republican nominee has won in the city since George H.W. Bush in 1988.

But his improved vote share was driven more by the votes Democrats lost than by the votes he gained.

In every neighborhood in New York City, from Red Hook in Brooklyn to Riverdale in the Bronx, Vice President Kamala Harris received fewer votes than Joseph R. Biden, Jr. did in 2020, while in most neighborhoods, Mr. Trump notched modest increases compared with his last run.

Overall, the downturn in votes for the Democratic candidate was nearly three times the size of Mr. Trump's gains when compared with 2020.

In total, about three million ballots were cast in New York City in the 2020 election, and about 2.8 million were cast in 2024. Many New Yorkers moved out of the city during the pandemic, and by the 2022 midterms, the total number of registered voters here had already started to drop. As of this month, there were about 230,000 fewer active registered Democrats in the city than there were in 2020, and about 12,000 more registered Republicans.

It is not clear how much that contributed to the outcome of the election, but the pattern of Democratic losses and Republican gains was clear across all income levels and ethnic groups in the city. The drop-off was most pronounced among ***working-class*** immigrant groups who live outside Manhattan, many of them in the neighborhoods that were hit the hardest by the pandemic and the economic disruption that followed.

Several of the neighborhoods where the Democratic Party lost the most ground were in Queens, including some with large populations of ***working-class*** Latino immigrants.

In Corona, a neighborhood in Queens, Ms. Harris won about 6,000 fewer votes than Mr. Biden won in 2020, and Mr. Trump gained about 3,000 votes.

In Flushing, one of the hubs of Asian life in the city, Democrats lost about 8,500 votes compared with 2020, and Ms. Harris won just 60 more votes than Mr. Trump.

Some of the neighborhoods where the Democratic Party saw the biggest losses were in Upper Manhattan and in the Bronx, the city's poorest borough.

In University Heights, a neighborhood in the Bronx with a large Latino population, Mr. Biden won 84 percent of 12,000 votes in 2020, and Ms. Harris won just 66 percent of the 10,000 votes cast in 2024.

In East Harlem, a racially diverse neighborhood that is among the lowest income sections of Manhattan, Ms. Harris received about 6,000 fewer votes than Mr. Biden four years ago, and Mr. Trump won about 1,700 more than in 2020.

Ms. Harris held up best in high-income neighborhoods known for expensive brownstones and highly educated residents, like Clinton Hill in Brooklyn. About 13,400 votes were cast here in both 2020 and 2024, with Ms. Harris winning 94 percent in 2024, and Mr. Biden winning 97 percent in 2020.

Among income groups in the city, the precincts with the lowest median incomes saw the largest drop in support for the Democratic candidate, and the largest increase in support for Mr. Trump.

Ms. Harris lost substantial support in precincts with larger populations of Latino and Asian voters. Asian voters have been shifting rightward in recent years because of a mix of concerns about crime, city education policies and the economy.

Mr. Trump made significant gains in precincts where a majority of residents were Latino or Black.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/11/multimedia/trump-gained-150000-votes-in-new-york-city-democrats-lost-nearly-three-times-that.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/11/multimedia/trump-gained-150000-votes-in-new-york-city-democrats-lost-nearly-three-times-that.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page MB4, MB5.

**Load-Date:** December 22, 2024

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[***Middle-Class Roots in Starmer's Cabinet Fail to Impress Many Britons***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D43-HWG1-DXY4-X1N3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 5, 2024 Saturday

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 1317 words

**Byline:** By Stephen Castle

**Body**

Prime Minister Keir Starmer's top team contains more lawmakers from poor backgrounds, and fewer from elite schools, than any in recent memory. Voters haven't noticed.

Hot water was a luxury in the home where Angela Rayner, Britain's deputy prime minister, was raised. Wes Streeting, the health secretary, was born to a single mother who pawned her jewelry to make ends meet. Racist skinheads shouted abuse at the young David Lammy, a Black Briton who is now foreign secretary, near his home in a deprived part of north London.

Britain's current cabinet, the country's 22 senior lawmakers including the prime minister, Keir Starmer, is one of the most ***working class*** in the nation's history. Only one attended a private school, and several spent their early lives in poverty. Mr. Starmer, whose father worked in a factory, has recounted when their phone was cut off because his parents couldn't pay the bills.

Yet, while the cabinet may be more like many of the people it governs, Britons don't seem to have noticed.

According to one recent opinion poll, fewer than one in four people see the Labour government, which came to power in July, as caring about ''people like them,'' while almost two-thirds of voters see it as not bothered by the interests of normal people.

That impression has been shaped in part by recent revelations that senior Labour figures accepted free gifts from party donors, including clothing and eyeglasses for Mr. Starmer and dresses for his wife.

But the glaring disparity between the humble social origins of top ministers and the way they are perceived, analysts say, underscores the disenchantment many Britons feel with the system, and with the political class in general.

Whatever their social origins, many Labour figures look like identikit politicians at a time when voters seem to be turned off by the unspoken rules of mainstream politics, said Steven Fielding, an emeritus professor of political history at the University of Nottingham.

''One reason why politicians from a ***working-class*** background who are in the cabinet are there is because they have adhered to a model that a lot of people find frustrating,'' he said.

He added that the ascent to high office invariably changes the way the public perceives someone's status. ''If you are in the cabinet then -- by definition -- you are no longer exactly ***working class***.''

Class consciousness has historically been deeply ingrained in Britain, with ongoing debate about the impact of a regional accent or a particular school on career outcomes. Three-quarters of Britons said they believed that social class affects someone's opportunities ''a great deal'' or ''quite a lot,'' in a poll last year by NatCen, an annual social attitudes survey.

Labour's landslide election victory in July ushered in a striking change in the social makeup of the government, as the Conservatives were banished to the opposition.

''Forty-three percent of Keir Starmer's cabinet come from ***working-class*** backgrounds, in that their parents had ***working-class*** jobs,'' said Aaron Reeves, co-author of a book about Britain's elite called ''Born to Rule,'' and a professor at the London School of Economics. ''For the outgoing Conservative cabinet that was about 7 percent.''

In terms of education, the shift is equally stark.

Nine top private schools, including Eton, Harrow and Winchester, have produced two-thirds of all prime ministers in Britain, despite educating fewer than 0.2 percent of all British schoolchildren. The same schools have produced more than half of lawmakers who held the so-called great offices of state, which include chancellor of the Exchequer and foreign secretary, according to Sam Friedman, also a professor at the London School of Economics, and Mr. Reeves's co-author.

Only one member of Mr. Starmer's cabinet went to a private school, the lowest number in British history. That contrasts with almost two-thirds of the cabinet under Rishi Sunak, his predecessor, according to the Sutton Trust, an organization that promotes social mobility.

Labour ministers are not shy about advertising their ***working class*** credentials. At their annual conference last month the business and trade secretary, Jonathan Reynolds, whose father was a firefighter and whose mother worked for a door-to-door loans company, began his speech by saying he was ''proud to be a part of the most ***working-class*** cabinet in British history.''

But getting that idea across has not been helped by the furor over freebies. Although no rules appear to have been broken, it has threatened to reinforce the impression that politicians of all political stripes are self-serving.

''While talking about their ***working-class*** origins has been an important and genuine way the Labour cabinet have communicated their ordinariness to the public, the freebie scandal has strongly eroded the image of being normal, meritocratic and unspectacular,'' said Professor Friedman. ''Free clothes, free tickets, free parties paid for, the use of expensive apartments when they need them -- all this signals a life of privilege, not ordinariness.''

Britain's right-leaning media leaped on the revelations. Conservative politicians have long done their best to put distance between Mr. Starmer and his ***working-class*** background. Many pointedly refer to him as ''Sir Keir'' and his wife as ''Lady Victoria'' -- titles they rarely use -- leading some voters to believe wrongly that they were aristocrats by birth. (Mr. Starmer was given a knighthood in 2014 for serving as chief public prosecutor.)

On Wednesday, Downing Street said that Mr. Starmer had repaid more than 6,000 pounds -- almost $7,900 -- to cover gifts he received since becoming prime minister, including the cost of Taylor Swift concert tickets.

Three months after winning power, the government has so far implemented few policies to help working people but angered many by curtailing fuel subsidy payments for retirees. It has announced plans to remove a tax exemption from private schools, however, something previous Labour administrations never attempted, and its first budget at the end of October may contain more targeted policies.

Of its top team, Ms. Rayner overcame considerable obstacles. She was raised in public housing and left school at 16, pregnant and with no qualifications. After becoming a care worker, she rose through the trade union movement before running for Parliament.

In her traditional union background, she is something of an exception. Other senior Labour figures have made their way to the top by working for advocacy groups, charities or as researchers and advisers for Labour lawmakers.

Bridget Phillipson, the education secretary, was also raised in public housing and has described being ostracized on the playground because she was poor. She did well at school, got to Oxford University and managed a refuge for women and children fleeing domestic violence before becoming a lawmaker.

In spite of these meritocratic success stories, the nature of modern party management and the tightly controlled presentation of politicians in a 24/7 news environment -- where one bad interview can ruin a career -- can add to officials' seeming remoteness.

Most of Labour's top team ''have been schooled into that model of how to do politics which many people now reject,'' said Professor Fielding. They rarely stray from preplanned talking points and tend to be risk averse in media interviews.

By contrast, a populist like Nigel Farage, leader of the anti-immigration Reform U.K. party, has cultivated an outsider's appeal to voters in struggling regions, even though he attended an exclusive private school and worked as a commodity trader.

''The irony,'' Professor Fielding added, ''is that it is someone like Nigel Farage on this side of the Atlantic, and Donald Trump on the other, who can use that to win support from voters who are ***working class***.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/04/world/europe/uk-labour-cabinet-****working-class****-freebies.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/04/world/europe/uk-labour-cabinet-working-class-freebies.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Deputy Prime Minister Angela Rayner, right, was raised in public housing, left school at 16 and became a care worker. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TEMILADE ADELAJA/REUTERS)

Prime Minister Keir Starmer, left, with David Lammy, Britain's foreign secretary. Mr. Lammy grew up in north London, where he endured racist abuse. (POOL PHOTO BY STEFAN ROUSSEAU) This article appeared in print on page A4.

**Load-Date:** October 5, 2024

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[***America's 'Diploma Divide'***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DFF-NSV1-JBG3-63WY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 17, 2024 Sunday

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**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 11; LETTERS

**Length:** 1278 words

**Body**

Readers discuss a David Brooks column about how the less educated are being left behind.

To the Editor:

Re ''Voters to Elites: Do You See Me Now?,'' by David Brooks (column, Nov. 8):

Mr. Brooks is exactly right, but he doesn't carry his line of reasoning to its logical conclusion. Yes, Donald Trump won the election because of a strong showing by the non-college-educated population. And yes, that segment is disadvantaged in many ways.

But why did that segment vote for Mr. Trump? I would suggest there is a reason that people go to college. And contrary to what many believe, it is not just to get a better job. It is to become a better and more informed citizen, and to learn to distinguish truth from falsehood. And that is not easy when confronted with constant disinformation and outright lies.

Partly as a result, the non-college-educated do not see that they have been duped. They have voted for a man and a party that have consistently worked to keep them suppressed, that have been against universal health care, against efforts to control global warming, against monopolistic practices, etc., etc.

Democrats should stop flagellating themselves for having done something wrong. It is not they who have betrayed the non-college-educated. As global warming, hurricanes and flooding increase; as privatized health care grows more expensive, and epidemics again kill thousands because of vaccine skeptics; as inflation shoots up from tariffs and tax reduction, the non-college-educated will suffer disproportionately.

Let them look to their elected Republicans. They have broken it, and now they own it.

Robert H. PalmerNew York

To the Editor:

Trying to blame the Democrats' loss on their supposed disrespect of voters and behaving like elites is old and tired.

Donald Trump is a man who never tires of telling how wealthy and smart he is, who has an Ivy League education and owns his own jet and a tower in New York with his name emblazoned upon them. If he isn't one of the elite, who is?

Mr. Trump's feeble attempts to appear as an Everyman by sitting in a garbage truck and working at McDonald's are a joke. Has Mr. Brooks forgotten how Mr. Trump stiffed contractors on their pay? When Mr. Trump and his ilk cheat on their taxes, we little people have to pick up the tab.

The biggest joke is his policies, where tax cuts go to the rich and wealth is concentrated at the top. His tariffs will do nothing but raise prices on consumers. Mr. Trump has shown nothing but contempt for working people.

Steve KnappPawtucket, R.I.

To the Editor:

David Brooks writes: ''By high school two-thirds of the students in the top 10 percent of the class are girls, while about two-thirds of the students in the bottom decile are boys. Schools are not set up for male success; that has lifelong personal, and now national, consequences.''

Does he not appreciate that these educational gains for women go back only a few generations, and can't begin to compensate for the loss of generational wealth, personal independence and opportunity that women have experienced for centuries? Both my grandmother and my husband's grandmother had to quit school after eighth grade to work in factory jobs in order to help the family support the son's educational pursuits.

I normally find Mr. Brooks's essays thoughtful and enjoy reading them, but his tone regarding recent female academic success is offensive.

Kathleen BeasleyRedwood City, Calif.

To the Editor:

David Brooks makes the case that the Democrats have become an elitist party, turning their backs on ***working-class*** Americans and ignoring inequality in favor of identity politics. But wait, didn't President Biden pour billions into bringing back manufacturing and creating well-paying construction jobs through the infrastructure bill, walk the picket line with auto workers, support unions generally, and espouse a philosophy of building the economy from the bottom up and middle out?

And haven't Democrats consistently fought for affordable health care, child tax credits and other programs benefiting middle- and lower-income Americans? To hear Mr. Brooks, you would think Democrats govern as Republicans have, giving tax breaks to billionaires and corporations, talking about bringing back manufacturing and creating infrastructure jobs but doing nothing, while trying to gut social programs.

Republicans are largely inept at governing, but savants at vilifying opponents. Many Republican voters have a visceral hatred of Mr. Biden and that, along with the persistence of high prices, doomed Kamala Harris's candidacy, not some Democratic elitist disdain for ***working-class*** Americans.

John Van BenschotenEdenton, N.C.

To the Editor:

David Brooks falls for the trap that Donald Trump and so many others on the right have set out. It's not that the ''elites'' don't see the rest of the country; rather the ''non-elites'' need to understand that economic issues and respect for the rights of others, especially women, immigrants, L.G.B.T.Q. folks and people of color, are not mutually exclusive, despite what Mr. Trump and his racist dog whistles want them to think.

And last time I checked, you don't need to go to college to know that treating other human beings with respect, decency and compassion are the right things to do, no matter what your income level or background.

Warren HoffmanBrooklyn

To the Editor:

David Brooks rightly describes a ''diploma divide'' in America, ''elevating the academically gifted above everybody else,'' and the fact that high school graduates have worse medical problems and die younger than do college-educated individuals. As he states, Democrats need to ''respect'' less educated individuals.

But he fails to mention that major solutions to these underlying medical and economic problems are to improve education in this country. Unfortunately, Republicans have long underfunded public education, and President Trump has said he wants to eliminate the Department of Education.

Both parties need to not only hear and attract less educated individuals, but to also actively enhance education, and thereby address these public health problems. Democrats have appeared more committed to these goals than the Republicans, and should now show they can meet these needs. If Republicans want to maintain this voter support, they should now do so, too.

Robert KlitzmanNew YorkThe writer is a professor in Columbia University's Vagelos College of Physicians and Surgeons and Mailman School of Public Health.

To the Editor:

David Brooks makes a very good point about the lack of respect that elites have shown toward the ***working class*** and people without a college degree. He's also right to blame the Democratic Party for ignoring or mistreating those same people. But his analysis is flawed because he doesn't address the devastating impact that individual and corporate wealth has had on the poor and ***working class***.

The economic elites and corporations have amassed fortunes that we have never conceived of. According to the Institute for Policy Studies, there are now 801 billionaires in this country with a combined wealth of $6.22 trillion. JP Morgan Chase has more than $4 trillion in assets. Not only are these individuals and corporations obscenely wealthy, but they also have enormous power over their workers and the U.S. economy.

The millions of poor and ***working-class*** people have every right to be angry at an economy that didn't perform for them. But they should, and probably will, come to understand that their anger should be directed at the billionaires and wealthy corporations, not the left or the academic elite.

Michael KaneFlorence, Mass.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/16/opinion/educated-2024-election.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/16/opinion/educated-2024-election.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page SR11.

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**End of Document**



[***The Texas Millennial Trying to Rebrand the Democrats***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DMX-6WT1-JBG3-64JB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 13, 2024 Friday 18:15 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1592 words

**Byline:** Jess BidgoodJess Bidgood is a managing correspondent for The Times and writes the newsletter, a guide to the 2024 election and beyond.

**Highlight:** “We can’t bring a policy book to a gunfight,” said Representative Greg Casar of Texas, the incoming chair of the Congressional Progressive Caucus.

**Body**

“We can’t bring a policy book to a gunfight,” said Representative Greg Casar of Texas, the incoming chair of the Congressional Progressive Caucus.

Ever since they lost big in November, Democrats have talked about how much their party needs to change.

Representative Greg Casar is living it.

Last week, Casar, a 35-year-old Democrat from Austin, Texas, was elected as the chair of the Congressional Progressive Caucus, becoming the youngest person ever tapped to lead the group of liberals at a moment when his party is struggling with younger voters. He’s also the first leader from Texas, a state Democrats find perennially vexing.

Casar, a former union organizer, will be tasked with leading progressives through a challenging period, one that has some Democrats blaming them for tugging the party too far to the left. He believes it was centrists like Joe Manchin, the former Democrat and departing senator from West Virginia, who caused the party to water down policies that could have galvanized ***working-class*** voters. But he says progressives need to shift their message, too.

I spoke by phone with Casar this week, for the second in my [*series of interviews*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/27/us/politics/john-fetterman-democrats.html) with Democrats grappling with how to move the party forward. Our conversation was edited for length and clarity.

JB: Why should somebody from a red state lead progressive Democrats?

GC: Right now, the Democratic Party is doing really important soul-searching. As we work to regain ***working-class*** voters’ trust, as we work to bring Democrats back into the fold that decided to vote for Trump this time, I think it’s really important that progressives build a big tent.

It is important for the Democratic Party leadership to be as diverse as the voters that we’re trying to bring in. We need older leadership. We need younger leadership, leadership from the South. We need leadership from the coast, but we can’t have it all from the coast.

Let’s talk a little bit about that soul-searching. What do you think went wrong in November?

Ever since 2012, the Democratic Party has been losing ***working-class*** voters across races and across geography, and we just can’t let that happen.

Democrats need to rebrand and reform our party to much more clearly communicate to working people that we’re in it for them, and that we’re willing to take on the powerful interests that are screwing them in this economy. And if we don’t tell that last part of the story, if we don’t acknowledge that working people are struggling and that they’re feeling screwed over, then we can sound preachy or policy wonky or disconnected or like institutionalists. That certainly doesn’t work, especially when you’re up against Donald Trump.

You use the word “preachy.” Do you think the Democratic Party was too preachy during the campaign?

We have to have a big tent that includes people who may not agree with us on every single social issue, but who are with us on fighting for the economic interests of the everyday person. I do think it’s also incumbent on progressives to make sure our message is focused on winning rather than on just playing to our existing audience.

I think that this will require reform in all different parts of the party. Some of the institutionalist and corporate parts of the party that wanted to explain to people that inflation wasn’t as bad in the United States as in other nations — that’s not a winning message.

If I was to speak critically about myself: In the past, if Governor Abbott or another right-wing politician picked on somebody in the L.G.B.T.Q. community, I would say that L.G.B.T.Q. rights are basic rights, and that we should stand up for those rights, period. And I still believe that.

But I think that if we want to refocus and re-center the Democratic Party around fighting for working people first and not throwing vulnerable people under the bus, now I would have a different message.

People like Congresswoman Nancy Mace are [*filing bills in the Capitol about which marble bathroom certain people can and can’t use*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/27/us/politics/john-fetterman-democrats.html), because she wants to distract the American people from the billionaire tax cut that she’s about to work on with Donald Trump.

We should be clear that the Republicans are playing a game by targeting and scapegoating a group of vulnerable people in order to make it sound like, in Middle America, that is all the Democratic Party works on and cares about. Instead of fully diving into the culture war fight with the Republicans, I think we should be more clearly calling out the Republican game and connecting the dots for the everyday voter.

Do you think that the problem in November was a messaging problem, or was it a substance problem?

I think the Democratic Party brand was already struggling so much with ***working-class*** voters that we could not survive the onslaught of Republican dark money and lies. Our brand wasn’t strong enough to survive that onslaught, and that brand has problems for a mix of substantive reasons and message reasons.

If corporate elements of the Democratic Party, like Joe Manchin and his wing of the party, had listened to progressives and had passed the bills to lower housing costs, to contain child care costs within 7 percent of a person’s income, I think that substantively would have helped a lot in this election.

After Brian Thompson, the chief executive of UnitedHealthcare, was assassinated in broad daylight last week, we heard this upswell of dissatisfaction with the way that the health system functions. Most people with whom that resonated would quickly say that doesn’t mean they want to kill anybody, but —

They weren’t really talking about him. What people are speaking up about is that they’re sick and tired of feeling like C.E.O.s and big corporations are getting away with anything. I think that’s where Democrats have hesitated to tell a full story that includes what the problem is and who the villains are.

Donald Trump clearly always said housing costs are up. It’s a lie, but Donald Trump said it’s immigrants’ fault. Grocery costs are up. It’s a lie, but Donald Trump said it’s immigrants’ fault. He also said that is wokeness’s fault. He told us a myth, a lie, but it’s a whole story, whereas Democrats too often try to explain things instead of — we can’t bring a policy book to a gunfight.

Democrats need to be able to say, you know, it’s not an asylum seeker trying to raise your rent. It’s hedge funds just buying up neighborhoods, jacking up the rent and being deregulated by the Republicans. You heard less and less of that during the vice president’s campaign. But it’s not just about any one candidate, right? I think that message, that kind of message, is what the Democratic Party has needed for the last few years.

That’s not necessarily running further to the left or running further to the right. It’s more running directly at working people’s issues. It’s about the bottom 90 percent punching up at the people who are actually raising prices and suppressing wages.

Do you think there was a failure by the Democratic Party this year to tap into that kind of discontent?

Ever since the 2008 housing crash, ever since Occupy Wall Street and Black Lives Matter, there’s been serious discontent. If you look at people’s wages compared to inflation over the course of my lifetime, it’s barely kept up, while profits have soared. Democrats need to acknowledge that discontent and show people that we’re going to fight for that.

When you asked have we failed in that regard, the answer is yes.

Many elected Democrats are acknowledging a cultural problem, too. Republicans found a way to resonate with ***working-class*** men who don’t vote a lot — a group that includes Latino, Black and white men. How should Democrats respond?

The Democratic Party in the past has been able to hold people together across cultural divides because, at the end of the day, the Democratic Party was for the everyday person. I saw this in my time as a labor organizer, where on construction sites we had to bring together fifth-generation Texans and unions who are overwhelmingly white alongside undocumented, Spanish-speaking immigrant construction workers.

But across those divides, I saw how workers would stand up and fight against some of the biggest developers in the country when they had a shared interest that they were all fighting for: a raise. And that’s what I think the Democratic Party has to do.

So we can say, “I agree on some of these cultural issues. I might disagree some on that cultural issue. At the end of the day, it’s the Democrats who are authentic and willing to fight for me.” I think that’s what starts to erase some of those differences.

Tell us your favorite movies about politics.

You might be tired of politics after this roller coaster of a presidential election. Maybe you’ve tried escaping to the movies — only to find that some of the season’s releases, like “Gladiator II” or the Ralph Fiennes pope thriller “Conclave,” are themselves about campaigns, conniving and democracy’s viability.

As a follow-up to the [*On Politics reading guide*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/27/us/politics/john-fetterman-democrats.html) we assembled over the summer, I want to hear about [*your favorite movies about politics*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/27/us/politics/john-fetterman-democrats.html). Tell me why you adore a classic like “All the President’s Men.” Or tell me about a movie you love that touches on political themes even as it seems to be about something else.

Your answer may be featured in an upcoming newsletter.

[*Submit your favorite here*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/27/us/politics/john-fetterman-democrats.html).

PHOTO: Representative Greg Casar, a 35-year-old Democrat from Austin, Texas, is the youngest person ever tapped to lead the Congressional Progressive Caucus. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Kenny Holston/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** December 13, 2024

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[***Michigan Democrat Says What Party Needs Is an Economic Reality Check***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DMK-PCP1-DXY4-X2V1-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 12, 2024 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 16

**Length:** 1190 words

**Byline:** By Katie Glueck

**Body**

Kristen McDonald Rivet won a tough House race in a heavily white, ***working-class*** area even as many Democrats in such places lost. In an interview, she warned against a ''tone-deaf'' economic message.

Democrats, rejected by many voters and headed for life in the minority in Washington, see few reasons for optimism these days.

But a rare bright spot for the party comes from an unexpected place: a House district in Michigan that is home to many white, ***working-class*** residents, as well as counties that shifted hard against Vice President Kamala Harris in the fall.

Republicans had hoped to capture the seat in Michigan's Eighth District after Representative Dan Kildee, a Democrat and local institution, retired. Instead, State Senator Kristen McDonald Rivet won by 6.7 percentage points.

''This was a big win, a really important win in a tough seat,'' said Gov. Gretchen Whitmer, Democrat of Michigan.

Ms. McDonald Rivet is an Ohio-hating Michigan sports enthusiast and mother of six. (''I know,'' she said in one memorable ad. ''That's a lot.'') She has a coarse take on politicians, using a bleeped-out expletive in the ad to call most of them ''full of'' garbage. Her milk-guzzling 15-year-old son, she liked to say, kept her closely attuned to the price of groceries.

She will hold a freshman leadership position with the moderate New Democrat Coalition in Congress.

The New York Times caught up with her about why her party's economic messaging alienated some voters, what national Democrats could learn from her race and why she spent ''almost zero time'' discussing the state of the nation's democracy.

Here are excerpts from the interview, which have been edited for length and clarity:

You outperformed Vice President Kamala Harris across a challenging district for your party. What is the biggest lesson the national party should take from your victory?

We focused continuously -- almost exclusively -- on pocketbook issues, on getting more money in people's pockets.

I spent a lot of time on TV looking directly into the camera and talking about how I worry about the same things.

We set out from the very beginning to not make my congressional race a surrogate for the top of the ticket. This was a race between me and my opponent, my work, not just in the State Senate but my lifetime work of having accomplished things that impact the economic stability of families.

Very basic needs feel like they're getting further and further out of reach. Any campaign that's not talking about that, and concrete ideas to address that, will not be able to win a district like mine.

Does the national Democratic Party have a perception problem in your district?

It's not about a rejection of Democrats and an acceptance of Republicans. It is a rejection of anybody they feel is not like them and is not talking straight.

I don't think that means that we've seen this big Republican sweep. I think what it means is that people want to feel seen.

A lot of what they see from people on both sides of the ticket, frankly, are talking points, generalities, promises that aren't kept, language that they don't actually use.

Like what?

I don't want to talk about ''inflation.'' I talked about the price of eggs. We're not, you know, having a conversation about the market. We're not talking about interest rates.

A huge swath of folks in my district work in the service industry. We can talk about raising income. Or you can say, ''I'm not going to tax your tips.'' That is so real.

What's the single most important thing Democrats can do to win back the voters who supported you but not the top of the ticket?

We have to base our campaigns in economic reality.

The system feels stacked against so many people. And when we take those messages and we want to talk about a sort of esoteric policy ideology, you lose people.

There are big parts of our government that are broken that have to get fixed. And we actually need to help people earn more money and keep more of their money, especially ***working-class*** people who are making less than 60 grand a year.

When you and I spoke at the beginning of 2023, you told me that in your State Senate district, ''folks were outraged by Jan. 6, but if that's all you talk to them about, you're not going to win their vote.''

That's right. So, honestly, I see Democrats still really -- sort of hard-core Democrats -- still really outraged by Jan. 6. And frankly, I'm still outraged by Jan. 6. But if you are worried that you're not going to keep your heat on, you care less about those things.

I spent almost zero time talking about the state of the democracy.

Let me just be really clear. Of course it's important. And there are things that we need to worry about. But the very first thing we have to do is to commit ourselves to an agenda that makes it so everybody can thrive.

There's an interesting contrast in how you talked about cost of living and how the Biden administration often talked about it.

When we talk about the economy and the data points that are typically associated with measuring the economy, and the jobs report and all of those things -- great, beautiful and nice leading indicators, all of that -- that doesn't mean anything to people who don't have money in the market and aren't watching at that level.

What really matters to them is how much it costs at the grocery store and the gas pump.

While we were trying to say: 'Look, we have a softer landing. We are doing better than anyone else post-pandemic,' it lands on families in my district as tone-deaf when they can't afford to eat meat more than once a week.

What will be your biggest priority in your first term?

Trying to be incredibly realistic about what it means to be a freshman member in the minority, but my priority is always that space around, how do we raise median income in Michigan and make sure that every single kid is in a good, strong school and has a pathway to the middle class?

I would love to be able to make some progress on restoring the expanded child tax credit. If we can't get that done, shame on us.

And we have got to do something about the cost of child care. I am not retiring until we've made progress.

If you run for re-election in 2026, you will do so during the Michigan governor's race. With whom would you most like to share a ballot?

A moderate who focuses on more money in pockets.

What do you think of Jocelyn Benson, the Michigan secretary of state, who is widely expected to run for governor?

She's an amazing leader.

And Pete Buttigieg? Should he run?

He actually did a rally for me. He's also an amazing leader who I like very much. I have a long relationship with Mike Duggan, the mayor of Detroit. And then Sheriff Chris Swanson out of Genesee County is going to put together a bid for governor. He's kind of a dark-horse candidate, but he's also amazing.

What do you think of Mr. Duggan's decision to run for governor as an independent?

It would feel shocking if it were anyone else. But Mike Duggan is the guy who won his first race as mayor of Detroit in a write-in campaign. So it's a mistake to politically underestimate Mike Duggan.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/11/us/politics/kristen-mcdonald-rivet-democrats-michigan-house.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/11/us/politics/kristen-mcdonald-rivet-democrats-michigan-house.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Kristen McDonald Rivet won a challenging House race in a heavily white, ***working-class*** district. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDREW HARNIK/GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page A16.

**Load-Date:** December 12, 2024

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[***A Farm-Raised Steelworker Speaks Up for Harris and Against Trump (and Elon Musk); the ad campaign***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D9G-FV31-JBG3-62H4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 30, 2024 Wednesday 16:28 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 697 words

**Byline:** Katie GlueckKatie Glueck covers American politics with a focus on the Democratic Party.

**Highlight:** Carhartt, a western Pennsylvania accent and a backdrop of tools provide blue-collar credibility in a new ad from Future Forward, the main super PAC aiding Kamala Harris.

**Body**

Carhartt, a western Pennsylvania accent and a backdrop of tools provide blue-collar credibility in a new ad from Future Forward, the main super PAC aiding Kamala Harris.

Future Forward, the main super PAC backing Kamala Harris’s presidential campaign, is running [*this 30-second ad*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OCpIZS4vUHg) on television in states including Pennsylvania, Michigan and Georgia. The ad began airing Monday night at a cost of $1.8 million as of Wednesday morning, according to AdImpact.

Here’s a look at the ad, its accuracy and its major takeaway.

On the Screen

The ad begins with a white man, Steven, introducing himself as a steelworker in a distinctive [*Western Pennsylvania accent*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OCpIZS4vUHg). In the opening shots, he is wearing work clothes and then a hat from the brand Carhartt, [*known for*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OCpIZS4vUHg) its workwear and outdoor clothing — apparel that signals his blue-collar roots. The spot includes a scene of him walking across a farm, where he says he grew up, and a shot of him speaking in front of a wall chockablock with tools, cues that he speaks with authority from rural America.

The ad then cuts to a clip of former President Donald J. Trump speaking at a campaign rally in Pennsylvania and shaking hands with Elon Musk, the richest man in the world. Next up are images of Mr. Musk in white tie and Mr. Trump in black tie at fancy events, as “Donald Trump for billionaires” flashes across the screen.

Another image shows Mr. Trump pumping his fists in the air as he stands atop a stairway outside his plane, before the ad shifts to discussing Ms. Harris.

“Kamala Harris for the ***working class***,” reads text displayed over images of the vice president, including one that shows her shaking hands with a man in a construction hat.

“Kamala Harris — make billionaires pay their fair share,” the text continues, over another image of her speaking with workers outside.

After another image of Mr. Musk laughing, Steven closes with a direct-to-camera declaration that he is supporting Ms. Harris, and another picture of him in what appears to be orange work clothes.

“Kamala Harris: for workers, not billionaires,” the text on the screen says as the ad concludes with an image of Ms. Harris with an American flag in the background.

The Script

“I’m a steelworker. I grew up right here on a little family farm. Trump was here campaigning with Elon Musk. Now there’s a prime example of who he keeps close.

“Donald Trump cares about his billionaire friends. He’s just going to turn around and give them more tax breaks. But Kamala Harris is fighting for the ***working class***. She’ll make billionaires pay their fair share. That way working people get a fair shot.

“Elon Musk is voting for his money, and I’m voting for mine. And I’m voting for Kamala Harris.”

Accuracy

Mr. Trump supports [*extending*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OCpIZS4vUHg) the 2017 tax cuts, which included [*tax benefits for the ultrarich*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OCpIZS4vUHg), though those cuts [*also benefited*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OCpIZS4vUHg) middle-class Americans. He has [*also proposed*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OCpIZS4vUHg) eliminating taxes on Social Security income and tips.

[*Ms. Harris does support*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OCpIZS4vUHg) raising taxes on the wealthiest Americans. She has also proposed an expanded child tax credit and tax cuts meant to spur home construction, [*along with*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OCpIZS4vUHg) a first-time home-buyer credit.

The Takeaway

Polls show that Ms. Harris is [*struggling with men*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OCpIZS4vUHg) broadly — and white ***working-class*** men have posed a particularly difficult challenge for her party in the Trump era.

Steven, the narrator, appears to fit into all three of those categories. That may give him credibility with some blue-collar voters as he argues that Mr. Trump would undermine their economic interests while enriching wealthy Americans like himself.

Democrats long embraced the idea that they were the party of the ***working class***.

But as education level has emerged as perhaps the central fault line in American politics, with college-educated voters flocking to the Democratic Party amid Mr. Trump’s rise while the party struggles with voters without college degrees, that argument has become harder to make.

This ad, part of [*a series*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OCpIZS4vUHg) of economy-focused testimonials from Future Forward, tries to reopen the door to some of those voters.

Linda Qiu contributed reporting.

Linda Qiu contributed reporting.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Erin Schaff/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 30, 2024

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[***Vance Courts Working-Class Voters With Misleading Claims About Harris***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CW8-F8R1-DXY4-X32M-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 3, 2024 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 15; FACT CHECK

**Length:** 1555 words

**Byline:** By Linda Qiu

**Body**

The Republican vice-presidential nominee has assailed Vice President Kamala Harris's policies and positions with inaccurate claims.

JD Vance, the Republican vice-presidential nominee who rose to fame detailing his Appalachian roots in a best-selling memoir, has made appeals to ***working-class*** and middle-class voters a core tenet of his campaign messaging.

In rallies and interviews, Mr. Vance has sought to portray the Republican ticket as a champion of everyday people, first-time home buyers and autoworkers by misleadingly describing Vice President Kamala Harris's policies and positions on housing, trade and manufacturing.

Here's a fact check of some of his claims.

''Kamala Harris let in 20 million illegal aliens to compete with Americans for scarce homes.''-- in a local news interview in August

This is exaggerated. Economists and real estate experts say that while migration, including illegal immigration, has contributed to population growth and thus demand for housing, it is not a main driver of the country's housing affordability crisis. A lack of supply is the primary culprit, they said.

Daryl Fairweather, the chief economist at the online real estate brokerage Redfin, said Mr. Vance's claim ''ignores the root causes of the housing shortage, which is that we just stopped building homes, especially in places where people want to live the most, and don't really need to talk about immigration to talk about that problem.''

After the Great Recession, the number of new homes built annually plummeted and never really recovered in the two decades that followed. As a result, researchers and real estate firms now estimate a nationwide shortage of 1.5 million to seven million housing units.

It is also worth noting that a housing shortage would still exist even without the unauthorized immigrants who arrived under the Biden-Harris administration and settled in the United States to ''compete with Americans for scarce homes.'' And that number is nowhere close to 20 million, as Mr. Vance claimed.

According to the nonpartisan Pew Research Center, about 800,000 more unauthorized immigrants were living in the United States in 2022 than in 2019. Two groups that advocate lower levels of migration and stricter border security pinned the number at 2.3 million to 2.5 million more unauthorized immigrants in 2023 than in 2020.

It is difficult to estimate the exact impact of these migrants on housing demand, because they are more likely to rent than purchase housing, and may live with relatives or in larger households. Moreover, more than two-thirds of households with an unauthorized migrant also include others who are American-born or lawful immigrants.

But by a crude estimate, a population of 800,000 to 2.5 million equates to roughly 270,000 to 830,000 households given that the average foreign-born household has three people. In other words, even without these immigrants, there would still be a housing shortage of hundreds of thousands to more than six million units.

Population growth -- which includes immigration, but also mortality and fertility rates -- does increase demand for housing, said Albert Saiz, a professor of urban economics and real estate at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. But he said supply-side issues like a decade-long trend of decreased building activity have been more consequential for prices.

''There are many reasons why we have an affordability crisis, and immigration is probably not even close to the most important one,'' he added.

Those include relatively smaller gains in construction productivity, NIMBYism (short for ''Not in my backyard,'' the reluctance by some residents to accept development), barriers to construction in cities like zoning laws and shrinking household sizes.

To Mr. Vance's point, researchers have found that an increase in net migration does increase the cost of housing. Mr. Saiz, in a 2006 paper, estimated that an immigration inflow equal to 1 percent of a city's population is associated with a 1 percent increase in rents and housing values. A recent working paper found a greater impact.

But Mr. Saiz cautioned that the effects were largely localized. For example, Venezuelans -- who make up a significant portion of recent migrants at the southern border -- settling in New York or San Francisco may contribute to increased rent prices in those cities, especially since it is more difficult to build new housing there. But they would have little impact on house prices nationally, Mr. Saiz said.

Jacob Vigdor, a professor of public policy at the University of Washington, estimated in 2013 that every immigrant moving to a county raises housing prices in that county by 11.5 cents. Adjusted for inflation, that is equivalent to about 17 cents today.

''There is an impact of the current immigration wave on housing prices, but it's on the order of a few hundred dollars. If you want to tell the story of why the median house price in King County, Wash., is nearing $1 million, immigration is a very minor part of the story,'' he said.

Mr. Vigdor estimated that the 500,000 Venezuelan migrants who have settled in Houston, for example, have added about $8,500 to the median value of a home in Harris County, Texas. That accounts for less than 10 percent of the escalation in the county's median home value over the past five years, he said.

''This is the woman who voted to preserve NAFTA, to extend NAFTA.''-- at a campaign rally in Michigan in August

This is misleading. The Senate passed the North American Free Trade Agreement in 1993. At the time, Ms. Harris was a local prosecutor in California and would not be elected to the U.S. Senate until 2016, more than two decades later.

Mr. Vance was most likely referring to her 2020 vote against the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement, a trade deal that updated NAFTA. Ms. Harris argued in January 2020 that the deal did not do enough to tackle climate change and said the senators should ''learn from the mistakes of past trade deals.''

''We can do better,'' she wrote on social media, announcing her opposition to the deal.

Mr. Vance cast her vote against the new trade deal as supporting NAFTA, but it is also possible to oppose both.

Ms. Harris said in 2019 that she would not have voted for NAFTA, and during her 2016 campaign for the Senate she also opposed the Trans-Pacific Partnership, a large regional trade deal that Donald J. Trump also resisted.

Of the nine other senators who voted against the revised trade agreement in 2020, four were serving in Congress in 1993 and three -- Senators Bernie Sanders of Vermont, Chuck Schumer of New York and Jack Reed of Rhode Island -- voted against NAFTA.

In his statement opposing the revised agreement, Mr. Sanders said that it ''must be rewritten'' and asked the Trump administration to go ''back to the drawing board.''

''Kamala Harris wants to further entrench the E.V. mandate that sends your tax dollars to China instead of buying American-made cars from American workers.''-- at a campaign rally in Pennsylvania on Thursday

This is misleading. Mr. Vance was most likely referring to the Inflation Reduction Act, a sweeping climate change law signed by President Biden in 2022. The law does not impose a nationwide electric vehicle mandate, but it does provide tax credits for E.V.s and subsidies to domestic manufacturers. While Mr. Vance has a point that China dominates the electric vehicle industry, the law seeks to reduce reliance on Chinese imports and encourage consumers to purchase ''American-made cars from American workers.''

The Inflation Reduction Act offers tax credits for electric vehicles that meet certain requirements on where the cars are assembled and where parts and materials are sourced. To qualify last year, at least 50 percent of a car's battery and 40 percent of critical minerals -- like lithium, nickel and cobalt -- used in that battery had to come from the United States or from countries that have free-trade agreements with the United States. Those percentages will increase to 80 percent by 2027 and 100 percent by 2029.

Regulations completed in May also stipulate that cars containing battery components sourced from China or any other ''foreign entity of concern'' would not be eligible for tax credits in 2024, nor would cars containing critical minerals from those countries in 2025.

The Biden-Harris administration additionally imposed a 100 percent tariff on Chinese electric vehicles in May.

Whether this mix of incentives and restrictions will work remains to be seen, but the intention is clear: discouraging consumers from buying Chinese-made electric vehicles and opting for American-made cars instead.

John Bozzella, the president and chief executive of the trade group Alliance for Automotive Innovation, wrote in a 2023 blog post that it supported the two auto-related goals of the law: supporting a transition to electric vehicles through tax incentives and localizing automotive supply chains, including battery production, ''from China to the U.S. and our allies.''

Executives in the car industry have warned that repealing the electric vehicle provisions in the Inflation Reduction Act, as Mr. Trump has suggested, would make the United States less competitive with China, the industry publication Automotive News reported.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/02/us/politics/jd-vance-middle-class-fact-check.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/02/us/politics/jd-vance-middle-class-fact-check.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A15.

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[***Why Harris's Twang Drives Republicans Crazy***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D13-XG21-DXY4-X4S3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 21, 2024 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 21; GUEST ESSAY

**Length:** 1007 words

**Byline:** By Elizabeth Spiers

**Body**

As is the case for many people who grew up in the Deep South but have lived somewhere else for many years, the Southern accent I once had has given way to the ''nowhere man'' accent that I think of as generically American. But it comes roaring back when I visit my family in central Alabama, and even lingers for a few days after I have returned to Brooklyn. It's also a little more pronounced after a martini (or two).

No one gets offended when my Southern accent comes and goes. For Kamala Harris, it's a different story. Figures on the political right, including JD Vance, Donald Trump and various conservative internet celebrities, have accused Ms. Harris of affecting a Southern accent on the campaign trail, and implied that it was a kind of deception.

Ms. Harris, who is not from the South, wasn't using a Southern accent, though. As John McWhorter has recently pointed out, what Ms. Harris was slipping into was Black English. There's nothing unusual about her using Black English because to state the obvious (to everyone except Donald Trump, apparently) Ms. Harris is Black.

So what's really bothering Republicans? The answer has nothing to do with linguistic purity. It has everything to do with cultural stereotypes -- and electoral math.

Studies show that people with Southern accents are often regarded as less intelligent, even by people who have those accents themselves. It's a learned bias that begins at a young age. There's also a class bias; people associate deeper Southern accents with lower income, an impression that can translate into wage discrimination and fewer opportunities for professional advancement -- one of many reasons people with accents may work consciously to eliminate them.

When the speaker is white, some people hear a Southern accent as a marker of racism or other forms of intolerance. ''The South did not invent racism,'' the country musician B.J. Barham recently told me, ''but every single racist thing you've ever seen said in the movie usually comes with this accent.'' For Mr. Barham, who has very progressive views and a deep North Carolina twang, the result is that fans who have heard his voice and seen his camo hat sometimes assume he has a certain set of political views -- then get upset when they realize he's playing a song about the dangers of toxic masculinity or about abortion rights.

Mr. Barham shrugs it off. ''I sound a lot like my dad, I sound a lot like my grandfather,'' he told me, ''but I say some drastically different things than those two men used to say.''

It's possible that all the complaints about Ms. Harris's speaking style are just another bit of trumped-up outrage, anything to get people fired up for a moment. But my less generous interpretation is that conservatives find her accent infuriating for one very specific reason: because they buy the negative stereotypes. They associate Southern accents with less educated, ***working-class*** people who, if they're white, might be racist -- and that's a demographic that conservatives cynically regard as their property.

When Mr. Trump does photo ops in a big rig and says, ''I love the uneducated,'' he's not so much code-switching as code-hitching, adopting signifiers that he -- a billionaire with inherited wealth and an Ivy League degree -- has no authentic claim to understanding, but which he thinks will appeal to his base. This is the same reason the private school alum and two-time Ivy League graduate Ted Cruz elongates his drawl while declaring that liberals can ''kiss my ass.'' Because he and Mr. Trump think it's useful.

Perhaps the most enduring fiction that Republicans have sold to the electorate is that despite significantly shifting the tax burden onto working people, enacting explicitly antilabor policies, trying to gut public education and attenuate what little social safety net this country still offers, Republicans are somehow supposedly the better party for the ***working class***. More Republicans self-identify as ***working class*** than do Democrats, but not because of income: About six in 10 voters with lower family incomes are Democrats or lean Democratic. Also, nearly six in 10 union members associate with the Democratic Party.

One explanation for the discrepancy is that some Republicans who own businesses and work white-collar jobs identify as ***working class*** for the sole reason that they don't have four-year college degrees. And when Republican politicians talk about ***working-class*** people, they generally mean white ***working-class*** people. Nonwhite workers who have blue-collar jobs vote overwhelmingly Democratic.

So Republicans who think that white, possibly racist ***working-class*** people (or white people who believe themselves to be ***working class***) are their base might feel that a Black Democrat using a Southern accent is stealing their shtick, or their votes. And that's equally true of Ms. Harris's distinctly Midwestern running mate, who wears camouflage because he actually hunts (and not big endangered game on expensive safaris like the Trump sons), who knows how to coach high school football and can tell you how to fix a carburetor. He doesn't have to pretend to be that guy; he is that guy.

If you've spent the past few decades driving giant pickups with suspiciously pristine truck beds, waving the Bible (occasionally upside down) and suddenly speaking as if you have a mouth full of molasses anytime you're presented with a microphone, it might be upsetting to realize that your opponents speak like who they authentically are. Worse, you might realize that they expose your claim to be the party of the ***working class*** for what it is: pure artifice.

Elizabeth Spiers, a contributing Opinion writer, is a journalist and a digital media strategist.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/18/opinion/kamala-harris-accent-language.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/18/opinion/kamala-harris-accent-language.html)

**Graphic**

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[***The Real Reason the Harris Twang Is Driving Republicans Crazy; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D0G-CDH1-JBG3-62GG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 18, 2024 Wednesday 21:38 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1006 words

**Byline:** Elizabeth Spiers

**Highlight:** Here’s a hint: It’s not about linguistic purity.

**Body**

As is the case for many people who grew up in the Deep South but have lived somewhere else for many years, the Southern accent I once had has given way to the “nowhere man” accent that I think of as generically American. But it comes roaring back when I visit my family in central Alabama, and even lingers for a few days after I have returned to Brooklyn. It’s also a little more pronounced after a martini (or two).

No one gets offended when my Southern accent comes and goes. For Kamala Harris, it’s a different story. Figures on the political right, including [*JD Vance*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/31/us/politics/vance-harris-canada.html) [*, Donald Trump and various conservative internet celebrities*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/31/us/politics/vance-harris-canada.html), have accused Ms. Harris of affecting a Southern accent on the campaign trail, and implied that it was a kind of deception.

Ms. Harris, who is not from the South, wasn’t using a Southern accent, though. As John McWhorter has recently pointed out, what Ms. [*Harris was slipping into was Black English*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/31/us/politics/vance-harris-canada.html). There’s nothing unusual about her using Black English because to state the obvious (to everyone except Donald Trump, apparently) Ms. Harris is Black.

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One explanation for the discrepancy is that some Republicans who own businesses and work white-collar jobs identify as ***working class*** for the sole reason that they don’t have four-year college degrees. And when Republican politicians talk about ***working-class*** people, they generally mean white ***working-class*** people. Nonwhite workers who have blue-collar jobs vote overwhelmingly Democratic.

So Republicans who think that white, possibly racist ***working-class*** people (or white people who believe themselves to be ***working class***) are their base might feel that a Black Democrat using a Southern accent is stealing their shtick, or their votes. And that’s equally true of Ms. Harris’s distinctly Midwestern running mate, who wears [*camouflage*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/31/us/politics/vance-harris-canada.html) because he actually hunts (and not big endangered game on expensive safaris like the Trump sons), who knows how to coach high school football and can tell you how to fix a carburetor. He doesn’t have to pretend to be that guy; he is that guy.

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The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/31/us/politics/vance-harris-canada.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/31/us/politics/vance-harris-canada.html). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/31/us/politics/vance-harris-canada.html).

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[***The ‘Diploma Divide’ and the 2024 Election; letters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DF3-3T41-JBG3-63GV-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 16, 2024 Saturday 15:35 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1270 words

**Highlight:** Readers discuss a David Brooks column about how the less educated are being left behind.

**Body**

Readers discuss a David Brooks column about how the less educated are being left behind.

To the Editor:

Re “[*Voters to Elites: Do You See Me Now?*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/opinion/trump-elites-working-class.html),” by David Brooks (column, Nov. 8):

Mr. Brooks is exactly right, but he doesn’t carry his line of reasoning to its logical conclusion. Yes, Donald Trump won the election because of a strong showing by the non-college-educated population. And yes, that segment is disadvantaged in many ways.

But why did that segment vote for Mr. Trump? I would suggest there is a reason that people go to college. And contrary to what many believe, it is not just to get a better job. It is to become a better and more informed citizen, and to learn to distinguish truth from falsehood. And that is not easy when confronted with constant disinformation and outright lies.

Partly as a result, the non-college-educated do not see that they have been duped. They have voted for a man and a party that have consistently worked to keep them suppressed, that have been against universal health care, against efforts to control global warming, against monopolistic practices, etc., etc.

Democrats should stop flagellating themselves for having done something wrong. It is not they who have betrayed the non-college-educated. As global warming, hurricanes and flooding increase; as privatized health care grows more expensive, and epidemics again kill thousands because of vaccine skeptics; as inflation shoots up from tariffs and tax reduction, the non-college-educated will suffer disproportionately.

Let them look to their elected Republicans. They have broken it, and now they own it.

Robert H. Palmer

New York

To the Editor:

Trying to blame the Democrats’ loss on their supposed disrespect of voters and behaving like elites is old and tired.

Donald Trump is a man who never tires of telling how wealthy and smart he is, who has an Ivy League education and owns his own jet and a tower in New York with his name emblazoned upon them. If he isn’t one of the elite, who is?

Mr. Trump’s feeble attempts to appear as an Everyman by sitting in a garbage truck and working at McDonald’s are a joke. Has Mr. Brooks forgotten how Mr. Trump stiffed contractors on their pay? When Mr. Trump and his ilk cheat on their taxes, we little people have to pick up the tab.

The biggest joke is his policies, where tax cuts go to the rich and wealth is concentrated at the top. His tariffs will do nothing but raise prices on consumers. Mr. Trump has shown nothing but contempt for working people.

Steve Knapp

Pawtucket, R.I.

To the Editor:

David Brooks writes: “By high school two-thirds of the students in the top 10 percent of the class are girls, while about two-thirds of the students in the bottom decile are boys. Schools are not set up for male success; that has lifelong personal, and now national, consequences.”

Does he not appreciate that these educational gains for women go back only a few generations, and can’t begin to compensate for the loss of generational wealth, personal independence and opportunity that women have experienced for centuries? Both my grandmother and my husband’s grandmother had to quit school after eighth grade to work in factory jobs in order to help the family support the son’s educational pursuits.

I normally find Mr. Brooks’s essays thoughtful and enjoy reading them, but his tone regarding recent female academic success is offensive.

Kathleen Beasley

Redwood City, Calif.

To the Editor:

David Brooks makes the case that the Democrats have become an elitist party, turning their backs on ***working-class*** Americans and ignoring inequality in favor of identity politics. But wait, didn’t President Biden pour billions into bringing back manufacturing and creating well-paying construction jobs through the infrastructure bill, walk the picket line with auto workers, support unions generally, and espouse a philosophy of building the economy from the bottom up and middle out?

And haven’t Democrats consistently fought for affordable health care, child tax credits and other programs benefiting middle- and lower-income Americans? To hear Mr. Brooks, you would think Democrats govern as Republicans have, giving tax breaks to billionaires and corporations, talking about bringing back manufacturing and creating infrastructure jobs but doing nothing, while trying to gut social programs.

Republicans are largely inept at governing, but savants at vilifying opponents. Many Republican voters have a visceral hatred of Mr. Biden and that, along with the persistence of high prices, doomed Kamala Harris’s candidacy, not some Democratic elitist disdain for ***working-class*** Americans.

John Van Benschoten

Edenton, N.C.

To the Editor:

David Brooks falls for the trap that Donald Trump and so many others on the right have set out. It’s not that the “elites” don’t see the rest of the country; rather the “non-elites” need to understand that economic issues and respect for the rights of others, especially women, immigrants, L.G.B.T.Q. folks and people of color, are not mutually exclusive, despite what Mr. Trump and his racist dog whistles want them to think.

And last time I checked, you don’t need to go to college to know that treating other human beings with respect, decency and compassion are the right things to do, no matter what your income level or background.

Warren Hoffman

Brooklyn

To the Editor:

David Brooks rightly describes a “diploma divide” in America, “elevating the academically gifted above everybody else,” and the fact that high school graduates have worse medical problems and die younger than do college-educated individuals. As he states, Democrats need to “respect” less educated individuals.

But he fails to mention that major solutions to these underlying medical and economic problems are to improve education in this country. Unfortunately, Republicans have long underfunded public education, and [*President Trump has said he wants to eliminate the Department of Education*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/opinion/trump-elites-working-class.html).

Both parties need to not only hear and attract less educated individuals, but to also actively enhance education, and thereby address these public health problems. Democrats have appeared more committed to these goals than the Republicans, and should now show they can meet these needs. If Republicans want to maintain this voter support, they should now do so, too.

Robert Klitzman

New York

The writer is a professor in Columbia University’s Vagelos College of Physicians and Surgeons and Mailman School of Public Health.

To the Editor:

David Brooks makes a very good point about the lack of respect that elites have shown toward the ***working class*** and people without a college degree. He’s also right to blame the Democratic Party for ignoring or mistreating those same people. But his analysis is flawed because he doesn’t address the devastating impact that individual and corporate wealth has had on the poor and ***working class***.

The economic elites and corporations have amassed fortunes that we have never conceived of. According to the Institute for Policy Studies, there are now [*801 billionaires*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/opinion/trump-elites-working-class.html) in this country with a combined wealth of $6.22 trillion. JP Morgan Chase has more than $4 trillion in assets. Not only are these individuals and corporations obscenely wealthy, but they also have enormous power over their workers and the U.S. economy.

The millions of poor and ***working-class*** people have every right to be angry at an economy that didn’t perform for them. But they should, and probably will, come to understand that their anger should be directed at the billionaires and wealthy corporations, not the left or the academic elite.

Michael Kane

Florence, Mass.

This article appeared in print on page SR11.

**Load-Date:** November 16, 2024

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[***As Harris Courts Republicans, the Left Grows Wary and Alienated***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D8C-4111-JBG3-63C6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 25, 2024 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1467 words

**Byline:** By Nicholas Nehamas and Erica L. Green

**Body**

The vice president's tack to the right, support for Israel in the Gaza war and incremental policy proposals have alienated progressives and raised worries about waning liberal energy.

As Vice President Kamala Harris makes a broad play to the political center, some Democrats worry that she is going too far in her bid to win over moderates who are skeptical of former President Donald J. Trump. In private -- and increasingly in public as Election Day fast approaches -- they say she risks chilling Democratic enthusiasm by alienating progressives and ***working-class*** voters.

In making her closing argument this month, Ms. Harris has campaigned four times with Liz Cheney, the Republican former congresswoman, stumping with her more than with any other ally. She has appeared more in October with the billionaire Mark Cuban than with Shawn Fain, the president of the United Auto Workers and one of the nation's most visible labor leaders.

She has centered her economic platform on middle-class issues like small businesses and entrepreneurship rather than raising the minimum wage, a deeply held goal of many Democrats that polls well across the board. She has taken a harder-line stance on the border than has any member of her party in a generation and has talked more prominently about owning a Glock than about combating climate change. She has not broken from President Biden on the war Israel is waging in Gaza.

Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont, for many Americans the avatar of the progressive movement, has campaigned aggressively for Ms. Harris across several battleground states. But he said in an interview that he had been alarmed by the number of ***working-class*** voters who were asking what Ms. Harris would do for them on issues like raising wages or allowing Medicare to cover dental care.

''They want to hear her to be more aggressive in making it clear that she's going to stand up for the ***working class*** of this country,'' Mr. Sanders said. ''You lose the ***working class***, I don't know how you win an election.''

At a town-hall-style event with Mr. Sanders in Milwaukee this month, one woman spoke up with a direct criticism of Ms. Harris. ''Kamala has been talking about the middle class,'' she said to applause. ''But she has not addressed the poor or the working poor.''

Part of Ms. Harris's approach is tactical. As she battles accusations from Mr. Trump that she is dangerously liberal, progressive voices have been less visible alongside her at campaign events. Moving to the center in a general election is a standard tactic in politics -- and the left has long voiced frustration when Democrats do it.

The Harris campaign says it is running a big-tent operation that has appeal across party and class lines. Her aides hope to pick up voters in the suburbs, especially women, who are driven by abortion rights and have grown tired of Mr. Trump's divisiveness and chaos, and the Harris team says polling shows its approach is working. Ms. Harris also picked as her running mate Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, a liberal grass-roots favorite.

But keeping Democrats unified and energized is especially important for Ms. Harris in a race polls suggest is tied, and the consequences for the party could be severe if even a few left-wing voters in battleground states stay home or vote for Jill Stein, the Green Party candidate.

Some progressives point to the vice president's soft support among Black and Latino voters as evidence that her message is not breaking through to enough workers. Sensing an opportunity with blue-collar voters who were already shifting toward Republicans, Mr. Trump has laid out the welcome mat for them in his advertisements and messaging.

And they worry that Ms. Harris -- like Hillary Clinton in 2016 -- is falling into a trap of banking on liberal voters without offering significant policy change.

Elise Joshi, the executive director of the progressive group Gen-Z for Change -- which has endorsed Ms. Harris and is knocking on doors to support her -- said she was concerned that the excitement among many young voters for the vice president's candidacy had faded.

''The tent is big enough for a guy who got us into a war with Iraq, and then the tent is not big enough for a Palestinian to speak for two minutes on the D.N.C. stage,'' said Ms. Joshi, contrasting the endorsement of Ms. Harris by Ms. Cheney's father, former Vice President Dick Cheney, with the Democratic Party's decision not to invite a Palestinian American to speak at its national convention.

''The vibes really peaked when she chose Tim Walz to be the V.P. candidate,'' Ms. Joshi added. ''That time feels like it was so long ago.''

The calculations of a move to the center

The Harris campaign's move to the center is meant especially to target college-educated, wealthier, white voters who may have voted Republican in the past.

That group is more likely to cast ballots than poorer Black and Latino Americans. Mr. Trump has given Democrats an opening to recruit those more reliable voters with a series of bizarre rants, including a menacing threat to use the military against ''the enemy within'' and an extended riff about a deceased professional golfer that ended with praise for his genitalia. Ms. Harris's team is also investing heavily in winning over undecided voters of color.

''America is ready for a new and optimistic generation of leadership, which is why Democrats, Republicans, independents are supporting our campaign,'' Ms. Harris said last week in Erie County, Pa., a crucial bellwether region of the battleground state.

Polls show that Ms. Harris's economic message -- which leans on tax breaks for the middle class and on creating opportunities for small businesses -- is resonating more with voters than Mr. Biden's did. She has significantly narrowed Mr. Trump's lead as the candidate more trusted to handle the economy. And she has rolled out policies with wide appeal like an expanded child tax credit and having Medicare cover in-home health care, as well as vision and hearing benefits.

On Tuesday, she said in an interview with NBC News that she supported raising the minimum wage to at least $15 per hour, a question that Mr. Trump has sidestepped.

Many of Ms. Harris's progressive and union allies believe she can motivate younger people, the left and ***working-class*** voters while also reaching out to Republicans. They are less focused on ideological purity than on beating Mr. Trump.

''I do think she's a progressive,'' said Representative Pramila Jayapal of Washington, the chair of the Congressional Progressive Caucus. ''I think she is also pragmatic about her beliefs and what it's going to take to win, and what the polling says it's going to take to win. I do think that the most important thing for progressives and for the country is that she wins.''

Randi Weingarten, the president of the American Federation of Teachers -- one of six national union leaders who appeared alongside Ms. Harris last week in Detroit -- said the vice president's economic policies were focused on ''creating wealth for working people.''

''***Working-class*** voters want to be middle-class voters,'' Ms. Weingarten said.

'Will she fight for the things that we believe in?'

Still, Ms. Harris has made a major turnaround from how she ran for president in the Democratic primary race in 2019, when she supported ''Medicare for all,'' called for decriminalizing illegal border crossings and opposed fracking.

Progressives from across the constellation of left-wing interest groups say they worry about energy.

''We've contacted nearly a million young voters in swing states,'' said Stevie O'Hanlon, the communications director for the Sunrise Movement, a progressive climate change group. ''And we are hearing that there isn't the level of enthusiasm that there could be, given the contrast being so clear, and given how dangerous a Trump presidency would be.''

Maurice Mitchell, the national director of the Working Families Party, said he had knocked on doors in Pennsylvania and Georgia and said many ***working-class*** voters still seemed unsure whether Ms. Harris would ''fight for them.''

''That requires her campaign focusing with a lot of intensity on the base,'' he said.

And Our Revolution, the progressive group founded by Mr. Sanders, conducted a survey of left-wing voters that found a significant enthusiasm deficit about Ms. Harris, according to Joseph Geevarghese, its executive director.

''Will she fight for the things that we believe in?'' Mr. Geevarghese said. ''I think people aren't sure. Most will bite their tongue and vote to defeat Donald Trump, and others just won't be able to overcome their primary objections.''

Taylor Robinson and Ruth Igielnik contributed reporting.Taylor Robinson and Ruth Igielnik contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/24/us/politics/kamala-harris-progressives-democrats.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/24/us/politics/kamala-harris-progressives-democrats.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Polls indicate that Vice President Kamala Harris's economic message is resonating more with voters than President Biden's did. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A17.

**Load-Date:** October 25, 2024

**End of Document**



[***How Democrats Lost Their Base and Their Message***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DH0-JGN1-DXY4-X3MR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 25, 2024 Monday 09:04 EST

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**Section:** UPSHOT

**Length:** 1833 words

**Byline:** Nate CohnNate Cohn is The Times&amp;#8217;s chief political analyst. He covers elections, public opinion, demographics and polling.

**Highlight:** Donald Trump’s populist pitch bumped Democrats off their traditional place in American politics.

**Body**

Donald Trump’s populist pitch bumped Democrats off their traditional place in American politics.

It has long been clear that the rise of Donald J. Trump meant the end of the Republican Party as we once knew it.

It has belatedly become clear that his rise may have meant the end of the Democratic Party as we knew it as well.

After three Trump elections, almost every traditional Democratic constituency has swung to the right. In fact, Mr. Trump has made larger gains among Black, Hispanic, Asian American and young voters in his three campaigns since 2016 than he has among white voters without a college degree, according to New York Times estimates. In each case, Mr. Trump fared better than any Republican in decades.

There are, of course, many explanations for Kamala Harris’s defeat. President Biden was deeply unpopular and exited late, she was an imperfect candidate, and ruling parties around the world have struggled to overcome a post-pandemic and post-inflation hangover. The polls offer support for all of these hypotheses, and given the closeness of the election, it’s entirely possible that Democrats could have won under slightly different circumstances.

But there probably wasn’t a realistic case of young and nonwhite voters supporting Ms. Harris at a level the Democrats would have taken for granted just a few years ago. And while the election was still close, this erosion of strength among the party’s core groups has been happening for a long time.

In each campaign, win or lose, Mr. Trump made major inroads among longtime Democratic voters. First, it was the Northern white ***working class***. Then, it was Hispanic and Asian voters in 2020. Finally, it was young voters and, to a lesser extent, Black voters. In each case, Mr. Trump’s gains went far beyond what Democrats had ever imagined.

Even at the times Mr. Trump made relatively few gains — say, among Hispanic voters in 2016 or Black voters in 2020 — Democrats nonetheless underperformed. In 2016, despite a campaign dominated by Mr. Trump’s inflammatory comments about immigrants and Mexicans, Hillary Clinton failed to improve over Barack Obama’s performance among Hispanic voters. Democrats then lost [*ground*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/14/upshot/beto-2020-texas-battleground-white-voters.html) among them in 2018. Similarly, Democratic support among Black voters fell in 2020, and the Black share of the electorate [*declined*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/14/upshot/beto-2020-texas-battleground-white-voters.html) as well, despite the outpouring of activism in the wake of the death of George Floyd. Black turnout then [*slipped yet again*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/14/upshot/beto-2020-texas-battleground-white-voters.html) in 2022.

The overarching pattern is clear. In election after election, Democrats underperformed among traditional Democratic constituencies during the Trump era. Sometimes, it was merely a failure to capitalize on his unpopularity. Other times, it was a staggering decline in support. Together, it has shattered Democratic dreams of building a new majority with the rise of a new generation of young and nonwhite voters.

This overarching pattern requires an overarching explanation: Mr. Trump’s populist conservatism corroded the foundations of the Democratic Party’s appeal. It tapped into many of the issues and themes that once made these voters Democrats.

While the damage was mostly concealed by Mr. Trump’s unpopularity, the backlash to his norm-shattering presidency drew the Democratic Party even further from its traditional roots. The extent of that damage is now clear.

The populist message

For a century, Democrats had been seen as the “party of the people” — the party against powerful interests and for change.

When Mr. Obama pursued the presidency, he staked his campaigns on these themes. In 2008, he ran against Washington and promised to take on lobbyists and special interests — a [*top concern of voters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/14/upshot/beto-2020-texas-battleground-white-voters.html). In 2012, he won by attacking Mitt Romney as a corporate plutocrat who would outsource jobs and help the wealthy, not the middle class. He said Americans needed to focus on “nation building here at home.”

These arguments had been central to Democratic campaigns for decades — evident in a half-century of Democratic slogans: “Middle Class First,” “Change We Can Believe In,” “Putting People First,” “On Your Side,” “A Leader, for a Change.” They’re the arguments that brought millions of ***working-class*** voters to the Democrats. Indeed, it was what the Democratic Party meant.

Mr. Trump flipped all of it around. His populist pitch deprived Democrats of their traditional role in American politics, gradually weakening their bonds with ***working-class*** voters, as well as nonwhite and young ones.

He ran against the establishment and promised to “drain the swamp.” He said he would take on a “rigged system,” and said a global elite privileged its values and interests over ordinary Americans. He pledged to put America First and protect American jobs. This year’s Republican platform was dedicated to the “Forgotten Men and Women of America,” something you would see in speeches from [*Franklin D. Roosevelt*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/14/upshot/beto-2020-texas-battleground-white-voters.html), not George W. Bush or Mitt Romney.

Mr. Trump’s co-opting of these longtime Democratic themes was effective in three ways.

First, he adopted populist positions on entitlements, foreign policy, immigration, infrastructure, trade and more. On many of these issues, Mr. Trump came closer to the views of organized labor or Bernie Sanders than Mr. Romney — views that [*millions of* ***working-class*** *Democrats*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/14/upshot/beto-2020-texas-battleground-white-voters.html) agreed with. Without these positions, he would have been vulnerable to the attacks that Democrats leveled against Republicans in the past.

Second, Democrats were deeply vulnerable to Mr. Trump’s anti-establishment critique. Over the prior two decades, Democrats took centrist and business friendly positions on key issues. Mrs. Clinton, for instance, supported NAFTA — which was enacted by her husband — and was [*initially a supporter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/14/upshot/beto-2020-texas-battleground-white-voters.html) of the Trans-Pacific Partnership trade deal. She supported the 2003 invasion of Iraq. These issues divided the Democratic Party during the 2016 primary; they also made it possible for Mr. Trump to argue that Democrats were the party of elites and a rigged system.

Third, Democrats were burdened by power. Even as early as 2016, disillusionment was growing. Mr. Obama enacted much of his agenda, but after eight years he wasn’t seen as having delivered full employment or “change” to business-as-usual in Washington. The rise of a new left and the strength of the Sanders campaign was one obvious expression of that disillusionment. For less progressive Democrats, the same dissatisfaction manifested in declining turnout and ultimately an openness to Mr. Trump — a path followed by some Sanders supporters as well.

In 2016, this added up to an enormous breakthrough for Mr. Trump among white voters without a college degree. The success of the Sanders campaign suggested there was opportunity for more, but Mr. Trump’s deep personal unpopularity and his penchant to offend young voters, women and Black and Hispanic voters prevented an even larger breakthrough in 2016.

The cost of anti-Trump politics

Even as Mr. Trump co-opted much of the traditional Democratic message, he offered Democrats an alternative path to victory: opposition to Mr. Trump himself.

“[*Stronger Together*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/14/upshot/beto-2020-texas-battleground-white-voters.html),” “Restore the Soul of the Nation,” “We’re Not Going Back” all tell the tale. These slogans weren’t about the middle class, change or the future. They were just different ways of expressing opposition to Mr. Trump.

Was this a mistake? Not necessarily. Mr. Trump was deeply unpopular. He was seen as a threat to American society and democracy, and millions of white, college-educated, traditionally Republican voters were newly available to the party. While Democrats might have been better off with a populist campaign, it’s not clear they could have pulled it off against Mr. Trump, given his distinct views on the issues and their own vulnerabilities on them. Anti-Trump messaging may have been the best card Democrats had to play.

While the backlash against Mr. Trump breathed new life into Democrats, in other respects it pulled the party further from its moorings. Many Democrats saw Mr. Trump as racist and sexist, or as proof that America was a racist and sexist country. It inspired a new wave of progressive activism on race and gender — from #MeToo to [*Abolish ICE*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/14/upshot/beto-2020-texas-battleground-white-voters.html) — that often drew heavily from the language of academia. It nudged the party even further from economic populism and its ***working-class*** roots.

As Mr. Trump broke norms, disregarded public health officials and threatened a postwar foreign policy consensus, the two parties even found their usual roles reversed. Democrats became the party of institutions, the national security apparatus, norms and, ultimately, the status quo — not change.

This transformation culminated during the pandemic, when Mr. Trump’s response to the coronavirus and the protests after George Floyd’s murder alarmed and outraged Democrats. The party already saw itself as the defender of civil rights and science, but Mr. Trump galvanized an even more vigilant and righteous reaction. Activists, academics and experts — often opposed to Mr. Trump — pushed a sweeping response, from school shutdowns and mask mandates to diversity statements in hiring.

For a time, none of this obviously hurt the Democrats. Joe Biden, after all, won the 2020 election. But once Mr. Trump left office and the pandemic continued, this brand of activist politics became a political liability.

As the pandemic wore on, public support for coronavirus restrictions gave way to a backlash against prolonged school closures; mask and vaccine mandates; and the public health experts who insisted on the measures. It eroded trust in government officials, elites and the media.

The social upheaval during and after the pandemic caught Democrats flat-footed. The party’s activist base had been enthralled by calls for a more compassionate immigration and criminal justice system, when suddenly the pandemic and its aftermath brought a spike in crime, rising homelessness and a new wave of border crossings. In just a year or two, liberals and progressives were seen by many as discredited.

With hindsight, this conservative reaction dealt a lasting blow to Democratic standing even before the 2024 election cycle began. Many of the most surprising swings in the election were foreshadowed in the 2022 midterms, when states like Florida and New York surged to the right. In fact, the 2024 results were more closely correlated with the 2022 midterm results for U.S. House than the 2020 presidential election. This pattern has no modern precedent, and it suggests that the backlash against Democrats during 2021 and 2022 affected the political allegiance of millions of voters — and ultimately the electoral map.

A new cast of characters in Mr. Trump’s orbit — Robert F. Kennedy Jr., Tulsi Gabbard, Elon Musk and Joe Rogan — also seemed to turn toward the right during this period. In their eyes, they didn’t change; the Democrats did.

They were hardly alone.

Graphics by Ethan Singer

PHOTO: Donald Trump in 2016, when he made a breakthrough with the white ***working class***. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Ty Wright for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 25, 2024

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[***How Trump's Stop at McDonald's Was Covered***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D7R-2DN1-JBG3-64WF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 22, 2024 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section B; Column 0; Business/Financial Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 734 words

**Byline:** By Santul Nerkar

**Body**

Former President Donald J. Trump worked the fryer at a McDonald's in Pennsylvania on Sunday -- an unusual campaign stop that fueled an onslaught of coverage from media outlets across the political spectrum.

Mr. Trump, a longtime fan of the fast-food chain, used the stop to claim, without providing any evidence, that Vice President Kamala Harris had lied about working at McDonald's as a college student.

Ms. Harris has stated that she worked at a McDonald's in California after her freshman year of college. A friend of hers backed up her account in a recent interview with The New York Times.

Conservative outlets painted Mr. Trump's visit to McDonald's as a brilliant move for the former president and as disastrous for Ms. Harris, praising him for a masterful ''troll'' of her campaign. They said that it aided Mr. Trump's continued outreach to ***working-class*** voters, and that it made him look more approachable than Ms. Harris.

While only a handful of anti-Trump outlets covered the event, those that did described it as a bizarre and cheap stunt. They poked fun at Mr. Trump, comparing him to the company's Ronald McDonald clown mascot. Typifying the anti-Trump response, the Drudge Report website ran an all-caps headline: ''One Fry Short of Happy Meal! Felon Finds Work,'' on the site, referring to Mr. Trump's felony conviction.

Here's how a few outlets covered the news:

FROM THE RIGHT

Breitbart

Breitbart, a conservative outlet, prominently featured news of Mr. Trump's visit on its home page with the headline ''McDonald Trump: Works The Fries, Drive-Thru in Philly.'' Another headline asserted that customers were ''Lovin' It,'' a reference to the company's famous advertising slogan. The franchise was closed to the public during his visit; he handed food to some of the selected attendees.

In an article published on Sunday, the writer Wendell Husebo said the visit ''underscores allegations that Vice President Kamala Harris never worked at a McDonald's during her college career.'' Around a dozen clips of Mr. Trump's visit were embedded in the article.

FROM THE RIGHT

Townhall

Matt Vespa, a senior editor for Townhall, the conservative website, called the visit ''one of the greatest political stunts of all time,'' in an essay for the site. He also compared the appearance to a ''Norman Rockwell painting.'' By going to McDonald's, Mr. Vespa wrote, Mr. Trump was highlighting Ms. Harris's dishonesty, capitalizing on an opening that she had given him with ***working-class*** voters.

''All Democrats could do was cope and seethe, trying to dismiss it as odd, being oblivious that this is why they've lost ***working-class*** voters, the backbone of their party,'' Mr. Vespa wrote. Like Mr. Trump, he had no evidence that Ms. Harris had lied.

FROM THE LEFT

'Countdown' With Keith Olbermann

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

Keith Olbermann, the liberal commentator, ridiculed Mr. Trump for his visit, comparing him to a clown on his podcast, ''Countdown.'' He said that the event was one that liberals like him saw as ''a buffoonish disaster,'' but that ''his cultists and bosses think was a triumph of populism.''

''We are at that stage of madness where, oh by the way, Trump went to work at a McDonald's yesterday, so at least McDonald's got its clown back,'' Mr. Olbermann said.

FROM THE LEFT

Meidas Touch

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

Writers and commentators at Meidas Touch, a liberal news and opinion site, strongly criticized Mr. Trump's visit and the notion that it would help him with ***working-class*** voters. Ben Meiselas, the co-founder of the site, said on ''The Meidas Touch Podcast'' that Mr. Trump showed that he ''doesn't know how to work a frying machine at all.''

''Folks, this is what Donald Trump has done to our politics,'' Mr. Meiselas said. ''So bizarre, so degrading, so weird.''

In a news article published on Monday, the writer Troy Matthews called Mr. Trump's stint at McDonald's a ''fake shift,'' and brought up the fact that Mr. Trump did not support raising the minimum wage as president.

''Trump's photo-op fake day of work cooking fries at a closed down McDonald's makes a mockery of the hard working low-wage workers at those franchises,'' Mr. Matthews wrote.This article is part of Media Bubbles, a regular feature that looks at how different news and opinion outlets -- large, small and often partisan -- are covering the 2024 presidential election.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/business/media/trump-mcdonalds-media-coverage.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/business/media/trump-mcdonalds-media-coverage.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS This article appeared in print on page B4.

**Load-Date:** October 22, 2024

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[***How to Win Latino Voters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DFY-SC21-DXY4-X048-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 20, 2024 Wednesday 11:47 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1287 words

**Byline:** Jennifer Medina and Kellen BrowningJennifer Medina is a Los Angeles-based political reporter for The Times, focused on political attitudes and demographic change.

**Highlight:** A conversation with a Democrat who did.

**Body**

A conversation with a Democrat who did.

One of the few bright spots for Democrats was the Senate race in Arizona. My colleagues Jennifer Medina and Kellen Browning spoke with the [*Harvard-educated veteran with a* ***working-class*** *background*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/20/us/politics/ruben-gallego-arizona-latino-voters-democrats.html) who pulled off a win there, even as Vice President Kamala Harris lost the state. — Jess Bidgood

This month, Democrats suffered deep losses up and down the ballot, largely because voters who have long been essential to their coalition defected from the party.

Ruben Gallego found a way to keep them.

Gallego, an Arizona Democrat who has built a progressive brand over nearly a decade in Congress, won his state’s Senate race by two percentage points, even as Vice President Kamala Harris lost by 5.5 percentage points. During his campaign, he found novel ways to reach the Latino and ***working-class*** voters who have deserted other Democrats, furious at a party [*they believe abandoned their concerns*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/20/us/politics/ruben-gallego-arizona-latino-voters-democrats.html).

Now, some Democrats are pointing to Gallego, who turned 45 today, as an example of what the party can do to win back these voters. In an interview for a [*story we published this morning about his campaign*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/20/us/politics/ruben-gallego-arizona-latino-voters-democrats.html), the Senator-elect told us where he took his message, why he believes Latino men moved away from Democrats and exactly what he thinks of Democrats’ attempts to talk up their legislative achievements. This interview has been condensed and edited for clarity.

There is a reckoning in the Democratic Party about losing ***working-class*** voters without a college degree. What advice do you have for your colleagues in Congress about winning them back?

You have to have a very broad message of the American dream and a standard of living that they want to earn. They’re sick of working so hard and not making it. They’re sick of working hard and feeling stressed out. It’s all these things that are very psychological. But we have to be able to paint the bigger picture of what you get when you vote for a Democrat. And until you paint the bigger picture and not get into this kind of nitty-gritty policy world, which we do a lot, you’re going to have problems.

And we have to reach out to these men and women because they’re not always going to be reading The New York Times. No offense. And sometimes they’re not even watching local TV. So this is why we were very intentional about getting out of our normal routine of how we reach out to voters.

What about Latino men, specifically, who moved away from Democrats in a striking way for the second presidential cycle in a row?

Latino men feel like their job is to provide security for their family, economic security and physical security, and when that is compromised, they start looking around. What happened post-pandemic with inflation, Latino men felt that no matter what they did, they couldn’t get economic security for their family because the prices were so damn high. Mentally speaking, Latino men believe they could always work their way out of anything. Oh, if I want to buy this, I’ll just add extra hours or I’ll just cut here. I’ll just work here. And I think for the first time in a while, they felt that they weren’t doing that and they weren’t providing it. And the future to them seems bleaker also for the kids.

There were successes that Democrats could and did point to, like the infrastructure bill. Why don’t you think that worked?

Nobody gives a [expletive] about infrastructure. Sorry.

You know, they won’t let us say that in The New York Times.

It’s a common good you don’t get credit for. Look, it is a good policy, but if you think it’s going to lead to good politics, it’s not and never has. And I don’t understand why we continue putting so much emphasis on it. Until people actually feel something — higher wages, lower costs, more security — you’re not going to get credit. Infrastructure is not going to do it.

There’s all this debate in the Democratic circles about whether the party leaned too much on identity politics, and we’re wondering how you’re making sense of that.

For some reason, people are putting on me that I didn’t run on identity politics. I did, but it was not just on identity. It was this idea of ***working-class*** Latinos. But also it had a far-reaching message across all other groups. If you just solely rely on identity but not the actual work and policy behind it, then you will lose. Because at some point these voters are like, OK, what are you offering me? What have you been offering me and what have you not? You’ve been delivering nothing for me the last couple of times, but great, I get to support you because you’re brown. But then I still can’t pay my rent. I’m still living at home.

You want to know why there’s a lot of young men voting for Trump? Because most of them are still living at home, and a lot of them don’t want to be doing that. I was holding campaign events like a rodeo, but I was also talking about work and the dignity of work. I was at the lowrider shows and talking about increasing wages. You could use identity politics to connect, but you got to deliver an economic message at the end.

How did you use identity politics, and how did you reach out to different demographic groups?

We wanted you to know who I am. We invested heavily in my bio first — ***working-class*** kid, veteran, Marine, a father and a husband. Why is that? Because you can identify with someone on that list. We never said “congressman.”

And you never said Harvard, where you went to college?

It was always in my bio, which I think people are surprised by. [*I don’t have to hide it*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/20/us/politics/ruben-gallego-arizona-latino-voters-democrats.html) because I didn’t come from Ivy League pedigree. This is a kid from the ’hood making good. That always is going to sell, in my opinion. I know the pride that my whole community had when I got into Harvard. It was as if we had just discovered like a diamond or something.

How do you square your past opposition to anti-immigrant policies, like Arizona’s Senate Bill 1070, the 2010 state measure that critics said legalized racial profiling, with your support for stricter policies at the border today?

There’s nothing to square. Many Latinos were against SB 1070 and racial profiling. Sheriff Joe Arpaio abused pulling over our families for just looking brown. But at the same time, I believe there should be border security and Border Patrol.

The Republicans believe that mass deportation really means mass deportations and that’s going to have popular support. I don’t believe that’s true. Right or wrong, what some of these Latinos voted for, in their minds, was dealing with the people that had just crossed the border, not the person that’s been here for 15 years. When the reality comes — and hopefully it doesn’t — but if it comes, I think there’s going to be very quick push back on them.

The ones who voted for Trump, they came up with excuses like: “They’re not talking about me. They’re not talking about my grandma who is here still illegally. They won’t go after her.” Now, you could say whether that’s right or wrong, but that’s what they’re thinking.

How would you reach out to those voters, assuming deportations happen? A lot of people on the left are already saying, “I told you so.”

This attitude, “We told you so” — this is why you’re losing people like this. You’re not listening to them. You’re just trying to tell them how to vote. And this is how you end up losing more and more of them.

You beat the Republican Kari Lake, a staunch Trump ally and a former news anchor. Will you take her interview requests, if she were hypothetically to return to local TV?

I don’t know, I might! I said I would go everywhere and talk to everyone.

PHOTO: Supporters line up at Ruben Gallego’s “Juntos por Arizona,” a Get Out the Vote event earlier this month. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Ash Ponders for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 20, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Fighting Gentrification With Folk Music***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DDW-RV81-JBG3-61Y4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 15, 2024 Friday 00:10 EST

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**Section:** ARTS; music

**Length:** 1111 words

**Byline:** Thomas Rogers

**Highlight:** Sophie Straat is reviving a style of music once popular in the ***working-class*** bars of Amsterdam to protest an increasingly expensive and homogenized city.

**Body**

Sophie Straat is reviving a style of music once popular in the ***working-class*** bars of Amsterdam to protest an increasingly expensive and homogenized city.

On a recent Saturday night, the Dutch singer Sophie Straat took the stage before a raucous crowd at Garage Noord, a sweaty Amsterdam club. “Tonight is about a lot of things, but it’s especially about gentrification,” she said as she launched into “Groen Amsterdam” (“Green Amsterdam”) her ironic song about being priced out of the city.

The crowd — largely female, young and Dutch-speaking — danced as the singer, dressed in a leather skirt bearing the words “no fun,” sang about the expensive cargo bikes that have become a fixture of Amsterdam’s increasingly wealthy central neighborhoods. “You watch how I took over the city,” Straat sang in Dutch, adopting the persona of a gentrifying newcomer. “It’s not my fault the bakery is closing.”

Straat, 30, has gained a following in the Netherlands in recent years for modernizing a genre of folk music known as smartlap, with punk and pop sounds and lyrics about inequality and gentrification. It has made her a voice for a generation of young Amsterdammers fed up with a city they see as increasingly expensive and homogenized.

“I was attracted to her music because it was in Dutch, then I realized it was about not being able to find a place to live — which is exactly what’s happening to me,” said Zoë Schaap, 35, a bartender attending the concert. “The music sounds old-fashioned, but it has a real vibe about what is going on right now.”

Although many large European cities, including Berlin, Paris and London, face a housing crunch, Amsterdam’s crisis has grown especially dire. The average rent for apartments has [*gone up by nearly 40 percent*](https://resources.kamernet.nl/content/pdf/kn-reportage-202401-web.pdf) since 2021, according to one of the city’s major rental platforms. Home prices in some neighborhoods have increased by up to 130 percent in the past decade. And [*waiting lists for social housing*](https://resources.kamernet.nl/content/pdf/kn-reportage-202401-web.pdf) can stretch for up to 18 years.

The crisis has been exacerbated by an influx of wealthy people working in financial services, whose companies relocated from Britain after Brexit, and by the rise of Airbnb. To limit overtourism, authorities [*recently tightened regulations*](https://resources.kamernet.nl/content/pdf/kn-reportage-202401-web.pdf) on short-term rentals and tourism-oriented shops, and [*brought in a ban*](https://resources.kamernet.nl/content/pdf/kn-reportage-202401-web.pdf) on the construction of new hotels.

Against this backdrop, Straat’s music has hit a nerve. Her 2020 debut EP, “‘T Is Niet Mijn Schuld” (“It’s Not My Fault”), featuring songs about the housing crisis, won an Edison Award, the Netherlands’ equivalent of a Grammy, for best Dutch album. In 2023, she launched Protestfest, an annual music event featuring politically conscious performers. De Volkskrant newspaper [*has described her*](https://resources.kamernet.nl/content/pdf/kn-reportage-202401-web.pdf) as “the figurehead for socially involved twenty-somethings.”

Her most recent release, “Gebroken Spiegels” (“Broken Mirrors”), a formally adventurous concept EP about an Amsterdam sex worker, came out in January to critical acclaim. In December, she will perform [*a sold out show*](https://resources.kamernet.nl/content/pdf/kn-reportage-202401-web.pdf) with an orchestra at the Concertgebouw, the city’s venerable concert hall.

Straat was born to a British mother and an American father — both translators — in De Pijp, a formerly ***working-class*** area near Amsterdam’s city center. When she returned for a visit while studying photography at the Royal Academy of the Arts in The Hague, she noticed some unsettling changes to the neighborhood.

De Pijp, she recalled in a recent interview, had been overtaken by pop-up boutiques. “They all sold very expensive white T-shirts,” she said. “They stayed there for a month, then moved on, so there was no investment in the neighborhood.”

Aided by a Dutch music producer, Wieger Hoogendorp, whom she met at a party, she decided to turn her complaint into a seven-song EP inspired by the smartlap music often played in “brown cafes,” the unpretentious bars frequented by many ***working-class*** Amsterdam residents.

Smartlap, which blends element of pop, chanson and folk music with sentimental lyrics about everyday life, became popular in the 1960s. “I saw the beauty in it,” Straat said, adding that it felt a symbol of the authentic city culture that gentrification was erasing. “I feel like my generation is longing for that kind of Amsterdam again.”

After finishing her degree, she moved back to Amsterdam, and eventually found a room through a friend in a 19-person social-housing project in a former squat in the city center. She felt lucky, she recalled. “People who are 25, they’re so poor,” she said. “They can’t find anywhere to live and are forced to move out of Amsterdam.”

Her concerts, she said, attracted younger, urban fans as well as older, more conservative Amsterdammers drawn by their nostalgia for smartlap. The older crowd were sometimes offended when she performed songs decrying racism or misogyny, she said, but added that she viewed her music as a kind of “trap” for the genre’s conservative fans.

In October, Straat drew national headlines when she held up a sign saying, “Netherlands has blood on its hands,” to protest the Dutch government’s support for Israel’s war in Gaza during the opening concert for Amsterdam’s 750th anniversary celebrations. (The government’s [*official policy statement*](https://resources.kamernet.nl/content/pdf/kn-reportage-202401-web.pdf) affirms Israel’s right to defend itself against Hamas “within the bounds of international law.”) De Telegraaf, a conservative newspaper, complained that Straat’s statement “overshadowed” the “cheerful” celebration. Others saw it as a fitting reflection of the liberal city’s commitment to free speech.

Her recent performance at the club Garage Noord was part of a protest concert, featuring multiple performers, against [*Amsterdam Dance Event*](https://resources.kamernet.nl/content/pdf/kn-reportage-202401-web.pdf), a large electronic music conference happening in the city that weekend. One of Europe’s largest such gatherings, the annual event hosts raves across the city and attracts tens of thousands of tourists. But for many attendees at Straat’s gig, it was a symbol of the city’s gentrification and the mainstreaming of alternative culture.

Jelena van der Bilt, a 27-year-old photographer in the audience, said that she often witnessed young women and girls crying at Straat’s concerts because they were moved by her lyrics. “She’s an Amsterdam person, and everybody knows where she comes from,” she said. “She’s touched something.”

PHOTOS: Above, Sophie Straat’s tattoo homage to De Pijp, a gentrifying area in Amsterdam. Top right: “I saw the beauty in it,” said Straat of smartlap, the tradition of folk music that inspires her. Right, “I feel like my generation is longing for that kind of Amsterdam again,” said the singer, performing at Garage Noord. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MELISSA SCHRIEK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page C5.

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**End of Document**



[***Trump Called His Win a ‘Historic Realignment’ of U.S. Politics. We Have Our Doubts.; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DDD-X9H1-DXY4-X0V3-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1741 words

**Byline:** John B. Judis and Ruy Teixeira

**Highlight:** There are reasons to doubt that what happened in the election is a durable party realignment.

**Body**

In his victory speech last week, Donald Trump declared that a “[*historic realignment*](https://apnews.com/article/trump-victory-harris-dd64fe5fac158025058a45f21388a6b2)” in American politics had occurred. His claim has been echoed by Republican intellectuals. In a [*podcast*](https://apnews.com/article/trump-victory-harris-dd64fe5fac158025058a45f21388a6b2) the day after, Michael Needham, the chairman of American Compass, said, “We are seeing the realignment come to mind.”

As writers who once made an argument for a potential emerging Democratic majority, we are especially curious when a new one comes up — and because of our own experience, we treat claims by Mr. Trump and others of a durable Republican realignment with some skepticism.

There are two meanings for a realignment claim. The first is that the parties’ coalitions have changed. This is undeniable, but the changes really began during the period from the 1970s through 1994. During that time, portions of the white ***working class*** began their journey from the Democratic to the Republican Party. They were originally called Reagan Democrats.

Alternately, many college-educated voters began leaving the G.O.P. for the Democrats. Geographically, the South, once solidly Democratic, came to lean Republican, while Northern states, once dominated by liberal or moderate Republicans, became more Democratic.

That process has continued. In the last decade, we have seen a significant slice of Hispanics vote Republican. In 2024, the AP VoteCast [*survey*](https://apnews.com/article/trump-victory-harris-dd64fe5fac158025058a45f21388a6b2) found that Mr. Trump won 43 percent of the Hispanic vote and 48 percent of Hispanic men. He also got 16 percent of Black voters and 25 percent of Black men. He got 33 percent of the vote from minorities who had not graduated from college. These figures suggest that the Republicans’ ***working-class*** support cannot be described as just white.

Democrats in turn have begun to build support not just among professionals but also among broader swaths of the college educated. Kamala Harris, like Joe Biden in 2020, carried college-educated white voters. In [*2016*](https://apnews.com/article/trump-victory-harris-dd64fe5fac158025058a45f21388a6b2), Hillary Clinton lost these voters.

These two coalitions have been roughly equal in size, and the parties have alternated in power according to the effectiveness of the campaigns and the salience of certain issues. In 2020, Mr. Biden benefited from Mr. Trump’s mishandling of the pandemic. In 2024, Mr. Trump benefited from Ms. Harris’s identification with the inflation and high levels of illegal immigration under the Biden administration.

There is, however, a stronger meaning of “realignment.” That is not only when the party coalitions change, but also when one party’s coalition comes to dominate American politics. It becomes an enduring majority party the way the Republicans did in 1896 and the Democrats did in 1932, controlling over more than a decade, with only a few interruptions, the presidency and both houses of Congress. This is probably what Mr. Trump had in mind when he boasted of a “historic realignment.”

There are reasons to doubt that what happened on Nov. 5 is that sort of realignment.

Realignments depend on several conditions. The opposing party must be in disarray, as the Republicans were in 1932. The Democrats are certainly in a funk, but they were also in a funk after 2016 and came back to win the House in 2018 and the presidency in 2020.

More important, the majority party must be able to enact policies that benefit and hold together the party’s diverse constituencies, as the Democrats’ New Deal did. Franklin Roosevelt provided economic assistance to workers and white farmers in the South, the urban North and the rural West.

Mr. Trump’s and the Republican Party’s coalition consists of the ***working class*** (primarily but not exclusively white); traditionally Republican small-business people, including farmers; upper-level private-sector white-collar workers; and a wealthy donor [*class*](https://apnews.com/article/trump-victory-harris-dd64fe5fac158025058a45f21388a6b2) drawn from finance and real estate, fossil fuels and most recently, high technology. The donor class is important. In Mr. Trump’s campaign this year, according to Open Secrets, [*about 70 percent*](https://apnews.com/article/trump-victory-harris-dd64fe5fac158025058a45f21388a6b2) of his contributions came from large donors.

As a candidate, Mr. Trump possessed a striking ability as a shape-shifter, able to take several positions at once on a variety of topics and still inspire aspirations from a range of people. In the context of a campaign, he is a highly talented political entertainer, a sort of conjurer.

But stepping into the White House and governing is a very different context. What Mr. Trump is promising for his second term — the actual choices he will have to make about policy — and the makeup of that coalition do not appear to be the building blocks of a durable majority coalition. Combined, they appear to have great potential for a crackup.

Some proposals could unite elements of the coalition. For example, immigration policy. Some of business supporters depend on a growing immigrant labor market, including undocumented workers, but Mr. Trump can potentially satisfy them by enlarging guest worker programs.

Mr. Trump can also maintain support of his coalition by opposing climate-change regulation, a stance that unites many blue-collar workers and businesses, including farms, that depend on petroleum-based products. One of Mr. Trump’s principal backers, Elon Musk, gave Mr. Trump a pass on removing the subsidies for electric vehicle purchases that Mr. Musk [*seems to think*](https://apnews.com/article/trump-victory-harris-dd64fe5fac158025058a45f21388a6b2) would hurt legacy car companies and not his own.

But there are plenty of issues that could fracture this coalition. Even immigration cuts both ways. He might try to carry out his promise of deporting millions of illegal immigrants, a project that could not just wreak havoc among families and in communities but also cause [*economic chaos*](https://apnews.com/article/trump-victory-harris-dd64fe5fac158025058a45f21388a6b2).

Or take tariffs. Mr. Trump’s ***working-class*** voters who lament the loss of jobs to China have supported his trade initiatives, including his plan to slap as high as a 60 percent tariff on Chinese goods. But Mr. Trump’s first-term tariffs provoked retaliation from China, and angered Republican farmers and Senate Republicans. Much higher tariffs could meet with opposition from Mr. Trump’s high-tech backers, who depend on the Chinese market, and from his financial donors, who still have investments in China. Unlike most Republican initiatives, tariffs, if successful, work by imposing short-term costs in prices in order to achieve long-term gains in jobs from otherwise endangered industries. It’s the short-term costs — another round of inflation, this time imposed by Mr. Trump — that might endanger the Republican coalition.

On health care, some Republicans still want to repeal Obamacare. JD Vance has talked about [*reforms*](https://apnews.com/article/trump-victory-harris-dd64fe5fac158025058a45f21388a6b2) that could remove important protections for many Americans with pre-existing conditions. As Mr. Trump and his Republican allies in Congress found out in the 2018 midterms (when the G.O.P. lost control of the House), potentially imposing hardship on the ***working-class*** base through policies that threaten its access to health care — or education or child care — is not a winning electoral strategy.

Many business backers of Mr. Trump and his congressional allies are hostile to any labor regulation, including for health and safety, and to conventional environmental regulation. They would be unhappy with a significant increase in the minimum wage. In Mr. Trump’s campaign, he promised a raft of tax exceptions for workers and Social Security beneficiaries, but some congressional Republicans are already expressing [*skepticism*](https://apnews.com/article/trump-victory-harris-dd64fe5fac158025058a45f21388a6b2) about the costs of these promises.

To hold his coalition together, Mr. Trump and whoever aspires to succeed him also need to retain a modicum of public approval outside of what are currently Mr. Trump’s most ardent supporters. To do that, he has to marginalize what could be called the “kooks.” Ronald Reagan succeeded in keeping his coalition together and winning re-election at least in part by [*consigning*](https://apnews.com/article/trump-victory-harris-dd64fe5fac158025058a45f21388a6b2) a single representative of Jerry Falwell’s Moral Majority to a junior position in the Education Department. Mr. Trump was not successful in doing this during his first term, and he may prove even less successful in his second term.

Robert Kennedy Jr. is already promising that Mr. Trump will push to ban fluoride in water. There is [*talk*](https://apnews.com/article/trump-victory-harris-dd64fe5fac158025058a45f21388a6b2) of banning or restricting vaccines. These would not be popular measures. Think tanks housing Mr. Trump’s allies have been talking about banning the abortion pill from the mail, gutting the Department of Education, censoring books and ideas, and the dismantling of what is called the administrative state.

The final obstacle to a strong realignment is Mr. Trump himself, who is consumed with the quest for power and self-aggrandizement, and appears eager to seek revenge against his detractors. Many of his difficulties during his first term stemmed from his own misbehavior, and he continues to revel in division and divisiveness.

It’s worth recalling what happened in Britain to Boris Johnson and the Tories. After nearly a decade in power, they won an overwhelming victory in 2019 by detonating Labour’s “red wall” of ***working-class*** support. It looked as if the Tories were on the verge of realigning British politics. Five years later, it’s Labour that enjoyed an overwhelming victory, and Mr. Johnson himself, primarily because of his own misbehavior, is out of politics.

Or take the Democratic Party and the notion of an emerging Democratic majority. Political observers saw the foundations of that majority in the coalition of Barack Obama. Not so many years later, that aspiration is shattered. The same could happen to Mr. Trump and the Republicans.

If Mr. Trump fails to achieve a realignment, it would mean, in 2028 and beyond, the continuation of the unstable equilibrium that has plagued American politics for decades. Democrats’ dream of an enduring majority may have died with Ms. Harris’s defeat. But Mr. Trump’s dream of a historic Republican realignment may not survive his second term.

John B. Judis is the author of “The Politics of Our Time: Populism Nationalism, Socialism.” Ruy Teixeira is a fellow at the American Enterprise Institute and the host of the newsletter Liberal Patriot. They are the authors of “Where Have All the Democrats Gone?” and “The Emerging Democratic Majority.”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://apnews.com/article/trump-victory-harris-dd64fe5fac158025058a45f21388a6b2) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://apnews.com/article/trump-victory-harris-dd64fe5fac158025058a45f21388a6b2). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://apnews.com/article/trump-victory-harris-dd64fe5fac158025058a45f21388a6b2).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Paola Chapdelaine for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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**End of Document**



[***As Harris Courts Republicans, the Left Grows Wary and Alienated***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D86-CVR1-JBG3-62VN-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Nicholas Nehamas and Erica L. GreenNicholas Nehamas is a Times political reporter covering the presidential campaign of Vice President Kamala Harris.

**Highlight:** The vice president’s tack to the right, support for Israel in the Gaza war and incremental policy proposals have alienated progressives and raised worries about waning liberal energy.

**Body**

The vice president’s tack to the right, support for Israel in the Gaza war and incremental policy proposals have alienated progressives and raised worries about waning liberal energy.

As Vice President Kamala Harris makes a broad play to the political center, some Democrats worry that she is going too far in her bid to win over moderates who are skeptical of former President Donald J. Trump. In private — and increasingly in public as Election Day fast approaches — they say she risks chilling Democratic enthusiasm by alienating progressives and ***working-class*** voters.

In making her closing argument this month, Ms. Harris has campaigned four times with [*Liz Cheney*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/us/politics/harris-liz-cheney-pennsylvania-michigan-wisconsin.html), the Republican former congresswoman, stumping with her more than with any other ally. She has appeared more in October with the billionaire [*Mark Cuban*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/us/politics/harris-liz-cheney-pennsylvania-michigan-wisconsin.html) than with [*Shawn Fain*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/us/politics/harris-liz-cheney-pennsylvania-michigan-wisconsin.html), the president of the United Auto Workers and one of the nation’s most visible labor leaders.

She has centered her [*economic platform*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/us/politics/harris-liz-cheney-pennsylvania-michigan-wisconsin.html) on middle-class issues like small businesses and entrepreneurship rather than raising the minimum wage, a deeply held goal of many Democrats that polls well [*across*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/us/politics/harris-liz-cheney-pennsylvania-michigan-wisconsin.html) [*the*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/us/politics/harris-liz-cheney-pennsylvania-michigan-wisconsin.html) [*board*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/us/politics/harris-liz-cheney-pennsylvania-michigan-wisconsin.html). She has taken a [*harder-line stance*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/us/politics/harris-liz-cheney-pennsylvania-michigan-wisconsin.html) on the border than has any member of her party in a generation and has talked more prominently about [*owning a Glock*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/us/politics/harris-liz-cheney-pennsylvania-michigan-wisconsin.html) than about [*combating climate change*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/us/politics/harris-liz-cheney-pennsylvania-michigan-wisconsin.html). She has [*not broken*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/us/politics/harris-liz-cheney-pennsylvania-michigan-wisconsin.html) from President Biden on the war Israel is waging in Gaza.

Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont, for many Americans the avatar of the progressive movement, has campaigned aggressively for Ms. Harris across several battleground states. But he said in an interview that he had been alarmed by the number of ***working-class*** voters who were asking what Ms. Harris would do for them on issues like raising wages or allowing Medicare to cover dental care.

“They want to hear her to be more aggressive in making it clear that she’s going to stand up for the ***working class*** of this country,” Mr. Sanders said. “You lose the ***working class***, I don’t know how you win an election.”

At a town-hall-style event with Mr. Sanders in Milwaukee this month, one woman spoke up with a direct criticism of Ms. Harris. “Kamala has been talking about the middle class,” she said to applause. “But she has not addressed the poor or the working poor.”

Part of Ms. Harris’s approach is tactical. As she battles accusations from Mr. Trump that she is [*dangerously liberal*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/us/politics/harris-liz-cheney-pennsylvania-michigan-wisconsin.html), progressive voices have been less visible alongside her at campaign events. Moving to the center in a general election is a standard tactic in politics — and the left has long voiced frustration when Democrats do it.

The Harris campaign says it is running a big-tent operation that has appeal across party and class lines. Her aides hope to pick up voters in the suburbs, especially women, who are driven by abortion rights and have grown tired of Mr. Trump’s divisiveness and chaos, and the Harris team says polling shows its approach is working. Ms. Harris also picked as her running mate Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, a liberal grass-roots favorite.

But keeping Democrats unified and energized is especially important for Ms. Harris in a race polls suggest is tied, and the consequences for the party could be severe if even a few left-wing voters in battleground states stay home or vote for [*Jill Stein*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/us/politics/harris-liz-cheney-pennsylvania-michigan-wisconsin.html), the Green Party candidate.

Some progressives point to the vice president’s soft support among [*Black*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/us/politics/harris-liz-cheney-pennsylvania-michigan-wisconsin.html) and [*Latino*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/us/politics/harris-liz-cheney-pennsylvania-michigan-wisconsin.html) voters as evidence that her message is not breaking through to enough workers. Sensing an opportunity with blue-collar voters who were already shifting toward Republicans, Mr. Trump has laid out the welcome mat for them in his [*advertisements*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/us/politics/harris-liz-cheney-pennsylvania-michigan-wisconsin.html) and [*messaging*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/us/politics/harris-liz-cheney-pennsylvania-michigan-wisconsin.html).

And they worry that Ms. Harris — like Hillary Clinton in 2016 — is falling into a trap of banking on liberal voters without offering significant policy change.

Elise Joshi, the executive director of the progressive group Gen-Z for Change — which has endorsed Ms. Harris and is knocking on doors to support her — said she was concerned that the excitement among many young voters for the vice president’s candidacy had faded.

“The tent is big enough for a guy who got us into a war with Iraq, and then the tent is not big enough for a Palestinian to speak for two minutes on the D.N.C. stage,” said Ms. Joshi, contrasting the [*endorsement*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/us/politics/harris-liz-cheney-pennsylvania-michigan-wisconsin.html) of Ms. Harris by Ms. Cheney’s father, former Vice President Dick Cheney, with the Democratic Party’s decision [*not to invite*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/us/politics/harris-liz-cheney-pennsylvania-michigan-wisconsin.html) a Palestinian American to speak at its national convention.

“The vibes really peaked when she chose Tim Walz to be the V.P. candidate,” Ms. Joshi added. “That time feels like it was so long ago.”

The calculations of a move to the center

The Harris campaign’s move to the center is meant especially to target college-educated, wealthier, white voters who may have voted Republican in the past.

That group is [*more likely to cast ballots*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/us/politics/harris-liz-cheney-pennsylvania-michigan-wisconsin.html) than poorer Black and Latino Americans. Mr. Trump has given Democrats an opening to recruit those more reliable voters with a series of bizarre rants, including a menacing threat to [*use the military against “the enemy within”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/us/politics/harris-liz-cheney-pennsylvania-michigan-wisconsin.html) and an [*extended riff*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/us/politics/harris-liz-cheney-pennsylvania-michigan-wisconsin.html) about a deceased professional golfer that ended with praise for his genitalia. Ms. Harris’s team is [*also investing heavily in winning over*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/us/politics/harris-liz-cheney-pennsylvania-michigan-wisconsin.html) undecided voters of color.

“America is ready for a new and optimistic generation of leadership, which is why Democrats, Republicans, independents are supporting our campaign,” Ms. Harris said last week in Erie County, Pa., a crucial bellwether region of the battleground state.

Polls show that Ms. Harris’s economic message — which leans on tax breaks for the middle class and on creating opportunities for small businesses — is resonating more with voters than Mr. Biden’s did. She has significantly narrowed Mr. Trump’s lead as the candidate [*more trusted*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/us/politics/harris-liz-cheney-pennsylvania-michigan-wisconsin.html) to handle the economy. And she has rolled out policies with wide appeal like an [*expanded child tax credit*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/us/politics/harris-liz-cheney-pennsylvania-michigan-wisconsin.html) and having Medicare [*cover*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/us/politics/harris-liz-cheney-pennsylvania-michigan-wisconsin.html) in-home health care, as well as vision and hearing benefits.

On Tuesday, she said in an interview with NBC News that she supported raising the minimum wage to at least $15 per hour, a question that Mr. Trump has [*sidestepped*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/us/politics/harris-liz-cheney-pennsylvania-michigan-wisconsin.html).

Many of Ms. Harris’s progressive and union allies believe she can motivate younger people, the left and ***working-class*** voters while also reaching out to Republicans. They are less focused on ideological purity than on beating Mr. Trump.

“I do think she’s a progressive,” said Representative Pramila Jayapal of Washington, the chair of the Congressional Progressive Caucus. “I think she is also pragmatic about her beliefs and what it’s going to take to win, and what the polling says it’s going to take to win. I do think that the most important thing for progressives and for the country is that she wins.”

Randi Weingarten, the president of the American Federation of Teachers — one of six national union leaders who appeared alongside Ms. Harris last week in Detroit — said the vice president’s economic policies were focused on “creating wealth for working people.”

“***Working-class*** voters want to be middle-class voters,” Ms. Weingarten said.

‘Will she fight for the things that we believe in?’

Still, Ms. Harris has made a [*major turnaround*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/us/politics/harris-liz-cheney-pennsylvania-michigan-wisconsin.html) from how she ran for president in the Democratic primary race in 2019, when she supported “Medicare for all,” called for decriminalizing illegal border crossings and opposed fracking.

Progressives from across the constellation of left-wing interest groups say they worry about energy.

“We’ve contacted nearly a million young voters in swing states,” said Stevie O’Hanlon, the communications director for the Sunrise Movement, a progressive climate change group. “And we are hearing that there isn’t the level of enthusiasm that there could be, given the contrast being so clear, and given how dangerous a Trump presidency would be.”

Maurice Mitchell, the national director of the Working Families Party, said he had knocked on doors in Pennsylvania and Georgia and said many ***working-class*** voters still seemed unsure whether Ms. Harris would “fight for them.”

“That requires her campaign focusing with a lot of intensity on the base,” he said.

And Our Revolution, the progressive group founded by Mr. Sanders, conducted a survey of left-wing voters that found a significant enthusiasm deficit about Ms. Harris, according to Joseph Geevarghese, its executive director.

“Will she fight for the things that we believe in?” Mr. Geevarghese said. “I think people aren’t sure. Most will bite their tongue and vote to defeat Donald Trump, and others just won’t be able to overcome their primary objections.”

Taylor Robinson and Ruth Igielnik contributed reporting.

Taylor Robinson and Ruth Igielnik contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Polls indicate that Vice President Kamala Harris’s economic message is resonating more with voters than President Biden’s did. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A17.

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[***Trump Gained 95,000 Votes in New York City. Democrats Lost Half a Million.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DPS-91J3-RS49-X2GC-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Keith Collins, Zach Levitt, Malika Khurana and Nicholas Fandos

**Body**

Donald J. Trump won 30 percent of the votes cast in New York City this month. It was a seven-point jump from his performance in 2020, and a higher share of the vote than any Republican nominee has won in the city since George H.W. Bush in 1988.

But his improved vote share was driven more by the votes Democrats lost than by the votes he gained.

In every neighborhood in New York City, from Red Hook in Brooklyn to Riverdale in the Bronx, Vice President Kamala Harris received markedly fewer votes than Joseph R. Biden, Jr. did in 2020, while in most neighborhoods, Mr. Trump notched modest increases compared with his last run.

The votes cast in New York City have not yet been certified, but more than 97 percent of them have been counted. That includes all ballots that were cast in person, both on Election Day and before, and a majority of absentee ballots, according to Vincent M. Ignizio, the deputy executive director of the city's election board.

As it stands, the downturn in votes for the Democratic candidate was six times the size of Mr. Trump's gains when compared with 2020. In some boroughs, the ratio was even larger.

In total, about 3 million ballots were cast in New York City in the 2020 election, and about 2.6 million have been counted so far in 2024. Many New Yorkers moved out of the city during the pandemic, and by the 2022 midterms, the total number of registered voters here had already started to drop. As of this month, there were about 230,000 fewer active registered Democrats in the city than there were in 2020, and about 12,000 more registered Republicans.

It is not clear how much that contributed to the outcome of the election, but the pattern of Democratic losses and Republican gains was clear across all income levels and ethnic groups in the city. The drop-off was most pronounced among ***working-class*** immigrant groups who live outside Manhattan, many of them in the neighborhoods that were hit the hardest by the pandemic and the economic disruption that followed.

Several of the neighborhoods where the Democratic Party lost the most ground were in Queens, including some with large populations of ***working-class*** Latino immigrants.

In Corona, a neighborhood in Queens, Ms. Harris won about 6,500 fewer votes than Mr. Biden won in 2020, and Mr. Trump gained about 2,700 votes.

In Flushing, one of the hubs of Asian life in the city, Democrats lost nearly 10,000 votes compared with 2020. As it stands, Mr. Trump won more votes than Ms. Harris here by a margin of just under 400.

Some of the neighborhoods where the Democratic Party saw the biggest losses were in Upper Manhattan and in the Bronx, the city's poorest borough.

In University Heights, a neighborhood in the Bronx with a large Latino population, Mr. Biden won 84 percent of 12,000 votes in 2020, and Ms. Harris won just 66 percent of the 9,400 votes cast in 2024.

In East Harlem, a racially diverse neighborhood that is among the lowest income sections of Manhattan, Ms. Harris received about 10,200 fewer votes than Mr. Biden four years ago, and Mr. Trump won about 860 more than in 2020.

Ms. Harris held up best in high-income neighborhoods known for expensive brownstones and highly educated residents, like Clinton Hill in Brooklyn. Ms. Harris won 94 percent of about 12,300 votes here, compared with the 97 percent of about 13,400 votes that Mr. Biden won in 2020.

The neighborhood where Democratic turnout dropped the most in terms of percentage change was Borough Park, an Orthodox Jewish enclave in Brooklyn that voted overwhelmingly for Mr. Trump. While support for Mr. Trump increased only slightly, from about 22,200 votes in 2020 to 22,700 in 2024, turnout for the Democratic candidate dropped 46 percent, from about 7,600 votes in 2020 to about 4,100 in 2024.

Among income groups in the city, the precincts with the lowest median incomes saw the largest drop in support for the Democratic candidate, and the largest increase in support for Mr. Trump.

Ms. Harris lost substantial support in precincts with larger populations of Latino and Asian voters. Asian voters have been shifting rightward in recent years because of a mix of concerns about crime, city education policies and the economy.

Mr. Trump made significant gains in precincts where a majority of residents were Latino or Black.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/11/22/us/elections/nyc-harris-trump-votes.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/11/22/us/elections/nyc-harris-trump-votes.html)

**Load-Date:** December 22, 2024

**End of Document**



[***How Media Outlets on the Left and Right Covered Trump’s Stop at McDonald’s***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D7K-5SB1-DXY4-X30B-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 21, 2024 Monday 23:17 EST

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**Section:** BUSINESS; media

**Length:** 727 words

**Byline:** Santul Nerkar

**Highlight:** Former President Donald J. Trump’s campaign event at a McDonalds in Pennsylvania was described by right-leaning outlets as a brilliant move. Left-leaning publications called it weird.

**Body**

Former President Donald J. Trump worked the fryer at a McDonald’s in Pennsylvania on Sunday — an unusual campaign stop that fueled an onslaught of coverage from media outlets across the political spectrum.

Mr. Trump, a longtime fan of the fast-food chain, used the stop to claim, without providing any evidence, that Vice President Kamala Harris had lied about working at McDonald’s as a college student.

Ms. Harris has stated that she worked at a McDonald’s in California after her freshman year of college. A friend of hers backed up her account in a recent interview with The New York Times.

Conservative outlets painted Mr. Trump’s visit to McDonald’s as a brilliant move for the former president and as disastrous for Ms. Harris, praising him for a masterful “troll” of her campaign. They said that it aided Mr. Trump’s continued outreach to ***working-class*** voters, and that it made him look more approachable than Ms. Harris.

While only a handful of anti-Trump outlets covered the event, those that did described it as a bizarre and cheap stunt. They poked fun at Mr. Trump, comparing him to the company’s Ronald McDonald clown mascot. Typifying the anti-Trump response, the Drudge Report website ran an all-caps headline: “One Fry Short of Happy Meal! Felon Finds Work,” on the site, referring to Mr. Trump’s felony conviction.

Here’s how a few outlets covered the news:

FROM THE RIGHT

Breitbart

Breitbart, a conservative outlet, prominently featured news of Mr. Trump’s visit on its home page with the headline “McDonald Trump: Works The Fries, Drive-Thru in Philly.” Another headline asserted that customers were “Lovin’ It,” a reference to the company’s famous advertising slogan. The franchise was closed to the public during his visit; he handed food to some of the selected attendees.

In an article published on Sunday, the writer Wendell Husebo said the visit “underscores allegations that Vice President Kamala Harris never worked at a McDonald’s during her college career.” Around a dozen clips of Mr. Trump’s visit were embedded in the article.

FROM THE RIGHT

Townhall

Matt Vespa, a senior editor for Townhall, the conservative website, called the visit “one of the greatest political stunts of all time,” in an essay for the site. He also compared the appearance to a “Norman Rockwell painting.” By going to McDonald’s, Mr. Vespa wrote, Mr. Trump was highlighting Ms. Harris’s dishonesty, capitalizing on an opening that she had given him with ***working-class*** voters.

“All Democrats could do was cope and seethe, trying to dismiss it as odd, being oblivious that this is why they’ve lost ***working-class*** voters, the backbone of their party,” Mr. Vespa wrote. Like Mr. Trump, he had no evidence that Ms. Harris had lied.

FROM THE LEFT

‘Countdown’ With Keith Olbermann

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/XZDuw5s0Cxs)]

Keith Olbermann, the liberal commentator, ridiculed Mr. Trump for his visit, comparing him to a clown on his podcast, “Countdown.” He said that the event was one that liberals like him saw as “a buffoonish disaster,” but that “his cultists and bosses think was a triumph of populism.”

“We are at that stage of madness where, oh by the way, Trump went to work at a McDonald’s yesterday, so at least McDonald’s got its clown back,” Mr. Olbermann said.

FROM THE LEFT

Meidas Touch

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](http://youtube.com/embed/XZDuw5s0Cxs)]

Writers and commentators at Meidas Touch, a liberal news and opinion site, strongly criticized Mr. Trump’s visit and the notion that it would help him with ***working-class*** voters. Ben Meiselas, the co-founder of the site, said on “The Meidas Touch Podcast” that Mr. Trump showed that he “doesn’t know how to work a frying machine at all.”

“Folks, this is what Donald Trump has done to our politics,” Mr. Meiselas said. “So bizarre, so degrading, so weird.”

In a news article published on Monday, the writer Troy Matthews called Mr. Trump’s stint at McDonald’s a “fake shift,” and brought up the fact that Mr. Trump did not support raising the minimum wage as president.

“Trump’s photo-op fake day of work cooking fries at a closed down McDonald’s makes a mockery of the hard working low-wage workers at those franchises,” Mr. Matthews wrote.

This article is part of Media Bubbles, a regular feature that looks at how different news and opinion outlets — large, small and often partisan — are covering the 2024 presidential election.

PHOTOS This article appeared in print on page B4.

**Load-Date:** October 21, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Pelosi Laments Biden’s Late Exit and the Lack of an ‘Open Primary’***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCD-B161-JBG3-6179-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 8, 2024 Friday 12:50 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 641 words

**Byline:** Reid J. EpsteinReid J. Epstein covers campaigns and elections from Washington. Before joining The Times in 2019, he worked at The Wall Street Journal, Politico, Newsday and The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel.

**Highlight:** “Had the president gotten out sooner, there may have been other candidates in the race,” the former House speaker said in an interview with The New York Times, suggesting she had anticipated an “open primary.”

**Body**

“Had the president gotten out sooner, there may have been other candidates in the race,” the former House speaker said in an interview with The New York Times, suggesting she had anticipated an “open primary.”

Representative Nancy Pelosi, the former House speaker, suggested this week that it would have been better for the Democratic Party if President Biden had abandoned his re-election campaign sooner and the party had then held a competitive primary process to replace him.

In an interview on Thursday with The New York Times, Ms. Pelosi said what was [*widely reported around the time*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/19/us/politics/nancy-pelosi-joe-biden-drop-out.html) Mr. Biden dropped out: that she believed it was implicitly understood that his exit would be followed by an internal party competition for a new nominee, instead of an anointment of Vice President Kamala Harris.

“Had the president gotten out sooner, there may have been other candidates in the race,” Ms. Pelosi said during an interview with Lulu Garcia-Navarro, a host of “[*The Interview*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/19/us/politics/nancy-pelosi-joe-biden-drop-out.html),” a Times podcast. She added during the interview, which will be published in full on Saturday, “The anticipation was that, if the president were to step aside, that there would be an open primary.”

Ms. Pelosi went on: “And as I say, Kamala may have, I think she would have done well in that and been stronger going forward. But we don’t know that. That didn’t happen. We live with what happened. And because the president endorsed Kamala Harris immediately, that really made it almost impossible to have a primary at that time. If it had been much earlier, it would have been different.”

Mr. Biden endorsed Ms. Harris within an hour after he [*ended his campaign in July*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/19/us/politics/nancy-pelosi-joe-biden-drop-out.html), a decision he made only after an intense pressure campaign from Democrats that [*Ms. Pelosi quietly led*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/19/us/politics/nancy-pelosi-joe-biden-drop-out.html). His support for the vice president, along with backing from many other Democrats, choked off any avenue for a challenger to emerge. Over two weeks, Ms. Harris swiftly gathered support from delegates to the Democratic National Convention.

While some Democrats floated the idea of a quick primary, those proposals never gained traction and were not embraced by the Democratic National Committee or convention delegates.

In the interview, Ms. Pelosi went to great lengths to defend the Biden administration’s legislative accomplishments, most of which took place during his first two years, when she was the House speaker. After Republicans won control of the House in the 2022 midterm elections, she relinquished her leadership post but remained in the chamber as an éminence grise for the party.

The former speaker, who was elected on Tuesday to her 20th term representing San Francisco, argued in the interview that the Democratic Party still stood up for ***working-class*** voters on economic issues.

She took issue with comments this week from Senator Bernie Sanders, the independent progressive from Vermont, [*who suggested that Ms. Harris’s defeat had come in part because Democrats*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/19/us/politics/nancy-pelosi-joe-biden-drop-out.html) were too focused on identity politics at the expense of economic concerns.

“Bernie Sanders has not won,” Ms. Pelosi said. “With all due respect, and I have a great deal of respect for him, for what he stands for, but I don’t respect him saying that the Democratic Party has abandoned the ***working-class*** families.”

She suggested that cultural issues were more to blame for Democrats’ losses among the ***working class***.

“Guns, God and gays — that’s the way they say it,” she said. “Guns, that’s an issue; gays, that’s an issue, and now they’re making the trans issue such an important issue in their priorities; and in certain communities, what they call God, what we call a woman’s right to choose.”

PHOTO: Representative Nancy Pelosi of California worked behind the scenes to push President Biden from the race after his poor debate performance in June. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Jamie Kelter Davis for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 8, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Biden's Chief Economist Tries To Make Sense of the Election***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DH0-64M1-DXY4-X30H-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 25, 2024 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section B; Column 0; Business/Financial Desk; Pg. 2

**Length:** 876 words

**Byline:** By Talmon Joseph Smith

**Body**

Jared Bernstein, the chair of the White House Council of Economic Advisers, was a leading architect of ''Bidenomics.''

Since the election, Jared Bernstein, the chair of the White House Council of Economic Advisers, has often found himself in a down mood -- dealing, he says, with ''confusion, guilt'' and ''cognitive dissonance.''

President-elect Donald J. Trump's sweeping victory was fueled in part by lousy consumer sentiment and ***working-class*** Americans' frustration with the underlying state of the economy. That is a big blow to the idea of ''Bidenomics,'' of which Mr. Bernstein was a leading evangelist and architect.

The U.S. economy recovered from the pandemic with greater strength than any of its peers. Unemployment stayed below 4 percent for the longest stretch since the 1960s, and remains low. A widely predicted, long-feared recession never materialized. And data show there is continuing a boomlet in manufacturing construction and business productivity.

But price increases also spiked on President Biden's watch. Several prominent economists, peers of Mr. Bernstein's, argue that the administration's robust fiscal response caused the inflation. And other issues of affordability -- especially housing -- have sapped the optimism of many households in the last couple of years.

Calling in from Paris on Friday after serving as chair of an economic meeting of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation at the Château de la Muette, Mr. Bernstein, a longtime Biden confidant, spoke with The New York Times about how he is making sense of the moment.

You told me three years ago that one goal of the American Rescue Plan was to intentionally ''run the economy with a little bit more heat.'' We've seen benefits of that, but in light of ensuing inflation, do you regret the size and the scope of the American Rescue Plan?

Twenty-twenty hindsight is an analytical luxury -- certainly one we didn't have in January of 2021. Back then, we had millions of unemployed people. We had Covid deaths peaking. The economy was improving, but it was far from reopened. And vaccinations hadn't been anywhere near adequately distributed. So the extent of uncertainty regarding the impact of Covid on the economy warranted a very strong rescue plan. And I don't regret the plan. We certainly got more heat than I envisioned at the time, no question, but we also got a lot more growth, less child poverty, fewer evictions, more business survivals, and a much quicker return to full employment and very little economic scarring.

At times, Democrats' economic messaging seemed uncertain or torn: bragging about data, but also apologizing for inflation, blaming corporations for higher prices or sometimes Vladimir Putin or supply chains. Doesn't it make sense, then, that Americans were uncertain about your stewardship, too?

That is not really the way I see it, I guess. I think there are definitely ways in which we talked about the economy that didn't resonate with what people were going through. But I used to say, back then, ''The risk of doing too little was greater than the risk of doing too much.''

And do you stand by that?

Yeah, I stand by that.

The inflation that ensued was largely caused by supply side snarls, but it was exacerbated by strong demand, no question. So I'm not giving fiscal policy a pass. But it's really important not to overly connect the rescue plan to the inflation odyssey we've been through.

Do you think this White House was too antagonistic toward business?

Remember, the corporate sector has been highly profitable over this period. So if we call them out for keeping and not passing savings along to consumers -- or if this president finally won a decades-long fight with Big Pharma -- that is a source of immense pride. No shame in our game there at all.

Donald Trump convinced enough ***working-class*** Americans, across all demographics, that he's in their corner. How did that happen to your party, which says it still sees itself as a party for workers?

The short answer is I don't know. I'm still an economist, not a political pundit. I've been intensely upset about that development. You may have heard us say, ''We get up every day and try to realize the president's vision of helping the ***working class***.'' That sounds like a typical political talking point, but it was basically our agenda for four years.

And the idea that that went so unrecognized, perhaps because the price level ended up being so high when the election came along, is an intensely dissonant set of issues for me.

You could argue that economists and economics reporters should have seen this frustration with the price level -- rather than just inflation -- coming from a mile away, but you all spent a lot of time touting falling inflation. Was that a mistake?

I understand that disinflation is less satisfying to people when they want their old prices back. I get that, and I'm going to have to deal with that, but at the same time, I do not regret talking about the sharp disinflation, or the strong G.D.P. growth or the historically low unemployment rate. And, you know, the Trump administration is inheriting them in such a way that you'll probably start hearing about what a great economy this is in a matter of weeks.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/23/business/dealbook/jared-bernstein-bidenomics-economy.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/23/business/dealbook/jared-bernstein-bidenomics-economy.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Jared Bernstein, the chair of the White House Council of Economic Advisers, was a leading evangelist and architect of ''Bidenomics.'' (POOL PHOTO BY BONNIE CASH/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK) This article appeared in print on page B2.

**Load-Date:** November 25, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Barack Obama’s Big Lesson***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DH6-SJ51-DXY4-X4N3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 26, 2024 Tuesday 06:30 EST

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 2033 words

**Byline:** David LeonhardtDavid Leonhardt runs , The Times&amp;#8217;s flagship daily newsletter. Since joining The Times in 1999, he has been an economics columnist, opinion columnist, head of the Washington bureau and founding editor of the Upshot section.

**Highlight:** We cover an analysis of the 2024 election.

**Body**

We cover an analysis of the 2024 election.

It remains Barack Obama’s most underrated political skill: his appeal to ***working-class*** voters, including those who are white.

Obama won most voters without a four-year college degree in his two presidential campaigns. Those majorities helped him win Florida, Iowa, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin in both campaigns. He even won Indiana and North Carolina once.

He did so by both speaking to the economic frustration that resulted from years of slow-growing wages and signaling that he, like most Americans, was moderate on social issues. He made clear that he understood people’s anxiety about the speed of cultural change.

He talked about “an awesome God” in the 2004 speech that made him a national figure. He rejected sweeping new policies like single-payer health care. He traveled to the University of Notre Dame as president and said he wanted to reduce the number of abortions. He supported civil unions rather than same-sex marriage when most voters felt similarly.

He went on MTV and complained about people who wore their pants too low. (“Some people might not want to see your underwear — I’m one of them,” Obama said.) He took a middle ground on immigration, criticizing both family separations and companies that undercut “American wages by hiring illegal workers.”

As time has passed, I think some people have forgotten how conservative Obama could sound. This approach sometimes angered progressives. They called him a sellout, a neoliberal and “the deporter in chief.” But Obama was genuinely moderate in some ways. He also hated treating political disagreements as existential and opponents as the enemy.

“This idea of purity and you’re never compromised and you’re always politically woke and all that stuff — you should get over that quickly,” Obama told young activists after leaving office. “[*The world is messy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html). There are ambiguities. People who do really good stuff have flaws.”

Perhaps above all, Obama liked winning. He understood that a Democratic Party that treated the country’s ***working-class*** majority as backward or hateful would probably lose those voters. He recognized that sounding like an economic populist, as Obama often did, was not enough. Many people — rich, middle-class and poor — vote on social issues and values at least as much as on taxes and spending.

Nate Cohn, The Times’s chief political analyst, yesterday published an analysis of [*how voting patterns have shifted*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html) since Obama’s 2012 re-election. And those numbers demonstrate just how badly the Democratic Party’s post-Obama strategy has fared.

What Obama and Trump share

After Obama, the party moved left on one big issue after another — Medicare, gender, border security, policing and more. It’s true that Kamala Harris tried to move back to the center this year, but her moderation never had the self-assurance that Obama’s did. It could seem tactical and reluctant. She refused to explain why she had changed her mind about fracking, border security and “Medicare for all.” When asked whether she supported any abortion restrictions, she avoided the question.

The Democrats’ post-Obama leftward turn was based on a specific theory of the electorate: that the country’s growing number of voters of color would cover the loss of ***working-class*** whites. Under this race-centric theory, Donald Trump looked like a gift to Democrats. He made racist and sexist comments. He resembled a caricature of the backward voters Democrats were happy to leave behind.

But the Democrats’ theory was wrong. As they moved away from Obama’s approach and toward the purer progressivism that’s popular among college professors, pundits and activists, the party didn’t win over more voters of color. Instead, Democrats have lost ground with every major racial group except white voters, as Nate’s analysis shows:

A key reason is that Trump’s anti-establishment populism appealed to ***working-class*** voters across racial groups. Trump also helped himself by adopting a mirror image of Obamaism and seeming to reject Republican orthodoxy on subjects like Social Security, Medicare, abortion and foreign wars.

Different though they are, both Obama and Trump approach politics as if class matters more than race. Sure enough, Trump’s biggest gains have come among the nonwhite ***working-class*** voters who were Obama’s strongest supporters:

Not simple moderation

As the Democratic Party tries to figure out a way forward, it can’t merely mimic Obama. The country has changed, partly because of Trump. Nor can the party assume that the answer is simply to moderate its position on everything. The Democrats who won tough races this year [*were more heterodox*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html). They sometimes sounded like Bernie Sanders when talking about foreign trade or corporate America and Joe Manchin when talking about government regulation or social issues. They also sounded authentic.

Still, Obama’s success remains relevant. It highlights the importance of treating ***working-class*** voters’ opinions respectfully rather than talking down to those voters. And it’s a reminder that no Democrat since Obama has come up with an approach that works as well as his did.

Related: Democrats in Georgia and North Carolina are dissecting their 2024 losses in a hurry. [*Both states will have competitive Senate races in 2026*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html), and Georgia will elect a governor.

THE LATEST NEWS

Special Counsel Investigation

* Jack Smith, the special counsel appointed to investigate Trump’s role in the Jan. 6 Capitol attack and his handling of classified documents, [*moved to dismiss both cases*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html). Hours later, the judge overseeing the Jan. 6 case dismissed it.

1. Smith said he ended the cases not because of their merits but because Justice Department policy forbids prosecuting sitting presidents.
2. Smith asked to leave open the option of refiling the charges after Trump leaves office. But the statute of limitations — five years for most federal offenses — could prevent that.
3. Trump, who had vowed to fire Smith if he won, plans to [*fire the entire team*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html) that worked for him, The Washington Post reports.
4. Smith plans to pursue charges against Mar-a-Lago workers accused of obstructing the government’s efforts to retrieve the documents. Trump could pardon them.
5. Trump will re-enter the White House with legal questions — about [*presidential immunity and the power of special counsels*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html) — still unanswered by courts.

Trump Appointments

* Trump’s legal team found that an adviser had [*asked potential appointees to pay*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html) for help securing roles in the administration. The adviser denied doing so.

1. Billionaires are set to lead Trump’s economic team. Investors are excited. Democrats say it’s [*proof that he will mostly help the rich*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html).
2. [*Stocks and bonds rose*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html)yesterday morning after Trump picked a financier, Scott Bessent, for Treasury secretary.
3. Steven Witkoff, Trump’s choice as a Middle East envoy, has potential conflicts of interest: He would be negotiating with leaders who [*have stakes in his real-estate projects*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html).
4. Matt Gaetz, Trump’s failed pick for attorney general, [*is now on Cameo*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html), where users can pay him $500 to record personalized videos.

More on the Administration

* Trump said he’d impose a 25 percent tariff on [*all products imported from Canada and Mexico*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html) on Day 1.

1. Mitch McConnell, now out of Senate leadership, will [*support Ukraine and oppose recess appointments*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html) to Trump’s cabinet. That could invite clashes with Trump.
2. A 33-year-old aide who was a far-right cable anchor [*gives good news to Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html). She carries a printer to show him positive articles and takes dictation for his social media posts.
3. Trump endorsed Jimmy Patronis, a Florida official, in the special election for Gaetz’s House seat. Patronis backed a plan to use public funds [*to pay Trump’s legal fees*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html).

More on Politics

* President Biden [*pardoned two turkeys, Peach and Blossom*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html), named for the official flower of his home state, Delaware. The flower “symbolizes resilience,” he said.

1. California will give eligible residents [*tax rebates for electric vehicles*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html) if Trump ends the $7,500 federal tax credit that Biden passed.
2. Harris’s job title may be one reason she lost: Sitting vice presidents have [*a poor record in presidential elections*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html).
3. The U.S. is [*withholding its annual payment*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html) to the World Anti-Doping Agency to press the organization to make changes after it failed to suspend Chinese swimmers for positive tests.
4. The Biden administration will propose that Medicare and Medicaid [*cover obesity medications*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html).

Middle East

* Benjamin Netanyahu indicated that he’s [*open to a cease-fire with Hezbollah*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html) in the war in Lebanon. His cabinet is expected to discuss a proposed deal today.

1. Israeli strikes [*threaten Lebanon’s antiquities*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html).

More International News

* Thousands of Pakistanis [*defied a government lockdown*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html) to demand the release of former Prime Minister Imran Khan.

1. The U.N. and several embassies are [*evacuating personnel from Haiti*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html). Gang members recently attacked a neighborhood where international aid groups are based.
2. The Danish government will tax the owners of cows and pigs for the animals’ [*methane emissions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html).
3. Chinese police forces are crossing provincial borders to raise cash by fining small companies, [*sometimes for made-up charges*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html).

Other Big Stories

* Some transgender activists say it’s time to [*rethink their tactics*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html) because they are facing diminishing public support.

1. A federal judge ruled that a [*transgender player on the San Jose State women’s volleyball team*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html) could continue playing. Several other players, including one of her teammates, had sued to bar her from competition.
2. Washington, D.C., sued an anti-police activist, accusing him of [*spending $75,000 from his charity on luxuries*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html) like a trip to Cancún and designer clothes.
3. A white woman in Florida who shot and killed a Black neighbor, Ajike Owens, was sentenced [*to 25 years in prison*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html) for manslaughter.

Opinions

Doctors persisted with the hope that Sarah Wildman’s daughter Orli could survive her cancer. Such hope prevents sick children from receiving [*essential end-of-life care*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html), she argues.

Here are columns by Paul Krugman on [*Trump’s crony capitalism*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html) and Michelle Goldberg on [*Representative-elect Sarah McBride*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html).

MORNING READS

Team spirit: The New York Times for Kids goes inside the sweaty and heartfelt [*world of high school mascots*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html).

World-class looks: Competitive tablescapers can teach us something about [*setting the perfect table*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html).

Ask A&amp;L: “[*Should I sit through the movie’s closing credits?*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html)”

Lives Lived: Barbara Taylor Bradford’s best-selling novels captivated readers with chronicles of buried secrets, raging ambitions and strong women of humble origins rising to wealth and power. She [*died at 91*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html).

SPORTS

N.F.L.: The Baltimore Ravens, coached by John Harbaugh, beat the Los Angeles Chargers — coached by his brother, Jim Harbaugh — [*30-23*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html).

N.H.L.: Several men attacked Paul Bissonnette, a popular hockey personality and former player, [*at a restaurant in Arizona*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html).

Soccer: The goalkeeper Alyssa Naeher [*announced her retirement*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html) from the U.S. women’s national team.

ARTS AND IDEAS

Feeling fatigued by dating apps? In Vermont, they are [*using an old method to look for love*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html). For decades, singles in the state have placed earnest and sometimes quirky personal ads in Seven Days, a small weekly newspaper. (In a recent entry, a man in his 70s boasts about his several hundred maple sugar taps.)

More on culture

* Baby tees — ultra-fitted, sometimes cropped shirts — [*are back*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html).

1. [*“Wicked” is a merchandising juggernaut*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html), with dolls, Stanley cups, clothing lines, Lego sets and even hair dryers.
2. Jimmy Fallon joked about [*this year’s turkey pardoning*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html). “Next year, under Trump, those turkeys will be Matt Gaetz and Rudy Giuliani,” he said.

THE MORNING RECOMMENDS …

Save Martha Stewart’s ultra-creamy [*mashed potatoes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html).

Dress in this [*fits-any-body jumpsuit*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html).

Upgrade to an (on-sale) [*electric toothbrush*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html).

Browse these deals on [*great host gifts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html).

GAMES

Here is [*today’s Spelling Bee*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html). Yesterday’s pangram was handbill.

And here are [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html), [*Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html), [*Sudoku*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html), [*Connections*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html) and [*Strands*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html).

Thanks for spending part of your morning with The Times. See you tomorrow. —David

[*Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html). Reach our team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html).

PHOTO: Barack Obama in 2007. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Keith Bedford for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 26, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Bruce Springsteen Will Perform for Harris in Battleground States***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D7S-M221-DXY4-X39C-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 22, 2024 Tuesday 13:39 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 293 words

**Byline:** Nicholas Nehamas and Nick CorasanitiNicholas Nehamas is a Times political reporter covering the presidential campaign of Vice President Kamala Harris.

**Highlight:** The rocker will appear at a rally on Thursday in Atlanta alongside the vice president, and again at an event next week in Philadelphia with Barack Obama.

**Body**

The rocker will appear at a rally on Thursday in Atlanta alongside the vice president, and again at an event next week in Philadelphia with Barack Obama.

The rocker Bruce Springsteen will perform at a rally on Thursday in Atlanta, appearing alongside Vice President Kamala Harris and former President Barack Obama, as Democrats seek to energize voters with a series of concerts before Election Day.

Mr. Springsteen will also join a rally on Monday in Philadelphia with Mr. Obama.

The Harris campaign said it planned to hold concerts in all seven top battleground states before the election. It plans to use the events to capture voter interest, encourage supporters to cast their ballots and recruit volunteers.

Mr. Springsteen, who at 75 remains one of the most popular figures in music, has long lent his ***working-class***, blue-collar appeal to politicians he supports, who have almost exclusively been Democrats. He maintains a close friendship with Mr. Obama.

He first weighed in on presidential politics to criticize President Reagan’s re-election campaign, and has since supported Mr. Obama, Hillary Clinton, Joseph R. Biden Jr. and Ms. Harris. His songs — prisms into the struggles of ***working-class*** life and anthems to the country’s better values — are staples of presidential campaigns.

In 2020, Mr. Biden walked out to Mr. Springsteen’s “We Take Care of Our Own” to deliver his victory speech.

The rock star has also been a frequent presence on the campaign trail in the waning days of elections. He hit the trail for John Kerry in [*2004*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KeE6Grf0RQY), for Mr. Obama in [*2008*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KeE6Grf0RQY) and [*2012*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KeE6Grf0RQY), and for [*Mrs. Clinton in 2016*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KeE6Grf0RQY).

PHOTO: Bruce Springsteen has long lent his appeal to politicians he supports, almost all Democrats. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Noam Galai/Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 22, 2024

**End of Document**



[***36 Hours***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DPH-F0M3-RSSF-B1BG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 21, 2024 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; Travel Desk; Pg. 8

**Length:** 353 words

**Body**

Key stops

The seaside gardens of Chiesa del Santissimo Redentore, a 16th-century church, are now open to the public for the first time. Il Palazzo Experimental and Nolinski Venezia, two new hotels, contain bars that are reinvigorating Venice's cocktail scene.

Ca' Pesaro art museum exhibits works by Gustav Klimt, Egon Schiele, Marina Abramovic and other heavyweights.

Where to Eat

Il Refettorio, a stylish contemporary restaurant, serves grilled meats and inventive seafood dishes.

La Bottiglia makes overstuffed gourmet panini.

Pietra Rossa specializes in intricate one-bite dishes, Adriatic seafood and garden-fresh produce.

La Sete, Estro Pane e Vino and Bea Vita are part of a new crop of natural-wine bars.

Where to stay

Venice Venice, an upmarket design hotel opened in 2022 in a 13th-century palazzo, offers views of the Grand Canal from many of its 43 rooms. The hotel also has an indoor-outdoor restaurant, a lifestyle boutique, and a private bar-club for guests and members. Rooms in winter start at 600 euros, or about $634.

Opened this year after a nearly decade-long renovation, Palazzo dei Mori occupies a discreet 1400s mansion in a quiet passage. The salon and six rooms are decorated in old-world Venetian style, with gilded wood, Murano-glass chandeliers and long drapes. Rooms in winter start at ?182.

Titian and Tintoretto are your neighbors at Combo, a 255-bed hostel occupying a former Jesuit convent alongside Santa Maria Assunta ai Gesuiti church (which contains works by the two artists). In addition to shared rooms, double rooms, lofts and apartments, the building contains a cafe-bar and public co-working space (from ?8 per day). Rooms in winter start at ?88.

Short-term rental apartments abound in all of Venice's six zones (known as sestieri). For a tranquil stay, consider one of the more peripheral districts. Castello, on the north side, is a mix of ***working-class*** residential neighborhoods and bustling pockets of restaurants and bars. An island unto itself, Giudecca has a more local and village-y feel in spots, along with plenty of dining, historical and cultural options.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/18/travel/21hours-venice-box.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/18/travel/21hours-venice-box.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page C8.

**Load-Date:** December 21, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Trump's Biggest Con: Pretending to Support American Workers***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D96-TM11-DXY4-X00G-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 29, 2024 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2024 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 26; PAUL KRUGMAN

**Length:** 924 words

**Byline:** By Paul Krugman

**Body**

Donald Trump has always been a con man. As a businessman, he left behind a trail of investors who lost money in failed ventures even as he profited, students who paid thousands for worthless courses, unpaid contractors and more. Even amid his current presidential campaign he has been hawking overpriced gold sneakers and Trump Bibles printed in China.

But Trump's biggest, potentially most consequential con has been political: portraying himself as a different kind of Republican, an ally of working Americans. This self-portrait has been successful so far, notably in gaining Trump significant support among ***working-class*** people of color -- although the carnival of racism at his Sunday rally at Madison Square Garden in New York, in which a comedian opened the event by describing Puerto Rico as an ''island of garbage'' and made a watermelon joke in reference to a Black man, may dent that support in the campaign's closing days.

The truth is that to the extent that Trump's policy plans -- or, in some cases, concepts of plans -- differ from G.O.P. orthodoxy, it's because they are even more antilabor and pro-plutocrat than his party's previous norm.

Background: Since the 1970s our two main political parties have diverged sharply on economic ideology. In general, Democrats favor higher taxes on the rich and a stronger social safety net; Republicans favor lower taxes on corporations and the wealthy paid for in part by cutting social programs.

Kamala Harris is, in this sense, a normal Democrat, calling for tax hikes that would primarily affect high-income Americans while expanding tax credits for families with children; she has also proposed expanding Medicare to cover home health care for seniors, which would be a big deal for millions of families.

An aside: I really don't understand people who claim that Harris hasn't supplied enough policy detail. All I can think is that they're looking for something to complain about so they can sound evenhanded.

Has Trump deviated from Republican norms? While he was president, not really. His 2017 tax cut strongly favored high-income Americans. Now he wants to make that tax cut, many of whose provisions will expire in 2025, permanent. He has also floated the idea of a further large cut in corporate taxes (much of which could, by the way, ultimately benefit foreign investors).

As president, Trump tried to push through deep cuts in Medicaid, although he didn't succeed. And while he says that he won't cut Social Security and Medicare, his policy proposals would undermine these programs' financial foundations.

Trump has also made some tax proposals that may sound pro-worker but aren't, such as ending taxes on tips; many tipped workers don't make enough to pay income taxes, and those who do are mostly in a low tax bracket.

If Trump has broken with standard G.O.P. economic policy, he has done so by intensifying efforts to redistribute income upward. For he is proposing higher taxes on the ***working class*** in the form of a large national sales tax -- which is essentially what his tariffs would be. And this tax would be highly regressive -- a large burden on middle- and lower-income families, a trivial hit to the 1 percent.

If you put reasonable estimates of the effects of the Harris and Trump tax plans on the same chart, they're more or less mirror images. Trump would raise taxes on most Americans, with only the top few percent coming out ahead; Harris would do the reverse.

So, no, Trump isn't a friend to ***working-class*** Americans; quite the opposite. Why, then, do millions of people believe otherwise?

Some of it probably reflects racial tension: White men without college degrees have lost ground relative to other groups since 1980, and some of them, alas, surely feel an affinity for the racism and misogyny we saw at Madison Square Garden. But as I said, some Latino and Black Americans also appear to have bought into Trump's spiel. Why?

Well, Americans correctly remember Trump's prepandemic economy as an era of strong job growth and rising wages -- largely, I'd argue, because Republicans in Congress opened the fiscal spigots after austerity during the Obama years slowed recovery from the 2008 financial crisis. Many also implicitly discount or memory-hole the high unemployment of Trump's final year in office. And they're still frustrated about higher prices, the consequence of the inflation surge of 2021-22 -- even though this surge was a global pandemic phenomenon, and wages adjusted for inflation are now higher than they were right before the Covid-19 pandemic.

What relatively few people realize, I believe, is that if he wins next week, Trump's anti-worker agenda will be much broader than anything he managed to do in 2017-21. Back then, he raised average tariffs on Chinese goods by about 20 percentage points, but China accounts for only about 15 percent of U.S. imports; now he's talking about imposing similar tariffs across the board, and 60 percent on imports from China. Overall, we're talking about a sales tax roughly 10 times as large as his last venture.

Trump, then, is anything but pro-***working-class*** Americans. If many believe otherwise, well, they aren't the first victims of his lifelong career as a con man.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/28/opinion/trump-american-workers.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/28/opinion/trump-american-workers.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A26.

**Load-Date:** October 29, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Golden Holds Off Challenge in Maine, Denying House G.O.P. a Key Pickup***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DF1-H6H1-JBG3-6259-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 15, 2024 Friday 13:05 EST

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**Section:** US; elections

**Length:** 476 words

**Byline:** Maya C. MillerMaya C. Miller covers Congress and is a , a program for journalists early in their careers. She is based in Washington.

**Highlight:** Representative Jared Golden, a three-term Democrat, defeated Austin Theriault, a former NASCAR driver, in one of a handful of districts held by Democrats that Donald J. Trump won in 2020.

**Body**

Representative Jared Golden, a three-term Democrat, defeated Austin Theriault, a former NASCAR driver, in one of a handful of districts held by Democrats that Donald J. Trump won in 2020.

Representative Jared Golden, a three-term Democrat from Maine, has defeated his Republican challenger, Austin Theriault, a former NASCAR driver and northern Maine native, The Associated Press declared on Friday.

Mr. Golden’s narrow victory in his largely white, rural and ***working-class*** district — one of five Democratic-held districts that Donald J. Trump won in 2020 — was a bright spot for Democrats and will help ensure that the Republicans’ House majority in the next Congress remains exceedingly narrow.

Mr. Golden toiled throughout the campaign to [*distance himself from other Democrats*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/26/us/elections/jared-golden-maine.html), declining to endorse Vice President Kamala Harris or even say whether he would vote for her. Instead, with the hope of defying political gravity and overcoming party polarization, the congressman emphasized a hyperlocal and nonpartisan message aimed at ***working-class*** people of all political stripes. He campaigned as a potential governing partner with Mr. Trump, saying he could work with whoever won the White House.

For House Republicans, Mr. Theriault’s loss underlined Mr. Golden’s status as one of the Democrats’ most battle-tested members. A native of Fort Kent, a town on the northernmost border of the state, Mr. Theriault, 30, portrayed himself as a “true Mainer” — his typical outfit includes jeans, a baseball cap and a puffer vest over a button-down shirt — and small-business owner who was approachable. He had the full-throated support of Mr. Trump as well as Speaker Mike Johnson, who headlined a rally with Mr. Theriault for an office opening in August.

Mr. Golden and his campaign worked to portray Mr. Theriault as a rubber stamp for the House Republicans’ agenda, which Mr. Golden argued was too extreme for Mainers. To make up for his thin political résumé, Mr. Theriault, a first-term state representative, avoided committing to specific policies and instead centered his bid on the assertion that Mr. Golden had “gone Washington” and lost touch with his district.

Mr. Theriault also sought to make gun rights an issue in the race. After a mass shooting last year in his hometown of Lewiston, Mr. Golden — one of the few Democrats in Congress who has routinely broken with his party to oppose gun control measures — changed course and [*endorsed an assault weapons ban*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/26/us/elections/jared-golden-maine.html). He lost the backing of the National Rifle Association, and Mr. Theriault argued that Mr. Golden’s change of heart on guns showed that he was out of step with his district.

PHOTO: Jared Golden worked throughout the campaign to distance himself from other Democrats, declining to endorse Vice President Kamala Harris. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Ryan David Brown for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 16, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Biden’s Chief Economist Processes the Election With ‘Confusion, Guilt’***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DGK-3XC1-JBG3-643M-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 23, 2024 Saturday 22:00 EST

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**Section:** BUSINESS; dealbook

**Length:** 905 words

**Byline:** Talmon Joseph SmithTalmon Joseph Smith is a Times economics reporter, based in New York.

**Highlight:** Jared Bernstein, the chair of the White House Council of Economic Advisers, was a leading architect of “Bidenomics.”

**Body**

Jared Bernstein, the chair of the White House Council of Economic Advisers, was a leading architect of “Bidenomics.”

Since the election, Jared Bernstein, the chair of the White House Council of Economic Advisers, has often found himself in a down mood — dealing, he says, with “confusion, guilt” and “cognitive dissonance.”

President-elect Donald J. Trump’s sweeping victory was fueled in part by lousy consumer sentiment and ***working-class*** Americans’ frustration with the underlying state of the economy. That is a big blow to the idea of “Bidenomics,” of which Mr. Bernstein was a leading evangelist and architect.

The U.S. economy recovered from the pandemic with greater strength than any of its peers. Unemployment stayed below 4 percent for the longest stretch since the 1960s, and remains low. A widely predicted, long-feared recession never materialized. And data show there is continuing a boomlet in manufacturing construction and business productivity.

But price increases also spiked on President Biden’s watch. Several prominent economists, peers of Mr. Bernstein’s, argue that the administration’s robust fiscal response caused the inflation. And other issues of affordability — especially housing — have sapped the optimism of many households in the last couple of years.

Calling in from Paris on Friday after serving as chair of an economic meeting of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation at the Château de la Muette, Mr. Bernstein, a longtime Biden confidant, spoke with The New York Times about how he is making sense of the moment.

You told me three years ago that one goal of the American Rescue Plan was to intentionally “run the economy with a little bit more heat.” We’ve seen benefits of that, but in light of ensuing inflation, do you regret the size and the scope of the American Rescue Plan?

Twenty-twenty hindsight is an analytical luxury — certainly one we didn’t have in January of 2021. Back then, we had millions of unemployed people. We had Covid deaths peaking. The economy was improving, but it was far from reopened. And vaccinations hadn’t been anywhere near adequately distributed. So the extent of uncertainty regarding the impact of Covid on the economy warranted a very strong rescue plan. And I don’t regret the plan. We certainly got more heat than I envisioned at the time, no question, but we also got a lot more growth, less child poverty, fewer evictions, more business survivals, and a much quicker return to full employment and very little economic scarring.

At times, Democrats’ economic messaging seemed uncertain or torn: bragging about data, but also apologizing for inflation, blaming corporations for higher prices or sometimes Vladimir Putin or supply chains. Doesn’t it make sense, then, that Americans were uncertain about your stewardship, too?

That is not really the way I see it, I guess. I think there are definitely ways in which we talked about the economy that didn’t resonate with what people were going through. But I used to say, back then, “The risk of doing too little was greater than the risk of doing too much.”

And do you stand by that?

Yeah, I stand by that.

The inflation that ensued was largely caused by supply side snarls, but it was exacerbated by strong demand, no question. So I’m not giving fiscal policy a pass. But it’s really important not to overly connect the rescue plan to the inflation odyssey we’ve been through.

Do you think this White House was too antagonistic toward business?

Remember, the corporate sector has been highly profitable over this period. So if we call them out for keeping and not passing savings along to consumers — or if this president finally won a decades-long fight with Big Pharma — that is a source of immense pride. No shame in our game there at all.

Donald Trump convinced enough ***working-class*** Americans, across all demographics, that he’s in their corner. How did that happen to your party, which says it still sees itself as a party for workers?

The short answer is I don’t know. I’m still an economist, not a political pundit. I’ve been intensely upset about that development. You may have heard us say, “We get up every day and try to realize the president’s vision of helping the ***working class***.” That sounds like a typical political talking point, but it was basically our agenda for four years.

And the idea that that went so unrecognized, perhaps because the price level ended up being so high when the election came along, is an intensely dissonant set of issues for me.

You could argue that economists and economics reporters should have seen this frustration with the price level — rather than just inflation — coming from a mile away, but you all spent a lot of time touting falling inflation. Was that a mistake?

I understand that disinflation is less satisfying to people when they want their old prices back. I get that, and I’m going to have to deal with that, but at the same time, I do not regret talking about the sharp disinflation, or the strong G.D.P. growth or the historically low unemployment rate. And, you know, the Trump administration is inheriting them in such a way that you’ll probably start hearing about what a great economy this is in a matter of weeks.

PHOTO: Jared Bernstein, the chair of the White House Council of Economic Advisers, was a leading evangelist and architect of “Bidenomics.” (POOL PHOTO BY BONNIE CASH/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK) This article appeared in print on page B2.

**Load-Date:** November 24, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Fighting Back With Folk Music***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DH6-5HJ1-DXY4-X3YV-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 26, 2024 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 5

**Length:** 1056 words

**Byline:** By Thomas Rogers

**Body**

Sophie Straat is reviving a style of music once popular in the ***working-class*** bars of Amsterdam to protest an increasingly expensive and homogenized city.

On a recent Saturday night, the Dutch singer Sophie Straat took the stage before a raucous crowd at Garage Noord, a sweaty Amsterdam club. ''Tonight is about a lot of things, but it's especially about gentrification,'' she said as she launched into ''Groen Amsterdam'' (''Green Amsterdam'') her ironic song about being priced out of the city.

The crowd -- largely female, young and Dutch-speaking -- danced as the singer, dressed in a leather skirt bearing the words ''no fun,'' sang about the expensive cargo bikes that have become a fixture of Amsterdam's increasingly wealthy central neighborhoods. ''You watch how I took over the city,'' Straat sang in Dutch, adopting the persona of a gentrifying newcomer. ''It's not my fault the bakery is closing.''

Straat, 30, has gained a following in the Netherlands in recent years for modernizing a genre of folk music known as smartlap, with punk and pop sounds and lyrics about inequality and gentrification. It has made her a voice for a generation of young Amsterdammers fed up with a city they see as increasingly expensive and homogenized.

''I was attracted to her music because it was in Dutch, then I realized it was about not being able to find a place to live -- which is exactly what's happening to me,'' said Zoë Schaap, 35, a bartender attending the concert. ''The music sounds old-fashioned, but it has a real vibe about what is going on right now.''

Although many large European cities, including Berlin, Paris and London, face a housing crunch, Amsterdam's crisis has grown especially dire. The average rent for apartments has gone up by nearly 40 percent since 2021, according to one of the city's major rental platforms. Home prices in some neighborhoods have increased by up to 130 percent in the past decade. And waiting lists for social housing can stretch for up to 18 years.

The crisis has been exacerbated by an influx of wealthy people working in financial services, whose companies relocated from Britain after Brexit, and by the rise of Airbnb. To limit overtourism, authorities recently tightened regulations on short-term rentals and tourism-oriented shops, and brought in a ban on the construction of new hotels.

Against this backdrop, Straat's music has hit a nerve. Her 2020 debut EP, '''T Is Niet Mijn Schuld'' (''It's Not My Fault''), featuring songs about the housing crisis, won an Edison Award, the Netherlands' equivalent of a Grammy, for best Dutch album. In 2023, she launched Protestfest, an annual music event featuring politically conscious performers. De Volkskrant newspaper has described her as ''the figurehead for socially involved twenty-somethings.''

Her most recent release, ''Gebroken Spiegels'' (''Broken Mirrors''), a formally adventurous concept EP about an Amsterdam sex worker, came out in January to critical acclaim. In December, she will perform a sold out show with an orchestra at the Concertgebouw, the city's venerable concert hall.

Straat was born to a British mother and an American father -- both translators -- in De Pijp, a formerly ***working-class*** area near Amsterdam's city center. When she returned for a visit while studying photography at the Royal Academy of the Arts in The Hague, she noticed some unsettling changes to the neighborhood.

De Pijp, she recalled in a recent interview, had been overtaken by pop-up boutiques. ''They all sold very expensive white T-shirts,'' she said. ''They stayed there for a month, then moved on, so there was no investment in the neighborhood.''

Aided by a Dutch music producer, Wieger Hoogendorp, whom she met at a party, she decided to turn her complaint into a seven-song EP inspired by the smartlap music often played in ''brown cafes,'' the unpretentious bars frequented by many ***working-class*** Amsterdam residents.

Smartlap, which blends element of pop, chanson and folk music with sentimental lyrics about everyday life, became popular in the 1960s. ''I saw the beauty in it,'' Straat said, adding that it felt a symbol of the authentic city culture that gentrification was erasing. ''I feel like my generation is longing for that kind of Amsterdam again.''

After finishing her degree, she moved back to Amsterdam, and eventually found a room through a friend in a 19-person social-housing project in a former squat in the city center. She felt lucky, she recalled. ''People who are 25, they're so poor,'' she said. ''They can't find anywhere to live and are forced to move out of Amsterdam.''

Her concerts, she said, attracted younger, urban fans as well as older, more conservative Amsterdammers drawn by their nostalgia for smartlap. The older crowd were sometimes offended when she performed songs decrying racism or misogyny, she said, but added that she viewed her music as a kind of ''trap'' for the genre's conservative fans.

In October, Straat drew national headlines when she held up a sign saying, ''Netherlands has blood on its hands,'' to protest the Dutch government's support for Israel's war in Gaza during the opening concert for Amsterdam's 750th anniversary celebrations. (The government's official policy statement affirms Israel's right to defend itself against Hamas ''within the bounds of international law.'') De Telegraaf, a conservative newspaper, complained that Straat's statement ''overshadowed'' the ''cheerful'' celebration. Others saw it as a fitting reflection of the liberal city's commitment to free speech.

Her recent performance at the club Garage Noord was part of a protest concert, featuring multiple performers, against Amsterdam Dance Event, a large electronic music conference happening in the city that weekend. One of Europe's largest such gatherings, the annual event hosts raves across the city and attracts tens of thousands of tourists. But for many attendees at Straat's gig, it was a symbol of the city's gentrification and the mainstreaming of alternative culture.

Jelena van der Bilt, a 27-year-old photographer in the audience, said that she often witnessed young women and girls crying at Straat's concerts because they were moved by her lyrics. ''She's an Amsterdam person, and everybody knows where she comes from,'' she said. ''She's touched something.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/15/arts/music/sophie-straat-amsterdam.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/15/arts/music/sophie-straat-amsterdam.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Above, Sophie Straat's tattoo homage to De Pijp, a gentrifying area in Amsterdam. Top right: ''I saw the beauty in it,'' said Straat of smartlap, the tradition of folk music that inspires her. Right, ''I feel like my generation is longing for that kind of Amsterdam again,'' said the singer, performing at Garage Noord. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MELISSA SCHRIEK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page C5.

**Load-Date:** November 26, 2024

**End of Document**



[***‘Coach Walz’ Delivers a Last Round of Fiery Pep Talks***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DBJ-R6F1-JBG3-6258-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 4, 2024 Monday 00:24 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1305 words

**Byline:** Jazmine UlloaJazmine Ulloa is a national politics reporter for The Times, covering the 2024 presidential campaign. She is based in Washington.

**Highlight:** Gov. Tim Walz, the Democratic vice-presidential nominee, is making a last-minute appeal to white ***working-class*** men. But for all his talk of football, that bloc is far from a safe bet for his ticket.

**Body**

Gov. Tim Walz, the Democratic vice-presidential nominee, is making a last-minute appeal to white ***working-class*** men. But for all his talk of football, that bloc is far from a safe bet for his ticket.

In a packed music venue in Savannah, with polls showing Vice President Kamala Harris and former President Donald J. Trump in a dead heat in Georgia and beyond, the lights were dim and the room was focused.

Gov. Tim Walz leaned into the lectern and locked eyes with his audience.

“This thing is tied, and you know it,” [*he said*](https://www.youtube.com/live/5NsBRyZ9MyM?si=Js5V9mysWmw7AYzf&amp;t=1917) the other day, lifting both hands forward, fingers slightly spread. “Two minutes left on the clock.”

He paused, rubbed a thumb on his nose, and then shot his index fingers toward the crowd.

“The good news is we’ve got the damn ball,” he said to cheers. “We’re driving that thing down the field.”

Mr. Walz has kept up a frenetic pace in the last stretch of the race as he crisscrosses the country, giving closing arguments that evoke the final timeout on the sideline of a game from his days as a high school football coach. His pep talks, as he dubs them, have mixed urgency with optimism. Mr. Walz has simultaneously sought to cast Mr. Trump as a chaotic opponent interested only in his own statistics, and to convince his supporters that change in leadership is in their control — if they pull together as a team.

But everywhere he has traveled, the constituency he was entrusted to reach with his “Coach Walz” persona and his hunting gear — white ***working-class*** voters without a college degree — has seemed out of reach. In such a tight race, the Harris campaign needs only to shave off a small number of votes from that group to make a difference, but a New York Times/Siena College poll of the seven key battleground states on Sunday showed that Mr. Trump continued to hold a strong grip on that bloc.

In interviews with dozens of voters at Mr. Walz’s events and rallies over the past month, Democrats were asked if they were feeling the hope and joy infused in his stump speech. The responses were often the same.

A pause with a wrinkled brow. A sigh. A deep, long breath.

“I’ve been praying and praying a lot as the election has been getting closer,” Ajani de Roock, 19, a college student, said at a Saturday rally in Tucson, Ariz.

Four hours north, in Flagstaff, where Mr. Walz had spoken just hours before on a stage decked with marigolds and bales of hay, Cheryl Meilbeck, 59, a math professor at a community college, clutched a blue baseball cap embroidered with the words “Make Lying Wrong Again.”

She was feeling “hopeful but nervous,” she said. “I have felt sick for the last eight years, just absolutely sick,” she said, referring to Mr. Trump’s rise to power and transformation of the Republican Party.

Mr. Walz was feeling “nauseously optimistic,” he told a handful of students from Atlanta’s historically Black colleges and universities when he met with them Sunday morning in a hotel conference room. But with age, he said, he had learned the best way to soothe the nerves before a big moment was to stir into action.

The idea that on Wednesday morning, people could wake up with a “Madam President,” he added, “the optimism of that, it feels like the rain has kind of stopped and the sky opened up that sunshine — we get to do that.”

Never mind that, as he said that, the skies he glanced at outside the nearby windows were overcast and dreary.

When Ms. Harris selected Mr. Walz as her running mate[*,*](https://www.youtube.com/live/5NsBRyZ9MyM?si=Js5V9mysWmw7AYzf&amp;t=1917) he blazed onto the national stage with Midwestern charm, the little-known governor of Minnesota who sharpened the word “weird” into a signature attack on Republicans. He came across as a lovable dad or uncle who, as several voters put it, had not been lost to Mr. Trump’s MAGA movement.

On the trail, Mr. Walz quickly proved adept at connecting with people no matter the venue. He has appeared equally comfortable discussing hate crime legislation before L.G.B.T.Q. advocates in Washington, D.C., talking about climate issues with tribal leaders in Wisconsin, and learning about the apple dehydration process from orchard owners in Pennsylvania. Voters were more likely to say that Mr. Walz was honest, trustworthy and caring than they were to say the same about Mr. Trump’s running mate, Senator JD Vance of Ohio, according to September [*polls from The New York Times and Siena College*](https://www.youtube.com/live/5NsBRyZ9MyM?si=Js5V9mysWmw7AYzf&amp;t=1917).

But Mr. Vance drew more favorable views among men, many of whom continue to believe Mr. Trump is better for the economy, and whose anger and frustration Mr. Vance has been better able to tap into, pollsters said.

Early on in the campaign, Mr. Walz [*seldom talked to reporters*](https://www.youtube.com/live/5NsBRyZ9MyM?si=Js5V9mysWmw7AYzf&amp;t=1917) and wasn’t very accessible, leaving right-wing conservative media personalities to define him as a liberal governor who had enacted left-wing policies.

“That is not what the voters we are talking about have wanted to hear,” said Dennis Darnoi, a Republican strategist in Michigan, referring to ***working-class*** white men without a college degree.

Mr. Walz did not help his case with an uneven debate performance in October, or by telling inaccurate anecdotes, including that he had been in Hong Kong during the Tiananmen Square massacre 35 years ago, which [*he later acknowledged*](https://www.youtube.com/live/5NsBRyZ9MyM?si=Js5V9mysWmw7AYzf&amp;t=1917) was [*not true.*](https://www.youtube.com/live/5NsBRyZ9MyM?si=Js5V9mysWmw7AYzf&amp;t=1917)

Still, Mr. Walz’s supporters said they did not understand why the race remained so close so late in the game — not when Mr. Trump is a felon and has been [*escalating his violent, angry rhetoric.*](https://www.youtube.com/live/5NsBRyZ9MyM?si=Js5V9mysWmw7AYzf&amp;t=1917) Monica Whatley, 35, an immigration advocate who watched Mr. Walz speak at a rally in Columbus, Ga., said she believed the Democrats’ lack of traction was in part because they had been so divided. She said that even her own loyalty was being tested by her disappointment with the party’s handling of immigration policy.

Yet, she was heeding Mr. Walz’s calls to pull together in the face of what she saw as a more dangerous force: Mr. Trump. “I am going to try to unite and be a team player, but I am not happy about it,” she said.

In his final days on the campaign trail, Mr. Walz emerged from the bubble wrap armed with a stockpile of zingers and with his daughter, Hope, [*at his side*](https://www.youtube.com/live/5NsBRyZ9MyM?si=Js5V9mysWmw7AYzf&amp;t=1917). He has hit multiple cities a day, slapping backs with bar patrons and huddling with voters in buzzing coffee shops and union halls.

If Mr. Walz has not won over male voters handily, he still draws plenty of women and young people, who often wear what became one of the year’s [*most popular Democratic merch items*](https://www.youtube.com/live/5NsBRyZ9MyM?si=Js5V9mysWmw7AYzf&amp;t=1917), a camouflage cap emblazoned with the Harris-Walz logo in neon orange. Vivian Jones, 50, a real estate agent in Charlotte, N.C., said at a Walz event in Atlanta that she did not believe Mr. Walz’s positivity was enough to counter the falsehoods about Ms. Harris or the hostile ideas Mr. Trump was letting percolate online and in society, but that it was needed, nonetheless.

“I’m very nervous for me, my family, and just democracy altogether,” she said.

The chances of a vice-presidential candidate delivering a battleground state are remote. But running mates can make a difference in shaping how people perceive the candidate at the top of the ticket.

In this respect, Mr. Walz has been consistent, emphasizing Ms. Harris’s credentials, her life experience and the barrier-breaking potential of her candidacy, something she does [*not tend to mention herself*](https://www.youtube.com/live/5NsBRyZ9MyM?si=Js5V9mysWmw7AYzf&amp;t=1917).

“Kamala Harris has done everything we could ask of her,” he said, warming up canvassers preparing to knock on doors on Sunday in an Atlanta suburb. “Now it’s our turn to get her over the goal line.”

On a rally stage later that day, the coach-candidate clapped his hands and closed his speech with a booming shout: “Win it for America, Georgia, let’s go!”

PHOTO: Gov. Tim Walz last month in Scranton, Pa. The constituency he was entrusted to reach, white ***working-class*** voters without a college degree, has seemed out of reach. (PHOTOGRAPH BY RUTH FREMSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A19.

**Load-Date:** November 5, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Postmortems Are Bad at Predictions: Democrats May Just Need a ‘Change’ Election***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DP9-V743-S4RN-J3KR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 20, 2024 Friday 05:00 EST

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**Section:** UPSHOT

**Length:** 1339 words

**Byline:** Nate CohnNate Cohn is The Times&amp;#8217;s chief political analyst. He covers elections, public opinion, demographics and polling.

**Highlight:** An opening will probably emerge for Democrats in four years, but it may not be what the party and pundits expect today.

**Body**

An opening will probably emerge for Democrats in four years, but it may not be what the party and pundits expect today.

There’s a lot about politics that’s hard to predict, but there’s something you can count on every four years: One party loses a presidential election, and the recriminations begin.

Every four years, the post-election fight seems to play out the same way. Every move of the losing campaign is questioned and scrutinized. The party’s center blames the activists for alienating swing voters. The activists blame the center for failing to mobilize the base.

And no matter what, you’ll find each pundit concluding that the party’s way forward is to do exactly what that pundit has been arguing for all along.

While you might not guess it from my tone, these debates do matter. They shape the strategy of the next [*midterm campaign*](https://www.politico.com/story/2017/05/22/democrats-midterm-elections-238659), they can [*change the policies*](https://www.politico.com/story/2017/05/22/democrats-midterm-elections-238659) supported by elected officials, and they even influence how [*ordinary voters cast their ballots*](https://www.politico.com/story/2017/05/22/democrats-midterm-elections-238659) in future presidential primaries.

Still, there’s a reason you could probably tell my eyes roll at the prospect of most election postmortems. In hindsight, they don’t usually look great.

In fact, many look so bad that there may be more lessons for today’s Democrats in the failure of past postmortems than in any analysis of Kamala Harris’s campaign.

Let’s take a quick trip down memory lane.

After 2004, Democrats believed they had lost because of social issues and national security. George W. Bush had [*campaigned*](https://www.politico.com/story/2017/05/22/democrats-midterm-elections-238659) on a promise to keep America safe and ban same-sex marriage, while John Kerry was attacked as a flip-flopping Massachusetts liberal.

Democrats thought they needed to move to the center and appeal to rural conservatives. Instead, they nominated a liberal Black Democrat from Chicago — and won.

After 2012, Republicans thought they lost because of demographics. According to exit polls, Mitt Romney had fared better among white voters than any Republican since 1988, but he lost decisively anyway. The implication was that Republicans couldn’t win back the White House without reaching out to a new generation of young, Black, Hispanic and Asian voters, including by supporting immigration reform.

Instead, they nominated Donald J. Trump, who opposed immigration reform and alienated many of the same voters during his campaign — and won.

After 2016, Democrats were of two minds about their defeat. Progressives thought Democrats lost because of weak turnout. The party’s center pointed to Hillary Clinton’s personal unpopularity and defections from white ***working-class*** voters. In the end, Democrats nominated Joe Biden in hopes of winning them back. He won, but not by winning back white ***working-class*** Obama-Trump voters in Ohio or Iowa. Instead, he made his largest gains among white college graduates, a group that had already solidly backed Democrats in the prior election.

After 2020, many Republicans weren’t even willing to concede they lost, but those who did reckon with Mr. Trump’s defeat argued, of course, that the party needed someone very different from the person who lost the last election. Instead, Republicans nominated that person again — and won.

None of these post-election autopsies were necessarily wrong. Perhaps the losing parties really would have done better if they had followed the advice of the postmortems.

Still, they don’t look great in hindsight. They largely overstated the challenges facing the losing parties and failed to anticipate how they would win back power. Worse, the losing parties often won back the White House without following the prescriptions of the postmortems. Indeed, in these four examples, the losing party won back the White House in the very next election.

There are a lot of lessons in this surprisingly poor track record. The most obvious one: It may not be as bad as it looks for the losing party. This can be hard to recognize, as losing a presidential election can feel psychologically crushing. But whatever it felt like at the time, none of these elections were crushing electoral defeats: On average, the winning party prevailed by an average of just 2.2 points in the popular vote and in the key “tipping-point” state in these four close elections (2004, 2012, 2016, 2020).

There’s good news here for Democrats today. It may not feel like it, but this was still a close election: Ms. Harris lost by only 1.5 points in the national popular vote and 1.7 points in the tipping-point state, Pennsylvania, each slightly closer than the aforementioned 2.2-point average margin of defeat in 2004, 2012, 2016 and 2020.

A less obvious lesson: It’s hard to undo recent electoral trends. While the postmortems usually identify why a party lost, it doesn’t necessarily follow that the easiest way back to the White House is simply to win back the voters who seemed to decide the last election. In fact, it’s hard to find a great recent example of a party pulling it off.

Why is it so hard to undo recent shifts? Many electoral trends are driven by powerful forces. After all, it takes a lot for a voter to flip or a region to swing in a deeply polarized country, and as a consequence it may not be easy to lure them back in full. In a sense, it’s a little bit like a political breakup: Just as it’s not easy to get back together with your ex, political parties may find their best opportunities lie elsewhere.

This is probably not a lesson that Democrats want to hear today. They would undoubtedly prefer to win the 2028 election by reclaiming their pre-Trump advantage among ***working-class***, nonwhite and young voters, who are all core to the party’s self-image. While they might do so, recent history suggests it won’t be easy. Instead, many of the forces driving recent trends — like the rise of conservative populism and growing Democratic strength among college graduates — could make it even harder.

Finally, there’s the most important reason the autopsies haven’t panned out: the desire for change. The president’s party has retained the White House only once since 2004, mostly because voters have been unsatisfied with the state of the country for the last 20 years. No president has sustained high approval ratings since Mr. Bush, in the wake of Sept. 11.

As a result, losing parties haven’t needed to make brilliant changes to return to the White House, even though the postmortems almost always imply such changes are necessary. The implication is that the most important factors shaping the next election probably aren’t in the hands of the loser, whether it’s the state of the economy or the conduct of the party in power.

Looking even further back, the president’s party has won only 40 percent of presidential elections from 1968 to today. With that record, perhaps it’s the winning party that really faces the toughest question post-election: How do you build public support during an era of relatively slow growth, low trust in government and low satisfaction with the state of the country?

Here, the ball is in Mr. Trump’s court. If he and his approach are popular in four years, there might be little Democrats can do. Recent history suggests, however, that Democrats might well have an opening.

It’s too soon to say what form the opening will take. It may not be what the Democrats expect today. An economic recession brought by tariffs and deportations, for instance, might nudge Democrats down the road toward a progressive-minded [*neoliberalism*](https://www.politico.com/story/2017/05/22/democrats-midterm-elections-238659) that they would be loath to argue for today.

Whatever the case, a simple desire for change might be all Democrats need to return to the White House. Of course, they would need a theory of what’s wrong with America during their campaign, and one that contrasts with the vision of the party in power.

Whether it’s “Change We Can Believe In,” “Restore the Soul of America” or “Make America Great Again,” it may not be what postmortems have called for in the wake of this election.

But it might still do the trick anyway.

PHOTO: Change was a key message in 2008, and in most elections since. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Ozier Muhammad/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** December 20, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Donald Trump Will Do Nothing to Bring Back Our Dying American Dream***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DH0-JGN1-DXY4-X3MC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 25, 2024 Monday 18:39 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1021 words

**Byline:** Steven Rattner is a contributing Opinion writer and the chairman and chief executive of Willett Advisors. He was a counselor to the Treasury secretary in the Obama administration.

**Highlight:** Large negative movements in the finances of the young and the ***working class*** are going to make his second term much tougher sledding than his first.

**Body**

Donald Trump got lucky in his first term. When he arrived, inflation was low, unemployment was falling, and growth was steady. He applied a bit of juice via his large regressive tax cut, and the economy accelerated without triggering inflation. In retrospect, his term was a bit like a speeding car that got away with it.

This time, he may not be so fortunate.

On the surface, the economy is doing fine, much as it was before Mr. Trump’s first term. But underneath that shiny exterior lurk significant weaknesses, troubles that were well perceived by voters — if perhaps sometimes subconsciously — and played a major role in Kamala Harris’s defeat.

It’s becoming increasingly apparent that the fruits of the economy’s steady expansion are not reaching most Americans. A [*growing share*](https://ourworldindata.org/grapher/threshold-income-for-each-decile-after-tax-lis) of our overall prosperity continues to accrue to the wealthy and to corporate shareholders (as evidenced in part by the extraordinary [*upward march*](https://ourworldindata.org/grapher/threshold-income-for-each-decile-after-tax-lis) of stock prices).

On the other end: the young and people who didn’t attend college — including white ***working-class*** men who voted for Mr. Trump in large numbers. For many, the American dream increasingly feels like a mirage.

Start with people who didn’t attend college. While the median earning for all Americans has risen modestly (after adjusting for inflation) over the past 45 years, pay for men with only a high school education has [*fallen*](https://ourworldindata.org/grapher/threshold-income-for-each-decile-after-tax-lis) to $1,006 per week before Covid from $1,293 in 1979. A machinist went from [*earning*](https://ourworldindata.org/grapher/threshold-income-for-each-decile-after-tax-lis) roughly an average wage to an income less than 80 percent of a typical American’s. Some of these workers have been forced into lower-paying jobs or have never worked since the pandemic. Others have even ended up suffering [*deaths*](https://ourworldindata.org/grapher/threshold-income-for-each-decile-after-tax-lis) of despair such as suicides and overdoses.

I saw this firsthand during my service as head of President Barack Obama’s auto task force. Intense competition — not just from China but also from countries such as Mexico — both reduced the number of high-paying union jobs and kept wages throttled for the jobs that remained. Technology has also played a role.

Now let’s look at the young. The American dream, the concept that each generation should live better than the previous one, is slipping from their grasp.

Children born in 1940 had a [*92 percent*](https://ourworldindata.org/grapher/threshold-income-for-each-decile-after-tax-lis) chance of earning more than their parents did at 30 (after adjusting for inflation). Those hatched in 1980 had just a 50 percent chance.

Then there’s this: Millennials born between 1980 and 1984 had a [*lower probability*](https://ourworldindata.org/grapher/threshold-income-for-each-decile-after-tax-lis) of owning their own homes and a larger chance of being essentially bankrupt than baby boomers. By age 35, millennials born between 1980 and 1984 typically had 30 percent smaller net worths than their boomer counterparts, although the top 10 percent averaged 20 percent more wealth than the top 10 percent of boomers.

Overall, Americans’ satisfaction with the way things are going in the country [*plunged*](https://ourworldindata.org/grapher/threshold-income-for-each-decile-after-tax-lis) during the financial crisis and never recovered. The post-Covid inflation surge, which depressed purchasing power, dealt a further blow.

So it’s not hard to understand why many, disillusioned about the ability of traditional liberal policies to right their ship, were tempted by Mr. Trump’s braying populism. Now this has become his problem to solve — although the medicine he prescribed during his campaign will do little to address root causes and may even make things worse.

While inflation has moderated, prices remain higher than younger Americans can remember — and electing Mr. Trump will not return them to where they were.

By placing significant tariffs on imports, Mr. Trump is likely to increase prices even more. When prices rise further, Americans will be forced to buy less, reducing sales for vendors, causing them to slow hiring or reduce employee rolls. This is how tariffs cost our economy more jobs than they create or save.

Mass deportation of immigrants would quickly create labor shortages, particularly in critical areas like construction, farming and food production and health care. While that could theoretically cause wages to rise in the short run, it would also lead to higher costs in all these areas, cutting into economic growth and ultimately leaving many worse off.

Nor should we root for an extension of Mr. Trump’s signature Tax Cut and Jobs Act, which [*shoveled*](https://ourworldindata.org/grapher/threshold-income-for-each-decile-after-tax-lis) approximately 85 percent of its largess into the hands of corporations and those making over $75,000 a year.

And nothing good will come for the average American by rewarding self-interested plutocrats who are pushing him to pull back on a wide range of regulatory policies, from cryptocurrencies to government control of the housing finance giants Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac. For example, abandoning antitrust enforcement could allow anticompetitive mergers, resulting again in higher prices for consumers.

The new administration will probably turn its back on initiatives that could help, such as more education and more training. It’s also unlikely to embrace policies needed to cushion the blow felt by ***working-class*** Americans, including the Affordable Care Act, which [*brought health care to some 40 million*](https://ourworldindata.org/grapher/threshold-income-for-each-decile-after-tax-lis), many of them low income. And instead of Mr. Trump’s regressive tax plan, we need more progressive taxation (“redistribution” should not be a dirty word), to help those left behind. As a matter of fairness, wealthy Americans should be prepared to pay more.

Mr. Trump caught a lucky break in his first term, arriving in time to ride the wave of recovery begun by Mr. Obama. If Mr. Trump fails to raise living standards for those below the top tier, his second turn in the White House may well end badly, especially if he follows through on his counterproductive campaign promises.

Graphics by Aileen Clarke

Additional research by Kasey Chatterji-Len

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://ourworldindata.org/grapher/threshold-income-for-each-decile-after-tax-lis) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://ourworldindata.org/grapher/threshold-income-for-each-decile-after-tax-lis). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://ourworldindata.org/grapher/threshold-income-for-each-decile-after-tax-lis).

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Graphics by Aileen Clarke Additional research by Kasey Chatterji-Len

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Kyle Ellingson FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 26, 2024

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[***Trump’s Biggest Con: Pretending He’s on the Side of Working Men and Women; Paul Krugman***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D93-H0N1-JBG3-60MR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 28, 2024 Monday 12:31 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 933 words

**Byline:** Paul KrugmanPaul Krugman has been an Opinion columnist since 2000 and is also a distinguished professor at the City University of New York Graduate Center. He won the 2008 Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences for his work on international trade and economic geography.

**Highlight:** He’s even more antilabor and pro-plutocrat than orthodox Republicans.

**Body**

Donald Trump has always been a con man. As a businessman, he left behind a trail of investors who [*lost money*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/12/nyregion/donald-trump-atlantic-city.html) in failed ventures even as he profited, students who paid thousands for [*worthless courses*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/12/nyregion/donald-trump-atlantic-city.html), [*unpaid contractors*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/12/nyregion/donald-trump-atlantic-city.html) and [*more*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/12/nyregion/donald-trump-atlantic-city.html). Even amid his current presidential campaign he has been hawking overpriced gold [*sneakers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/12/nyregion/donald-trump-atlantic-city.html) and Trump Bibles [*printed in China*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/12/nyregion/donald-trump-atlantic-city.html).

But Trump’s biggest, potentially most consequential con has been political: portraying himself as a different kind of Republican, an ally of working Americans. This self-portrait has been successful so far, notably in gaining Trump significant support among ***working-class*** [*people of color*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/12/nyregion/donald-trump-atlantic-city.html) — although the [*carnival of racism*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/12/nyregion/donald-trump-atlantic-city.html) at his Sunday rally at Madison Square Garden in New York, in which a comedian opened the event by describing Puerto Rico as an “island of garbage” and made a watermelon joke in reference to a Black man, may dent that support in the campaign’s closing days.

The truth is that to the extent that Trump’s policy plans — or, in some cases, [*concepts of plans*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/12/nyregion/donald-trump-atlantic-city.html) — differ from G.O.P. orthodoxy, it’s because they are even more antilabor and pro-plutocrat than his party’s previous norm.

Background: Since the 1970s our two main political parties have diverged sharply on economic ideology. In general, Democrats favor higher taxes on the rich and a stronger social safety net; Republicans favor lower taxes on corporations and the wealthy paid for in part by cutting social programs.

Kamala Harris is, in this sense, a normal Democrat, calling for [*tax hikes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/12/nyregion/donald-trump-atlantic-city.html) that would primarily affect high-income Americans while expanding tax credits for families with children; she has also proposed expanding Medicare to cover [*home health care*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/12/nyregion/donald-trump-atlantic-city.html) for seniors, which would be a big deal for millions of families.

An aside: I really don’t understand people who claim that Harris hasn’t supplied enough policy detail. All I can think is that they’re looking for something to complain about so they can sound evenhanded.

Has Trump deviated from Republican norms? While he was president, not really. His [*2017 tax cut*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/12/nyregion/donald-trump-atlantic-city.html) strongly favored high-income Americans. Now he wants to make that tax cut, many of whose provisions will expire in 2025, permanent. He has also floated the idea of a [*further large cut*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/12/nyregion/donald-trump-atlantic-city.html) in corporate taxes (much of which could, by the way, ultimately benefit [*foreign investors*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/12/nyregion/donald-trump-atlantic-city.html)).

As president, Trump tried to push through deep cuts in [*Medicaid*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/12/nyregion/donald-trump-atlantic-city.html), although he didn’t succeed. And while he says that he won’t cut Social Security and Medicare, his policy proposals would [*undermine*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/12/nyregion/donald-trump-atlantic-city.html) these programs’ financial foundations.

Trump has also made some tax proposals that may sound pro-worker but aren’t, such as [*ending taxes on tips*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/12/nyregion/donald-trump-atlantic-city.html); many tipped workers don’t make enough to pay income taxes, and those who do are mostly in a low tax bracket.

If Trump has broken with standard G.O.P. economic policy, he has done so by intensifying efforts to redistribute income upward. For he is proposing higher taxes on the ***working class*** in the form of a large national sales tax — which is essentially what his [*tariffs*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/12/nyregion/donald-trump-atlantic-city.html) would be. And this tax would be [*highly regressive*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/12/nyregion/donald-trump-atlantic-city.html) — a large burden on middle- and lower-income families, a trivial hit to the 1 percent.

If you put reasonable estimates of the effects of the Harris and Trump tax plans on the [*same chart*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/12/nyregion/donald-trump-atlantic-city.html), they’re more or less mirror images. Trump would raise taxes on most Americans, with only the top few percent coming out ahead; Harris would do the reverse.

So, no, Trump isn’t a friend to ***working-class*** Americans; quite the opposite. Why, then, do millions of people believe otherwise?

Some of it probably reflects racial tension: White men [*without college degrees*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/12/nyregion/donald-trump-atlantic-city.html) have lost ground relative to other groups since 1980, and some of them, alas, surely feel an affinity for the racism and misogyny we saw at Madison Square Garden. But as I said, some Latino and Black Americans also appear to have bought into Trump’s spiel. Why?

Well, Americans correctly remember Trump’s prepandemic economy as an era of strong job growth and rising wages — largely, I’d argue, because Republicans in Congress [*opened the fiscal spigots*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/12/nyregion/donald-trump-atlantic-city.html) after austerity during the Obama years slowed recovery from the 2008 financial crisis. Many also implicitly discount or memory-hole the [*high unemployment*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/12/nyregion/donald-trump-atlantic-city.html) of Trump’s final year in office. And they’re still frustrated about higher prices, the consequence of the inflation surge of 2021-22 — even though this surge was a [*global pandemic phenomenon*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/12/nyregion/donald-trump-atlantic-city.html), and wages adjusted for inflation are now [*higher*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/12/nyregion/donald-trump-atlantic-city.html) than they were right before the Covid-19 pandemic.

What relatively few people realize, I believe, is that if he wins next week, Trump’s anti-worker agenda will be much broader than anything he managed to do in 2017-21. Back then, he raised average tariffs on Chinese goods by about [*20 percentage points*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/12/nyregion/donald-trump-atlantic-city.html), but China accounts for only [*about 15 percent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/12/nyregion/donald-trump-atlantic-city.html) of U.S. imports; now he’s talking about imposing [*similar tariffs*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/12/nyregion/donald-trump-atlantic-city.html) across the board, and 60 percent on imports from China. Overall, we’re talking about a sales tax roughly [*10 times as large*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/12/nyregion/donald-trump-atlantic-city.html) as his last venture.

Trump, then, is anything but pro-***working-class*** Americans. If many believe otherwise, well, they aren’t the first victims of his lifelong career as a con man.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/12/nyregion/donald-trump-atlantic-city.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/12/nyregion/donald-trump-atlantic-city.html). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/12/nyregion/donald-trump-atlantic-city.html).

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[***We Wanted a ‘Grand New Party.’ Trump Delivered.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DGB-MY61-JBG3-632W-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 8690 words

**Byline:** Ross DouthatRoss Douthat has been an Opinion columnist for The Times since 2009. He is the author, most recently, of &amp;#8220;The Deep Places: A Memoir of Illness and Discovery.&amp;#8221;

**Highlight:** Ross Douthat and Reihan Salam had a vision for how Republicans could reclaim the ***working class***. They never expected Trump to fulfill it.

**Body**

On this episode of “Matter of Opinion,” Ross Douthat is joined by his good friend Reihan Salam, a former housemate and co-author and the president of the Manhattan Institute. As young conservatives, the two teamed up in the waning days of the George W. Bush era to write “[*Grand New Party: How Republicans Can Win the* ***Working Class*** *and Save the American Dream*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/42417/grand-new-party-by-ross-douthat-and-reihan-salam/).”

After Donald Trump’s second election victory, the two look back at their prescriptions and debate what they got right and wrong about building a durable Republican majority.

Below is a lightly edited transcript of their conversation. To watch the full episode, click the play button on the video above. To listen to this episode, click the play button below.

Ross Douthat: The second election of Donald Trump didn’t just win a majority for Trump himself. It also solidified a remarkable transformation in the Republican Party, which has gone from being a party associated with the wealthy and the white suburban upper middle class to being a party that represents a much more diverse coalition — more blue collar, with fewer college-educated voters and, in this election, with a much more multiracial coalition as well.

That’s quite a shift, and it’s quite remarkable that Trump himself would be the one to accomplish it. So to map out the recent history that brought us to this moment and some of the arguments that Republicans and conservatives have been having about their changing coalition, I’ve brought on a very special guest.

Nowadays, Reihan Salam is best known as the distinguished president of the storied right-of-center think tank the Manhattan Institute for Policy Research. But I knew Reihan once upon a time as my fellow, somewhat disheveled junior varsity pundit in Washington, D.C., where we shared a somewhat shabby rowhouse somewhere in the northwestern part of the city. I won’t say exactly where to protect both the innocent and the guilty.

And where we were both deeply involved in arguments about where the Republican Party was going to go, late in the presidency of George W. Bush. That led eventually to the publication of our jointly written book, “[*Grand New Party: How Republicans Can Win the* ***Working Class*** *and Save the American Dream*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/42417/grand-new-party-by-ross-douthat-and-reihan-salam/)” — an argument that is now almost 20 years old but, in the things that got right and the things that got wrong, still, I think, has some relevance for debates about the future of conservatism.

So I’m really glad that I was able to pry Reihan away from his immense responsibilities and have him join me today. Reihan, good to see you.

Reihan Salam: I am honored and delighted to be with you, Ross.

Douthat: Are you? Are you honored and delighted?

Salam: I am both firmly, vigorously, and also, it is funny and sad that we, as middle-aged dads, only get to hang out when we’re on a podcast together.

Douthat: I know. We were talking about this beforehand, that this is the life of the middle-aged pundit dad. As you say, “We haven’t seen each other in a while. Would you like to come on a New York Times podcast with me?”

Salam: Although, I’m struck by the fact that we have spoken to one another every fateful political moment of the 21st century. And I know that when I’m watching these election results unfold after midnight, Ross Douthat is going to be awake and we’re going to talk and we’re going to think about it in real time, and that is a very precious gift.

Douthat: That’s right. That’s how the magic happens. Me, sitting in a food-spattered kitchen — spattered by myself, to make it clear.

Salam: To be clear.

Douthat: I don’t want to blame my wife and children for the food spattering. So let’s go back in time.

Salam: Yes.

Douthat: We met in the early 2000s in Washington, D.C.

Salam: Really met then.

Douthat: We really met then. No, technically, we met as undergraduates at a panel held at the Harvard Institute of Politics that featured Bill Kristol during the George W. Bush presidency. So at that point, you were doing a lot of theater as a Harvard undergraduate, I believe.

Salam: That’s right.

Douthat: And I was running the conservative newspaper. So we didn’t have a lot in common except that you were, you know, interested in hearing Bill Kristol speak.

Salam: Except that our paths converged. And I think that one thing is that we both came to conservatism through a kind of winding path. Just the fact that you came from this crunchy Christian world, having boomer parents, growing up in this secular milieu. I came to it as a son of immigrants, growing up in an outer borough of New York that had been transformed by Rudy Giuliani and coming to conservatism from different angles, but both being at an angle to movement conservatism. And I think that’s something we bonded over early on.

Douthat: Yeah, and as I remember it, we were also like young journalists everywhere, trying to make some kind of a name for ourselves. And we were working and writing at a time when almost all writing and arguing being done in Washington, D.C., was about foreign policy.

This was the period after Sept. 11, after the invasion of Iraq. I was working as a very junior editor for The Atlantic, and essentially, foreign policy had subsumed almost all conversation and debate in Washington, D.C., at that time — certainly on the political right, where there was, obviously, a sort of rally around George W. Bush’s foreign policy. And then that foreign policy sort of soured as the Iraq war ran into difficulties.

And I think we — maybe not completely consciously and deliberately — were trying to carve out a somewhat different niche by looking for a set of issues that fewer people were writing about in 2005 or 2006. So we ended up converging, in effect, as writers trying to think through domestic policy, which, again, in that period was an extremely unsexy portfolio for a couple of young writers to have.

Salam: Indeed.

Douthat: Totally different now, of course, when domestic policy is very hot.

Salam: So one element of this is: I think that our views on domestic policy were also a little idiosyncratic. You, I think, were drawn to Christian democratic ideas and the idea that there was a place for a religious conservative synthesis that was modern and where there was a kind of thoughtful policy dimension that was not reflexively free market but that took the idea of tradition seriously and what it means to modernize a tradition.

For me, I was someone who was very market oriented but also someone who was really interested in the idea of emerging critiques of 1990s capitalism and what we should take seriously and what we should not.

And we were also in some ways reacting to interesting intellectual energies on the left. The kind of inequality obsession that really peaked during the Occupy era was something that you and I experienced as undergrads and had been around.

These ideas were already in kind of wider currency. So it really was a very dynamic and fun intellectual partnership because we were obsessing over a lot of the same things for very different reasons.

Douthat: And it was coming at this moment when — to try to put it in historical perspective — you had a Republican Party that had not been completely dominant but very powerful in American politics, with a coalition built in the 1970s and early 1980s by Ronald Reagan. That was in part a kind of reaction against Great Society liberalism and a sense of the failures of liberalism in the 1970s, which included galloping inflation, rising crime rates and a sense of foreign policy weakness.

And so out of that, you had this Republican Party that was organized famously around some combination of social and religious conservatism, foreign policy hawkishness and free-market economics.

Salam: The three stools, as they often said at the time.

Douthat: Right. The three-legged stool.

Salam: Right. No, no, the three-legged stool. [Laughs.] Not three separate stools.

Douthat: But that is a serendipitous mixed metaphor because by the time we were young and writing, it seemed those different pieces maybe didn’t necessarily fit together quite as well. There was a sense that the country was secularizing and becoming more socially liberal.

Salam: Yes.

Douthat: So social conservatism had to adapt and rethink things. And then, as you mentioned, there was this very strong not just left-wing but also center-left critique of where the American economy was going, and George W. Bush, when he was elected president in 2000, very explicitly tried to address these changes.

This was where the idea, now 25 years old, of so-called compassionate conservatism came in.

Salam: Yes, and the ownership society.

Douthat: Right. The ownership society is the idea that you were going to essentially use different government policies and levers to build a society of independent, stock-owning, home-owning entrepreneurs.

And a lot of that concept came to grief with the financial crisis, the real estate bubble bursting and so on.

But in some ways, we were trying to pick up where compassionate conservatism had left off, figure out what it had gotten wrong and figure out: What would a Republican Party that wasn’t just doing tax cuts for the rich be interested in?

Salam: What if we actually took these ideas seriously and had the right intellectual formation and foundation for them? I think that’s exactly right. In the second term of the George W. Bush presidency, there was this line of argument of call it Mainstream Conservative Inc.

That was essentially saying: The real failure here is that George W. Bush was not sufficiently rigorous in his adherence to small-government orthodoxy. The real problem was his Medicare expansion, etc., etc.

But there was no one actually defending the idea that, look, you actually have to have a credible, serious approach to the welfare state. And this was the disconnect that we had observed, and part of what we wanted to do was — we were not, as I recall, people who were statists by reflex or anything like that.

It was just: Guys, we need some modicum of realism about how this coalition won and where this coalition has room to grow and also some realism about the American political economy and the fact that the welfare state is not going to go away. Can it actually rest on a more solid moral, normative foundation and also be something that makes sense, given the ways in which the economy is changing?

So I think we were filling in this missing quadrant because there was actually no one willing to defend the proposition that we need to modernize a market-oriented conservatism and social conservatives have a really important role to play here, if only they would seize it.

Douthat: Right. And we were framing it also in terms of electoral politics. So the subtitle of [*the book we wrote*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/42417/grand-new-party-by-ross-douthat-and-reihan-salam/) referenced the idea of Republicans winning the ***working class***, meaning, in our definition, non-college-educated Americans of all races and ethnicities. And part of our argument was that there had been, after the 1970s, an unfinished realignment in American politics where a large group of non-college-educated voters had shifted from the Democratic coalition to the Republican coalition.

These were the voters who got described as Reagan Democrats once upon a time. But Republicans, because of their inability to quite figure out how to actually run the government, had not been able to fully cement that realignment.

And from that, that was where you got basically the policy agenda that we tried to sketch out in the book.

Salam: And Ross, I will just note for our listeners that we had a bunch of wacky ideas regarding who could be the tribune of this coalition. I hate to embarrass you with this, but we talked about: Who is a blue-collar populist who represents something outside of conventional politics? Who is someone who is a celebrity? Who is someone who could actually break the stranglehold of what we saw as a kind of cosseted political establishment?

So we talked about Bill O’Reilly, a Long Islander who was upper middle class but with a blue-collar ethos.

We had a bunch of different names, and one of my favorite pieces from the Ross-Reihan collabs of that era was in 2007 — something that must have been painful for you, but we wrote our [*manifesto for what a Giuliani presidential bid could look like*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/42417/grand-new-party-by-ross-douthat-and-reihan-salam/). Painful just because you were obviously an ardent pro-lifer and this is something that was very important for you.

But we came up with, I think, an extremely compelling vision for what a future Trump presidential candidacy could look like, in describing something that would resonate with the ***working class***, lower middle class, the outer-borough ethnics of America. So, obviously, this was very special to me for biographical reasons.

But then we already had in mind that there has to be this class break. There has to be this cultural break — the Ross Perot voters, the Northern secularizing ***working class***, the multiracial ***working class*** who bring it in. And we were actively fantasizing like lunatics about who is the person who could actually break that and change that.

Douthat: Right. But before our fantasies, let’s say, collided with reality, there was this period when, I would say, our ideas were completely rejected, which was 2008 to 2012.

Salam: A “20??” [Laughs.]

Douthat: Right. I mean, the period in which our ideas are rejected may extend indefinitely into the future, but there was a special rejection when we wrote this book. It came out at the very end of George W. Bush’s presidency, when the financial crisis hit and Barack Obama was elected president. And the mood in the Republican Party picked up on the mood you’ve already described, right?

This sense that the only problem with George W. Bush was that he spent too much money, that he was a big-government conservative. And the Republican Party ran with that. And this gave us the Tea Party era.

Salam: Yup.

Douthat: Which was effectively a limited-government, anti-deficit movement reacting against bailouts, stimulus spending, eventually Obamacare, and that, I would say, set the tone for Republican debates in a way that didn’t preclude some ideas we were interested in.

We both have issues where we have libertarian impulses and sympathies, but the general mood of the Republican Party for the four years after 2008 was: We don’t need to think about how to run the government. We just need to stand against socialism and figure out how to cut spending.

Salam: And I think what happened in the Tea Party moment is that people saw discontent, they saw opposition to Obama, they saw a weak economy and they saw this grass-roots energy. And the narrative about the Tea Party was this small-government thing, and I think you and I both saw that’s not really what’s going on here. There’s something else happening. There’s a different kind of discontent, and these guys are missing it. And I think that the “Grand New Party” thesis was closer to being correct than the Tea Party thesis.

Douthat: Right. And without getting too deep into the policy weeds, the specific ideas that we associated with and argued for in the book — and have in different ways argued for since — fit into the idea that the welfare state has to be based on respect, reciprocity and support for certain valuable habits and ways of life, right?

Salam: Yes.

Douthat: So we spent a lot of time arguing for family support that would make it easier to have and rear children — again, with an explicit link between some form of responsibility and whatever way the government was spending money, right?

And that, to us, was the sort of middle ground. And I think, pretty clearly, the more stringent “we’re just going to cut government spending” model came to grief in 2012.

Mitt Romney and Paul Ryan ran on a very well-intentioned and serious blueprint for remaking Medicare and Social Security. But I think it’s fair to say they had no positive vision of what the government policy and public policy could be doing to help working Americans in that particular moment.

Salam: The Bush-era positive vision had been discredited, fairly or otherwise. But what was interesting in that moment is: Had there been a Romney-Ryan administration, I think it’s fair to say that we would have known a ton of people in it. We would have maybe even had some modicum of influence. They were open to some of these things, but they were so risk averse. They were walking on eggshells. They didn’t really seize the main chance. You know what I mean?

Douthat: Well, this is sort of comical, given what happened next, but they were afraid that if they supported anything that seemed too much like big government, then they would be attacked as socialists, RINOs and so on. And none other than Rush Limbaugh attacked us.

Salam: Right, right.

Douthat: We were not important enough to be consistently attacked. But we were attacked by people in the talk radio sphere of conservatism for selling out conservative principles by being willing to contemplate the government doing certain things. And that’s amusing because of what followed four years later.

Salam: And what happened to that entire world of people who notionally were committed to this really hard-core libertarian, small-state vision? Suddenly some of those people are the ones who flipped most aggressively to this very different vision.

Douthat: Right. But first you had this brief opening for Republican politicians who, again, wanted to go back to where George W. Bush started. To say: Look, we need a middle-class, ***working-class*** policy agenda. We need to look at family policy. We need to look at health care. We need to look at education.

And there was sort of a larger group of policy writers to which we were somewhat attached that got called the reform conservatives or the reformicons.

Salam: I remember it well.

Douthat: We’re really giving listeners the truly deep cuts. But I think pretty clearly there was a narrative that said: OK, these guys, the reform conservatives, they’re going to have influence on the next Republican administration, which will probably be led by someone like Jeb Bush or Marco Rubio, who will modernize the Republican Party in various ways and will be a kind of Republican equivalent of Bill Clinton in the 1990s. Something like that.

But that story was then completely steamrolled and shattered and everything else by what happened next, which was —

Salam: The rise of Donald J. Trump

Douthat: Right. As the actual embodiment of the blue-collar populist tendency that we had been describing. Or was he?

Salam: And of course we would think this, but we anticipated someone very much like him when you look to “Grand New Party” itself, but certainly when you look at our conversations around that time —

Douthat: But we didn’t. We didn’t anticipate him. Let’s be fair to our own limited foresight.

Salam: Absolutely not. No, no, no, absolutely not. So here’s what I’ll say about that reform conservative moment. I think you and I both, just as lovers of history, saw that it’s never going to be just tax credits, right? It’s never going to be just pure unadulterated wonkery. [Douthat laughs.] Narrative is really important, and also just blood and guts are important. And by that, I mean public safety, crime — these are things that we wrote about in “Grand New Party” — the idea of: Do you feel safe? Do you belong?’

Donald Trump, the first thing that Donald Trump did was talk about immigration in a way that was markedly different from how Jeb Bush talked about immigration, markedly different from the thesis that a lot of people in that kind of respectability-seeking moment have. And I don’t say that derisively.

The big thing that he did wasn’t his specific policy prescriptions about building the wall and what have you. I don’t think it was exactly that. It was rather directional. Jeb Bush gave people a sense, fairly or otherwise, that he cherished immigrants. He was married to an immigrant, and he valued them. He saw them as really so central to the American story.

But a multigenerational, blue-collar, ***working-class*** American, maybe whose life has been a little bit chaotic at the edges, isn’t the hero of that story. And I think that Donald Trump made an argument — he did something that was so shattering, but it was basically a directional argument that we decide that we’re going to put Americans first. It’s something that you could plainly see in the politics of the right for the previous decade and a half.

So anti-immigrant and anti-immigration sentiment, restrictionist sentiment in various guises, had been a really powerful current in Republican politics. And every now and again, there was a flash in the pan, there was someone who had run on this but would never penetrate or would never break through.

And Trump is someone who was able to really capitalize on it. And again, I don’t actually think it was necessarily about the policy specifics, but it was: I am listening to you. I am listening to you, and this immigration issue is a synecdoche for a ton of other issues where there are people who are not listening to you. They are not respecting you. They are not taking your concerns here seriously. And I will.

And I think that was hugely powerful, and of course, it applied in a bunch of other domains, too, with regard to trade, with regard to China and the threat that it poses — the idea of an elite that is selling out our country. Those themes were there. It was visible, and Obama was the one who capitalized them in 2012, ambivalently.

So that was, to me, what was so fascinating.

Douthat: You mean by going after Romney’s corporate raiding and outsourcing?

Salam: Exactly.

Douthat: Right. No, there was some sort of proto-Trumpism in the way that Obama ran against Romney as an embodiment of borderless, anti-patriotic capitalism.

Salam: The Obama-to-Trump voters didn’t change. It’s the coalitions that changed around them.

Douthat: But to me, that power that Trump had was substantially different from the vision that we were offering. If you go back, it was in the end just a much more powerful story. We thought we had this story about “Here’s how the government can stand up for people who work, people who raise families,” all of these things.

I think there was potency in that story, and it would’ve helped Rudy Giuliani in 2012, and it would’ve helped Marco Rubio in 2016, but Trump just blew it up bigger in the way that you describe. He folded in the entire post-1991 globalization push. He folded in the outsourcing of U.S. jobs to China.

Salam: And the ethnic and demographic transformation of the country.

Douthat: Right.

Salam: And against a backdrop of collapsing birthrates and this deep intergenerational tension that stems from that — he put it together.

Douthat: Right. He put it together, but did so in a way that — certainly from my perspective in 2016 — was often malignant. I think I [*wrote a column*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/42417/grand-new-party-by-ross-douthat-and-reihan-salam/) at that time describing Trumpism as a kind of dark mirror universe version of “Grand New Party.” Where he was making a pitch to the kind of voters we wanted the Republican Party to make a pitch to, but it wasn’t just more sweeping. It was more demagogic, and there was this strong white-identity-politics component that liberal critics were not wrong to see in it.

Now, I think there was always an underestimation — not everywhere on the left but among many liberals — of how important economics was to Trump’s appeal. He was literally flying around the country, going to cities where factories had closed and where jobs had gone overseas and saying: I will bring back the good times.

You can’t write that out of the 2016 story. But in the end, what he did electorally was not in that election to build the pan-ethnic ***working-class*** Republican Party. He boosted the Republican share of white ***working-class*** voters beyond what the Romney campaign had imagined.

Salam: In the right competitive states, yes.

Douthat: In the right competitive states. He flipped the Midwest, but he won more electorally important votes, and he won the election without a popular vote majority. But I think it was reasonable to look in that moment from our perspective and say: OK, Trump did a version of what we urged on the Republican Party, but there was both something clearly toxic about the way he did it, and it didn’t build a new majority.

Donald Trump didn’t come into office in 2016 with majority support. He didn’t complete the realignment; he just boosted a particular part of the ***working-class*** share of the G.O.P. coalition. What do you think?

Salam: No, that all sounds exactly right. This was a very strange moment for both of us because, first of all, in “Grand New Party” we literally were saying: Look, if you do not embrace our path, there will be a demagogue who will capitalize on this discontent, on this rupture between call it the conservative elite and the small c conservative majority or what we saw as an incipient, potential conservative majority.

We were both, in different ways, wrestling with questions of ethnic change and immigration. I look back at the things I was writing in the second Obama term, and it’s just crazy. I mean, not to pat ourselves on the back, but things that have now become total clichés — like, just getting savagely attacked for saying: Hispanics do not care about amnesty; this is not the issue. Just talking about the idea that there is a more balanced, sane approach to immigration that can build a kind of multiethnic, ***working-class***, conservative majority.

Douthat: Right. Just to clarify our own perspective, we were immigration hawks relative to George W. Bush and John McCain. Our view was that securing the border and having some kind of skills-based immigration policy that limited low-skilled immigration was the policy sweet spot, the place where you could have substantial immigration but not at a rate that was too disruptive. But also something that, as you just said, would appeal more to Hispanic voters and to a lot of the descendants of recent immigrants than just saying, “Oh, we’re going to legalize everyone who’s here and” — not open the border, because the open borders moment had not yet arrived on the political left.

But at the very least, the conventional wisdom was that the Republican Party had to move substantially to the left on immigration.

Salam: Exactly. An argument was that a frank emphasis on the importance of assimilation and the idea that immigration policy should be in the national interest, that there was such a thing as too fast or too many and that actually, it was legitimate and not racist.

And then to see Trump in this moment, it almost felt like: Oh, my gosh, there’s going to be a backlash. He’s going to talk about immigration in this way that is inciting, and it’s going to be something that will jeopardize the formula, the coalition that we had hoped to see.

You know, we had a scheme, we had a plan for what it was going to look like, and then it actually happened this much more chaotic way.

Douthat: Right. Our plan was Marco Rubio, let’s say, or someone like him reinventing himself as a kind of moderate restrictionist on immigration while having a more middle-class-friendly agenda than Mitt Romney, and winning a multiethnic, blue-collar majority on that basis.

Instead, we had Trump winning a minority of the popular vote kind of president, making much darker, more sweeping and, again, in my view, more toxic appeals. But this is my core question: How did we get from there to here? Because in 2024, as I said at the outset, the Republican coalition looks like — not completely — but it looks like the coalition we imagined 20 years ago.

But guess what? It was Donald Trump who did it. So how?

Salam: There are two phases. One is during the first Trump presidency, you saw these dramatic gains in urban counties. You saw really material gains among Hispanic voters between 2016 and 2020, and that was in the thick of the Covid crisis.

That was in a moment when, as many of our listeners will recall, our senses were being assaulted at all times. So many things that radicalized people that we know, people who had been, call it respectability-seeking conservatives, were ambivalent about Trump. And when they actually turned, when they embraced him — the Brett Kavanaugh hearings, when you think about the kind of early stages of woke discourse — there are a lot of things that happened there, where you saw this kind of diaspora of folks on the broad center-right going in really different directions, depending on what it is that animated the most.

Trump was someone who galvanized this. I think that that’s important to remember, that there was something that happened during that first presidency.

Douthat: But this is my question about that galvanizing effect, which is: Was it purely negative?

In the sense that you could make a case that what happened in Trump’s presidency, especially at the end — and, to some extent, in Biden’s presidency but really in that sort of pre-Covid and Covid window — was that liberalism and the left kind of recreated some of the crises, in miniature, from the 1970s that had made the Reagan coalition possible in the first place.

After the killing of George Floyd, you had riots and sort of a retreat from urban policing.

Salam: Yes.

Douthat: A spike in crime, so crime came back. You had, in the beginning of the Biden administration, an unwise stimulus package and recovery bill that goosed inflation and brought inflation back, which hadn’t been around since the late 1970s and early 1980s.

And then you had, without litigating all the details, in woke progressivism a form of cultural radicalism that looked a bit like the cultural radicalism of the 1970s.

Salam: Yes.

Douthat: So you could tell a story where basically everything we were saying in the Bush presidency was premised on the idea that the 1970s weren’t coming back and the Republican Party therefore needed this forward-looking agenda.

But maybe what happened in Trump’s presidency was that briefly the 1970s did come back.

Salam: Yeah.

Douthat: And so the Republican coalition could expand to include blue-collar Hispanics and all of these extra voters without having some dramatic shift in agenda of the kind we’d imagined. What do you think?

Salam: That’s one reason I stress these two different periods from the first Trump presidency and then the Biden presidency.

So, big picture, when you say “negative,” I do think the first Trump presidency, the real thing that happened was this galvanizing, this coalescing, this transformation of the left that happened.

This sense of cohesion, just cultural power, cultural institutions, prestige, status. The idea of affluent, educated but also just high-status, high-prestige people exerting this incredible power. And the sense that many people have that Trump was the one thing standing against that.

So I think that that was one foundation of it. Then you see a Biden presidency, where I think there was this view that we are in the midst of a kind of democratic emergency. This legitimates real dramatic change.

We need to question neoliberalism. We need to dismantle systems. We need to do something really new and different.

You know, in 2020, my gosh, when you look at the state of the Trump presidency in that moment, I don’t think anyone would argue — including those who see a lot of virtue in that presidency, as I do — I think they got some big, important things right, but it was pretty chaotic in 2020, right?

And then despite that, the massive gains that he made in that election against this whole of society effort —

Douthat: Well, he didn’t make massive gains relative to 2016. He made massive gains with a certain set of voters, again, minority voters, for instance, while losing voters in the suburbs, losing pieces of the white ***working-class*** vote.

Salam: Right. It’s a good point.

Douthat: So he essentially did a trade-off —

Salam: A less efficient coalition but a coalition that, in a sense, as you’re saying, reflected the outlines of what you and I had envisioned in the past

Of course, there are people who are determined, bitter-ender Never Trumpers who are gone from the coalition. But then the number of people that you and I both know — call them center-right normies who are alarmed in some respects by the Trump phenomenon — who found their way back into the coalition as a reaction to that kind of integrated progressive apparatus.

And the question now is the question that you and I have been struggling with and thinking through and passionate about for this century, which is: Is there some positive case here? Is there something that is dynamic and real and substantive that can fill this vacuum?

Are we something other than merely being anti-left? Do we really want the left to be the only dynamic force? Or do we want there to be another dynamic force? And what we envision in “Grand New Party” was the right as a culturally creative dynamic force that was offering this moral, ethical synthesis that actually made sense and that you could kind of champion and carry forward.

And I don’t know if we have.

Douthat: But centrally that had some very specific economic policies. Policies for how the government taxes and spends and regulates, right? That we’re supposed to be not just winning ***working-class*** votes but building a more prosperous middle-class American future.

And so let’s look back at the first Trump presidency and then forward to the new Trump presidency to ask: Were there in the first few years of the Trump presidency something that looked like a forward-looking economic policy agenda for middle-class America?

Do you think?

Salam: This is an area where I suspect you and I have some subtle differences of perspective.

I guess I’m a big trade-off obsessive and just the idea that when you have a package deal, this thing has to fit with this thing.

So, for example, you could say, “I want to have no immigration or very little immigration or radically reduced immigration” but also “I’m going to embrace trade.”

And I’m going to say, “OK, that means that we’re going to import more strawberries” or this or that, things that are low-scale labor-intensive goods. That’s one formula.

Or you could say you were going to have a selective immigration policy and we’re going to embrace trade. I think that there are a lot of things about that Trump moment because you had all these outsiders who were coming in and they had conflicting imperatives.

There were some people who came in and were like: Let’s hope that Trump just isn’t serious about his trade agenda or about the idea of making a radical break with Romney-Ryanism. Let’s just kind of see if we can be chill and just hope everything’s going to be fine. And it’s largely rhetorical.

Then there were other people who were real post-neoliberals, anti-neoliberals who didn’t have cadres. They were trying to coexist with one another in this White House where it was, you know, one voice was dominant one day. You know, Steve Bannon had one perspective, and Steve Moore had a different perspective.

Douthat: Right. That’s a good way to distill it, right?

Steve Moore, for those who don’t know, is a long-term sort of right-wing supply-side economist who just wants to cut taxes. And cutting taxes is the solution to all of life’s problems. That’s slightly unfair but only slightly.

Steve Bannon, on the other hand, when he initially came into the first Trump administration said: We’re going to do a kind of right-wing New Deal. We’re going to spend a ton of money on infrastructure, and we’re going to rebuild the American ***working class*** that way.

And one way to look at the first four years of Trump is that Moore got what he wanted and Bannon didn’t. Infrastructure Week became a joke.

Salam: Right.

Douthat: Trump did cut taxes in a way that included some family-friendly provisions, included some ideas that you and I supported, but was still a fairly conventional Republican tax cut.

And in a way, the Trump innovation was just to say: We’re just going to run the economy hot. We’re not going to worry about entitlement spending or anything like that, and we’re going to raise wages with a hot economy, and that’ll be it.

Salem: That’s the real innovation, which is that Trump recognized that taking Medicare and Social Security off the table is something that would shatter the Obama coalition.

It would really change things. It would make the cultural issues more salient.

I do believe in wealth creation. I am not a huge fan of high taxes. I do believe there’s a place for that. But it has to be connected to some larger vision for what it is we want when it comes to upward mobility.

And the Bush ownership society, imperfect as it was, there was some thesis there.

I think that with the first Trump presidency, it just didn’t really come together. It didn’t gel. And in the absence of Covid, who knows? Maybe we would have seen something different.

Going forward, I just think that if the Republican Party is not the party of private property and wealth building —

Douthat: But is there any chance that the Republican Party is about to not be the party of private property and wealth building?

Salam: No, no, I think you’re right.

But I do think that you have some people on the right who basically embrace kind of left ideas about inequality and what have you. And I think that’s a dead end.

Douthat: Right. So just to sort of set out categories: There is a kind of thoroughgoing populist right that essentially shares not the prescription but the sort of critique of how the American economy has performed for the last 30 years that you see on the left.

Salam: Yes.

Douthat: That says the economy has just not worked for middle-class America and we need, therefore, a kind of radical overhaul. And to the extent that there is strong kind of intellectual support for, let’s say, the huge Trump tariffs, it often comes out of this perspective, right?

Salam: And tariffs being just the tip of the spear in a way, the really rigorous thoughtful people envision some larger reordering of the American economy, but tariffs are kind of a symbol of this.

Douthat: Tariffs as an opening into dramatic industrial policy that presumably would go beyond what the Biden administration did.

I personally think we may or may not get Trumpian tariffs. I don’t think you’re going to see a dramatic right-wing restructuring of the American economy.

I think the question is a little narrower than that. So take the vice president-elect of the United States, JD Vance, and the richest man in the world, Elon Musk, who both have, obviously, strong associations with this administration.

Musk himself was originally a Clinton Democrat. He was never a doctrinaire libertarian. But as he has moved right, I think he has come to inhabit sort of that libertarian space where he’s ended up in charge of a commission that’s supposed to figure out how to, you know, transform the federal government —

Salam: Slash trillions of dollars of federal spending —

Douthat: Right. That is not the Tea Party, but it has something in common with Tea Party ideas.

Whereas the Vance perspective, in certain ways, it goes all the way to the sort of deep structural critique you were talking about that you don’t agree with. But in part, it’s just more based around the idea that the ***working class*** in America needs certain forms of help and support that it hasn’t gotten and that traditional Republican policymaking making hasn’t delivered.

Salam: Yeah.

Douthat: And I see that as the tension inside the Trump administration going forward. Are we returning to a kind of dynamism-oriented libertarian government cutting? Or is there some sort of populist synthesis available?

Salam: My vision — and I wonder how you react to this — we were talking about this idea of the right as the anti-left and what are the ideas that occupy that space?

My vision is that the thing that is healing ultimately is going to be the embrace of certain values, ideas, sensibilities, habits that contribute to human flourishing, ultimately.

The idea that you’re going to look to a tax credit or the idea that you’re going to look to the state to deliver this — it’s just not going to happen.

You need the state to be competent within its domain, highly effective, capable and competent within its domain, to create the conditions so that we can actually build these families or networks of families or community. It’s a pluralistic vision for what the world, the ultimate solution is going to look like to this discontent you’re describing.

And the fantasy of government fixing these things is something that stems from this intense secularization and this kind of collapse of communal life.

And so when I think about Musk, I guess my reaction is that this seems very exciting. The idea of celebrating the energy of building and creating and the idea of unleashing wealth creation, these kinds of things can be good and healthy.

What I see JD is thinking about in a really impressive, earnest, genuine way — I think he’s wrestling with problems that are really, really hard for government to solve. And I think a lot of thoughtful people, including us in earlier eras, were kind of thinking about what can government do to kind of affirm certain ways of life or what have you.

And I guess I’ve come to find those things less tractable, but what I do find tractable is some of the kind of zany dreams of terraforming Nevada as well as terraforming Mars. Just stuff like that.

My dream second Trump presidency would take big swings like that and hopefully not have them end in tears and be laughable.

I really want to think in big creative ways. How do we have a limited government that is highly effective and energetic within its limited domain? Whether that’s crime control, whether that’s breakthrough scientific research. I just think that the game of inches on social policy is ultimately not going to be creating a culture that celebrates and allows families to thrive.

Douthat: Right. So ultimately, you have turned against some of the arguments in our book, right?

Salam: Oh, Ross.

Douthat: Not turned against, precisely, but our original brief was that the Republican Party and conservatism need to be working in the nuts and bolts of government.

Salam: Yes.

Douthat: To a degree that sort of progressives take for granted, and focused on not sweeping policy interventions but carefully tailored policy interventions that support work and family, right?

And I do think that in your arc, the experience of watching Trump come along and sort of sweep all that off the table with his Trumpian style. Watching then the left come along and, in my formulation, bring back the 1970s in certain ways has brought you back around not to the Tea Party but, let’s say, to Ronald Reagan.

I think you’re in a sort of Reaganite space where it’s good for the government to support some big projects in science and innovation, but ultimately, if American society is going to heal, it’s not going to be government policy doing it.

Salam: That’s not entirely unfair.

Douthat: Right.

Salam: I do think that, you know, remember —

Douthat: You have betrayed me, Reihan. [Laughs.]

Salam: Hillary Clinton, 2016, the Biden presidency — they were, to their credit, let’s be fair to them — they were actually drawing on these ideas, big, ambitious child credits and what have you.

Douthat: The Biden administration did do, temporarily, a version of the kind of family policy —

Salam: The biggest, most ambitious version, and look, we could litigate specifics of this or that policy, but I think that that was humbling for me.

Not because I now believe that, oh, let’s jettison the child credit or what have you, but it was humbling because these are things that they attempted to do. And look at that child credit. One year. Did it mechanically reduce poverty, and did it have some salutary effects? Absolutely.

Douthat: Birthrates, Reihan. Even on the margin.

Salam: But did ***working-class*** and lower-middle-class people — was this something that people were like: We’re going to have to fight for this. Was this something that created a groundswell?

Douthat: No, it did not. It did not have anything like the political effects that the Biden administration expected. I agree.

Salam: And that’s right. And also, I think there was another element of the “Grand New Party” argument. A lot of it was corrective, and a lot of it was: Look, we’re not going to dismantle the New Deal-era welfare state.

There have been moments when government but also a cultural elite can work together to create the conditions for flourishing families.

And even now, I don’t think there’s specific recommendations there that I would jettison, there’s a place for that. But I certainly am more taken with the idea that the kind of healing that I think you and I both want, that is ultimately going to have to be cultural change.

And there are things government can do. I think about Thatcherism.

One of Margaret Thatcher’s things is that she wasn’t just laissez-faire. She was running an activist conservative government that wasn’t just targeting the size of the state, but it was also targeting civil society organizations, government bureaucracies and an educational establishment that was hostile to what she saw as the vigorous virtues that families needed to thrive.

Government could not instill those vigorous virtues. Government could fight against the cultural institutional forces that were undermining those who manifested the vigorous virtues.

I think that that’s exactly right. That is an activist agenda for the right. And I think that it relates to certainly crime and public safety, but it also relates to how we think about entrepreneurship and how we think about family policy.

So there is a place for smart social policy. But the lodestar is: What can dollars and cents accomplish versus what can create room for the cultural forces that we want to see thrive?

So when I see someone like Musk — do I see him as an imperfect and flawed figure? Of course. But also he’s someone who represents a kind of cultural force, and I see that as healing.

Douthat: And I want to say that in prodding you this way, I actually agree with what I take to be part of your evolution, and in part, I agree with it because I think the American economy overall just looks different in 2024 than it did when we were making a lot of these arguments earlier —

Salam: In the run-up to the financial crisis. Yes.

Douthat: In the run-up to the financial crisis and then there was a period of real wage stagnation in American life, in a climate of low inflation when there was room for government policy to be more activist. And that moment, in a way, gave us the first Trump presidency.

I think there’s a lot less room for that right now. I think the shadow of inflation hangs over policy activism —

Salam: Yes. Fiscal consolidation looms.

Douthat: Yep. And the bill for entitlements is coming due.

But then more generally, the U.S. economy — while the Biden-era inflation was dreadful for a couple of years — it’s actually done better by ***working-class*** Americans, who were the core constituency we were worried about, than did the economy of George W. Bush.

Salam: Yes.

Douthat: The last 10 or 15 years have been better for ***working-class*** Americans than were —

Salam: The great compression of wages. Yes.

Douthat: Right. Upper-middle-class professionals are no longer pulling away from the ***working class***.

So when you look at those forces, I think there’s less reason to be quite as activist in public policy in support of the ***working class*** relative to when we started writing about these issues.

And I agree with you that in the best version of Muskian dynamism there is something that is the best kind of libertarianism. The worst kind of libertarianism is just the kind that is: We don’t care how we cut the programs, as long as we get to a balanced budget and so on.

I am and always will be against that kind of libertarianism. The best kind of libertarianism is the kind that says: Why shouldn’t we have self-driving cars? And why shouldn’t we go to Mars? And all of these things. And there are various forms of government regulation that stand in the way.

So I am at least somewhat optimistic about Muskian influence in those areas. But I do still wonder, and maybe this is where we can come to a conclusion: Does a political coalition that aspires to run the United States of America for an extended period of time — something both political coalitions have failed to do — still at its heart need a basic economic agenda that says: “Here’s how we’re on your side, Middle America. Here are the policy changes that we want to make create growth and create fairness both, to create opportunity and sustain the American dream”?

And I’m not sure — I’m not just not sure. I don’t think that the second Trump presidency that you could sit down and say: Here is the Trump economic agenda that is an equivalent of even the Reagan agenda or, before that, the Roosevelt agenda that most Americans would recognize.

I think fundamentally, Trump has built this new almost majority on, as you keep saying, anti-left sentiment.

And I think that to actually get to the point where it is a durable majority under Trump or any other figure, you would need to be able to say to the average voter, “This is what Republican policymaking looks like, and here’s how it helps you.”

And I don’t know. I don’t think we’re really close to being there.

And I’ll give you the last word.

Salam: Well, one strange bookend is that we began by talking about how we came to our obsessions with domestic policy in the shadow of Sept. 11.

And when you’re looking at the political economy debates of this moment and what will unfold in the Trump presidency, it is about another set of geopolitical crises surrounding decoupling, derisking, how to meet the challenge of China and our deep enmeshment with China and Chinese economic growth.

And it could be that it’s not going to be primarily about our dreams for how we reorder the American class system or how we redress American stratification, but rather just how are we forced to remake the American economy in what could be a wartime economy. That’s something that I stay up late thinking about a lot.

And the other thing I’ll say about this coalition that I find interesting and exciting: We’ve talked about the changing ethnic character of the coalition. I’m really interested in — and this is where our biographies diverge — in what you might call the meritocracy voters.

I’m really interested in these people who really care about opposing diversity, equity and inclusion, who really care about public safety, urban chaos. People who are more important in their influence than their numbers. Will a Trump presidency consolidate support within this group? Or will a reinvigorated center-left be able to win them back? That, to me, is a really interesting question that intersects with a lot of what we’ve been talking about.

Douthat: Well, on that note, we’ve barely begun [Salam laughs] to consider the possibilities for a second Trump presidency. But then again, the second Trump presidency itself has not begun. So I’m sure that there will be opportunities for us to relive our misspent youth again in the future, Reihan.

And for now, I just want to thank you for joining me on “Matter of Opinion.”

Salam: Thank you, sir.

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**Body**

The former representative from Florida said he had become a “distraction.” Perhaps that was the point.

It seemed like a story that could unfold only on the eve of a second Trump era: A congressman, embattled by allegations of sex-trafficking a minor, was chosen to run the Department of Justice, the same agency that had once investigated him.

Its end, though, came a little more conventionally. When gravity exerted its pull on that now-former congressman, Matt Gaetz, he reached for a tried-and-true excuse that has softened the landing of many nominees who failed before him, albeit for less shocking reasons.

He used the D-word.

“While the momentum was strong,” Gaetz [*wrote on X*](https://x.com/mattgaetz/status/1859649045553402285), “it is clear that my confirmation was unfairly becoming a distraction to the critical work of the Trump/Vance Transition.”

The reason for aborted cabinet nominations — as well as failed judicial nominations and the early departure of elected officials — is often not, according to the nominees themselves, explained directly by scandal, errors in judgment or personal failure. The problem is not them.

The issue, they say, is that the public has gotten distracted.

To call oneself a distraction is to acknowledge a problem — a bump in the cabinet-forming road — without quite admitting guilt or responsibility. It is a way of minimizing the drama by chalking a failed nomination up to the news media and the collective attention span. It’s a euphemism that covers all manner of sin in Washington, and one that Gaetz is now hoping will stretch to explain his problems, too.

“It’s like, ‘Mistakes were made,’” said James Carville, the veteran Democratic strategist, referring to another boilerplate explanation for political misfortune. “Oh, really? Tell me about it!”

Still, Carville said, when a cabinet pick is driving the story just two weeks after the election, that really, genuinely, counts as a distraction.

“It might have been the only true thing he ever said,” Carville said of Gaetz.

A distracting history

The D-word is an excuse with a long history in American politics, even as the threshold for distraction seems to have changed.

In 2009, amid scrutiny of his unpaid taxes, former Senator Tom Daschle said he did not want to be a “distraction” and [*withdrew*](https://x.com/mattgaetz/status/1859649045553402285) from consideration for President Barack Obama’s cabinet. Nearly a decade later, it was Ronny Jackson, the White House doctor, who said that allegations about his alcohol use and lax oversight in distributing prescription drugs, which he said were false, [*had become a “distraction” for Trump*](https://x.com/mattgaetz/status/1859649045553402285), who had nominated him to lead the Department of Veterans Affairs. (It was not too distracting to keep him from getting elected to Congress in 2020.)

Long before that, Judge Douglas Ginsburg alluded to distraction somewhat poetically when, in 1987, he [*withdrew his name from consideration*](https://x.com/mattgaetz/status/1859649045553402285) for the Supreme Court, saying that his nomination had been “drowned out in the clamor” related to revelations about his use of marijuana.

Clamor had given way to “distraction” by 2001, when Linda Chavez, a conservative columnist, [*withdrew from consideration*](https://x.com/mattgaetz/status/1859649045553402285) to lead the Department of Labor under President George W. Bush, amid reports that she had sheltered an undocumented immigrant in her home.

“All of you have made, I think, a great deal more of this story than need be,” she said at a [*news conference*](https://x.com/mattgaetz/status/1859649045553402285). She added, “I have decided that I am becoming a distraction.”

Then, it was Bernard Kerik, best known these days as an ally to Trump and Rudolph Giuliani, who withdrew his name from consideration to run the Department of Homeland Security in 2004, after a scandal related to the immigration status of his own former household employee.

“He didn’t want to distract the president and distract the important mission that Homeland Security has,” his lawyer [*said at the time*](https://x.com/mattgaetz/status/1859649045553402285).

And during Trump’s first administration, the short-lived communications director Anthony Scaramucci deleted some of his old tweets, declaring they would be a “distraction.” (It was, of course, his [*profane and undisciplined*](https://x.com/mattgaetz/status/1859649045553402285) approach to the job that actually became too distracting, 10 days after he’d accepted it.)

President Biden had to deal with a so-called distraction, too, when the Democratic strategist Neera Tanden’s nomination to direct the Office of Management and Budget seemed likely to fail because of tweets she had posted about lawmakers in both parties. “I do not want continued consideration of my nomination to be” — say it with me — “a distraction,” she wrote [*as she withdrew*](https://x.com/mattgaetz/status/1859649045553402285).

When distraction is the point

The Oxford dictionary has two definitions of “distraction.” The first one: a “thing that prevents someone from giving full attention to something else.” That’s the definition most failed nominees are reaching for. But here’s the second one: “Extreme agitation of the mind or emotions.”

By that definition, the choice of Gaetz was always supposed to drive the country to distraction. His was a shock-and-awe pick that was intended to whip up attention, a choice so audacious that confirming him might have required the Senate to give up its basic power to advise and consent.

Gaetz’s problems, of course, were a lot more than mere distraction. They were laid out in Venmo transactions and [*diagramed by federal investigators*](https://x.com/mattgaetz/status/1859649045553402285), creating a damaging impression, even though he denied allegations of — and was never charged with — criminal activity.

Trump’s bet was that it wouldn’t matter. And Gaetz’s bet is that he can now cloak himself in the comforting vocabulary of the Washington establishment, and sanitize his troubles the way nominees who dealt with much more pedestrian scandals smoothed theirs.

The question now is whether any of the controversies embroiling Trump’s other nominees — including Pete Hegseth, Tulsi Gabbard and Robert F. Kennedy Jr. — will come to be considered distractions, too.

Gavin Newsom’s pitch to the ***working class***

Gavin Newsom, the California governor who is widely viewed as a potential Democratic presidential contender in 2028, [*headed out this week to a stretch of his state*](https://x.com/mattgaetz/status/1859649045553402285) where ***working-class*** voters flipped to Donald Trump. And he gave an interview to my colleague Shawn Hubler. I asked Shawn to tell us more about Newsom’s pitch to the voters who think his party is out of touch.

Newsom is [*not a guy who comes immediately to mind*](https://x.com/mattgaetz/status/1859649045553402285) when Americans think “man of the people.” He’s rich. He’s connected. He looks like a movie star, even when he’s just [*picking up trash at a homeless encampment*](https://x.com/mattgaetz/status/1859649045553402285). He’s in the process of moving his family into a $9.1 million house in Marin County. His Aunt Barbara was married to Nancy Pelosi’s brother-in-law.

But he does spend a lot of time, for a Democrat in a blue state with a population of nearly 39 million, in Republican parts of California. His California Highway Patrol security detail seems to be constantly ferrying him to places like Merced to talk about flood protection and Bakersfield to tout Covid-19 boosters and Coalinga to rub elbows with cattlemen’s organizations.

On Thursday, the venue was an automotive apprenticeship program in Fresno County, one of more than a half-dozen California counties that shifted from blue to red in the election. But the message had a national target. California might be the world’s fifth-largest economy, he noted, but that was “cold comfort” to those who felt left out of it.

With his hair gelled, suit blue, shirt white and collar open, he said it was clear that Americans felt “on edge, unmoored, uneasy,” and he promoted a statewide jobs initiative that would “leave no region behind.”

“You know, some people talk about this economy is booming, inflation is cooling, lowest unemployment in our lifetimes,” he said. “But people don’t feel that way.”

When asked (in so many words) if this visit to Fresno, and similar stops coming up, was mainly about trying to win back people who voted against his party, he name-checked a who’s who of MAGA celebrities and pundits who have made it their business to convince ***working-class*** voters that Democrats can’t be trusted.

“I don’t care who you voted for. I care about people. I care about Trump supporters, I care about R.F.K. Jr. supporters. I care about Tucker Carlson supporters. I care about Charlie Kirk supporters. I care about Ben Shapiro supporters. I care about all people,” he said. “And I care about being honest with them as well.”

In an interview before the event, Newsom said it was not too late to win back ***working-class*** voters, who he predicted would sour fast on the new administration.

“Donald Trump has a tariff and a mass-deportation plan that will disproportionately impact these communities and have an inflationary impact,” he said, pointing out that Trump “owns this.”

“When the reality of Trump 2.0 takes shape,” he said, “I think we’re going to get people back as long as we don’t turn our backs.”

— Shawn Hubler

— Shawn Hubler

PHOTO: Former Representative Matt Gaetz, Republican of Florida, withdrew his bid to become attorney general on Thursday after facing scrutiny over allegations of sex trafficking and drug use. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Haiyun Jiang for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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**End of Document**



[***Here’s Why We Shouldn’t Demean Trump Voters; Nicholas Kristof***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CVN-7K01-DXY4-X1RN-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1040 words

**Highlight:** Educated liberals often view the conservative ***working class*** with a whiff of condescension that is both unfair and counterproductive.

**Body**

Some of the best advice Democrats have received recently came from Bill Clinton in his speech at the Democratic National Convention.

First, he warned against hubris: “We’ve seen more than one election slip away from us when we thought it couldn’t happen, when people got distracted by phony issues or overconfident.” That’s something that any Clinton understands in his — or her — gut.

Second, related and even more important, he cautioned against demeaning voters who don’t share liberal values.

“I urge you to meet people where they are,” said Clinton, who knows something about winning votes outside of solid blue states. “I urge you not to demean them, but not to pretend you don’t disagree with them if you do. Treat them with respect — just the way you’d like them to treat you.”

That’s critical counsel because too often since 2016, the liberal impulse has been to demonize anyone at all sympathetic to Donald Trump as a racist and bigot. This has been politically foolish, for it’s difficult to win votes from people you’re disparaging.

It has also seemed to me morally offensive, particularly when well-educated and successful elites are scorning disadvantaged, ***working-class*** Americans who have been left behind economically and socially and in many cases are dying young. They deserve empathy, not insults.

By all means denounce Trump, but don’t stereotype and belittle the nearly half of Americans who have sided with him.

Since I [*live in a rural area*](https://www.kristoffarms.com/), many of my old friends are Trump supporters. One, a good and generous woman, backs Trump because she feels betrayed by the Democratic and Republican political establishments, and she has a point. When factories closed and good union jobs left the area, she ended up homeless and addicted; four members of her extended family killed themselves and she once put a gun to her own head. So when a demagogue like Trump speaks to her pain and promises to bring factories back, of course her heart leaps.

Then her resolve strengthens when she hears liberals mock her faith — it was an evangelical church that helped her overcome homelessness — or deride her as “deplorable.”

Then there’s the woman who cut my hair: She had a daughter who was overcome with addiction, so she quit the shop to care for a grandson. Her successor cutting my hair lost her husband to an overdose and is struggling to help a son who is addicted. She isn’t much interested in politics and didn’t watch any of the Democratic convention; she said she distrusts Trump and sees him as a bully, but she is mad at Democrats because food prices are too high.

“I’m not sure how I’ll vote,” she told me, “or if I’ll vote.” She’s a good, hardworking person who would benefit from a Democratic victory, and Democrats should fight for her — not savage her for political thought crimes.

***Working-class*** Americans have a right to feel betrayed. After almost 3,000 people died in the Sept. 11 attacks, we started two wars and allocated trillions of dollars to the response. But every three or four days we lose as many Americans to drugs, alcohol and suicide as died in the Sept. 11 attacks, yet the national response has been pathetically weak. The social fabric in many blue-collar communities has unraveled, and people are angry and frustrated.

Since the Obama presidency, Democrats have increasingly become the party of the educated, and the upshot has often been a whiff of condescension toward ***working-class*** voters, especially toward voters of faith. And in a country where [*74 percent*](https://www.kristoffarms.com/) of Americans report a belief in God, according to Gallup, and only [*38 percent*](https://www.kristoffarms.com/) over the age of 25 have a four-year college degree, condescension is a losing strategy.

Michael Sandel, the eminent Harvard philosopher, [*condemns*](https://www.kristoffarms.com/) the scorn for people with less education as “the last acceptable prejudice” in America. He’s right: Elites sometimes indulge in open disdain for ***working-class*** voters that they would never acknowledge about other groups.

I worry about Democrats neglecting their proud heritage since at least the time of Franklin Roosevelt of standing up for ***working-class*** Americans. Maybe it’s time for more educated liberals to reread F.D.R.’s famous [*“Forgotten Man” speech of 1932*](https://www.kristoffarms.com/), hailing “the forgotten man at the bottom of the economic pyramid.”

We liberals today are attuned to identity and thus to racial and gender disadvantages, while often seemingly oblivious to class disadvantage — even though [*recent research*](https://www.kristoffarms.com/) by the Harvard economist Raj Chetty underscores that race is playing a smaller role in opportunity gaps while class gaps are yawning wider.

You can’t have a serious conversation about inequality today without discussing race. But you also can’t have a serious conversation about poverty or opportunity without considering class (and for many people of color, race and class disadvantages overlap).

Kamala Harris seems to get this. She chose as her running mate a man who can reach ***working-class*** voters with his words as well as his policies. And she can present herself as the candidate who [*worked at McDonald’s*](https://www.kristoffarms.com/) while her opponent was exploiting his inheritance — [*and renters*](https://www.kristoffarms.com/).

I wasn’t planning to write this column, but then I approvingly [*tweeted*](https://www.kristoffarms.com/) Clinton’s comment about not demeaning those we disagree with. Plenty of readers replied hotly: But they deserve to be demeaned!

Sure, it’s satisfying to hurl invective. But calling people “Nazis” probably won’t win over undecided voters any more than when Trump supporters deride “libtards” or the “Biden crime family.”

Whatever our politics, Trump brings out the worst in all of us. He nurtures hate on his side that we mirror.

So let’s take a deep breath, summon F.D.R.’s empathy for the forgotten man, follow Clinton’s advice — and, for the sake of winning elections as well as of civility, remember that the best way to get others to listen to us is to first listen to them.

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page SR3.

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**End of Document**



[***Tim Walz, a ‘Snowman Melting,’ Tests His Appeal in the Sun Belt***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D03-MBV1-JBG3-652K-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1316 words

**Highlight:** The Minnesota governor was picked for his appeal to the white ***working-class***. The Harris campaign hopes he can reach other demographics, too.

**Body**

The Minnesota governor was picked for his appeal to the white ***working-class***. The Harris campaign hopes he can reach other demographics, too.

When Vice President Kamala Harris selected Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota as her running mate, many Democrats hoped that his folksy charm, quick-witted jabs at Republican opponents and “Minnesota nice” values would draw in white, ***working-class*** voters from across the Midwest — and potentially beyond.

That theory has been put to the test in recent weeks as Mr. Walz has hit the campaign trail, embracing his role as a retail politician and attack dog against former President Donald J. Trump at stops not only in the blue wall states of Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, but also in Sun Belt battleground states like Arizona and Nevada. This week, he will head south to campaign in Georgia and North Carolina.

“I feel a bit like a snowman melting,” Mr. Walz said at several stops during a sweltering campaign swing in the Southwest last week, a line that drew chuckles from college students in Tempe, Ariz., and wealthy donors in Las Vegas alike.

As he has traveled through the nation’s battlegrounds, Mr. Walz has worked to overcome skepticism from moderate voters about [*Minnesota’s leftward shift*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/07/us/politics/tim-walz-liberal.html) by presenting liberal policy priorities like student debt relief and housing tax credits as common-sense, neighborly goals. And across the Sun Belt in particular, he has had to try to shore up support among a much younger and more racially diverse electorate — traditionally Democratic groups with whom Republicans have been making inroads in recent elections.

On the trail, where he has worked to pump up the Democratic base at events and to rally the faithful with visits to campaign offices, he often works to forge connections with his audiences, and individual voters, with a down-to-earth demeanor and a dose of humor.

At a campaign office in Phoenix, he laughed with a volunteer from Minnesota as they commiserated about the triple-digit temperatures. At an office for a Democratic group in Lansing, Mich., he marveled at the endless stream of volunteers emerging from a room to shake his hand.

“That’s either a big room or it’s a clown car,” Mr. Walz said.

A moment later a volunteer introduced himself as “part of the clown car,” prompting Mr. Walz to respond, “We all are!”

Voters appear to especially enjoy that the governor seems very food-oriented.

In Las Vegas, he dropped by Tiabi Coffee and Waffle, a coffee shop, and ordered a peanut butter banana smoothie. In Wausau, Wis., he drew laughs from a crowd when he explained that the owners of a local Ukrainian bakery had just sold him cake “that I probably don’t need but I sure wanted.” Mr. Walz and his daughter, Hope, loaded up on whoopie pies and cider doughnuts at a visit to an orchard in Pennsylvania.

Republicans have suggested that Mr. Walz’s policies are out of touch with the majority of the electorate, and he has faced early questions about how well his appeal would translate outside Minnesota.

At rallies, Mr. Trump has taken to calling him “Tampon Tim,” accusing him of signing a law to place tampons and pads in boys’ restrooms for transgender students. While the law was written by Democratic lawmakers to guarantee access to the products for “[*all menstruating students*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/07/us/politics/tim-walz-liberal.html),” schools have interpreted the law as a mandate to place tampons and pads in female and gender neutral bathrooms, [*rather than ones designated only for boys*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/07/us/politics/tim-walz-liberal.html).

Mr. Trump’s campaign argued that voters would not be drawn in by Mr. Walz’s banter.

“He’s unelectable to voters from the Midwest to the Sun Belt and beyond,” Rachel Reisner, a spokeswoman for the Trump campaign, said in a statement. “American voters won’t be fooled by his jokes or silly dog and pony shows; they know the Harris-Walz agenda is dangerous and would destroy America as we know it.”

Stan Barnes, a former Republican state lawmaker and political consultant in Arizona, suggested Mr. Walz was focusing on aspects of his personality to distract from his left-leaning record.

“They are trying to convince voters that they are a likable, normal alternative,” Mr. Barnes said. But he added that Mr. Trump, if polling proved accurate, had appeared to be appealing to racial minorities in a way no other Republican in the state had done before.

Several political strategists, though, suggested Mr. Walz’s plain-spoken language and appeal to Midwestern values would most likely help him, even in diverse Sun Belt battlegrounds.

“We talk about white ***working-class*** voters and Latino ***working-class*** voters and Black ***working-class*** voters,” said Ted Pappageorge, the secretary-treasurer of Nevada’s powerful Culinary Workers Union, a key ally for Democrats. “But ***working-class*** voters have a lot in common — they all want more money in their pocket.”

In Arizona, the top issues for the independent voters who could sway the election remain inflation and immigration. But Mr. Walz’s recitation of Midwestern values, such as family, honesty and hard work, have complemented his pleas to defend democracy and abortion rights and helped him draw a contrast with Mr. Trump, said Mike Noble, a pollster at Noble Predictive Insights in Phoenix.

“The more they can talk about those character issues, the more they can talk about abortion, the more they are winning,” Mr. Noble said of Democrats.

In Tempe, addressing dozens of Arizona State University students, Mr. Walz focused on issues particularly relevant to young people, including climate change and student loans.

“If I were you all, how can you not constantly go around telling people to ‘fork ‘em,’” Mr. Walz said, making a knowing allusion to the pitchfork hand gesture associated with the university and [*the pitchforks that adorn the helmets of its football team, the Sun Devils*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/07/us/politics/tim-walz-liberal.html).

At stops in the Midwest and the East, he continued to make explicit appeals to young people and minorities, sometimes acknowledging his perspective as the older white man in the room. Speaking to Michigan State University students in East Lansing, Mich., last week, Mr. Walz addressed Ms. Harris’s debate performance.

“Kamala Harris did her job the other night,” Mr. Walz said. “The thing I want to say to everybody in here — especially to women and people of color — the folks who are surprised she did that, shame on them.”

And in Washington, at the annual dinner of the Human Rights Campaign, an L.G.B.T.Q. rights group, Mr. Walz described himself as an “old, straight white guy” who was working to guarantee that Americans could live as their “authentic selves” without interference from government.

The most emotional moment came when Mr. Walz recalled working on federal hate-crimes legislation when he was serving in Congress and meeting Judy Shepard, whose son, Matthew, a gay student at the University of Wyoming, had been beaten, tortured and left to die in 1998.

“I remember walking with a mother who lost her son and hearing the sheriff tell me the only place it wasn’t bloody was where the tears ran down Matthew’s eyes,” he said, drawing gasps from the audience. “And I watched a mother in unbelievable pain that I couldn’t even fathom — of losing a child this way — walk with her head held high to make sure that none of the rest of us ever have to get a call from someone.”

Some of the people he met along the trail said that his words had resonated with them. Alexandria Jimenez-Greenshields, a 17-year-old student at Michigan State who attended Mr. Walz’s event there, said he seemed genuinely interested in making a connection with people.

“He was speaking from passion — it didn’t feel fake,” she said.

“It felt like he was a normal average person,” she added, “just having a normal average conversation.”

PHOTO: Gov. Tim Walz at a presidential debate watch party in Mesa, Ariz., last week. The Minnesotan is campaigning in the Sun Belt. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CAITLIN O’HARA/REUTERS) (A15) This article appeared in print on page A1, A15.

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[***Done With Never Trump***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DNW-JYR3-RS1V-61C4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 18, 2024 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Length:** 904 words

**Byline:** By Bret Stephens

**Body**

It's been more than nine years since I first denounced Donald Trump as a ''loudmouth vulgarian appealing to quieter vulgarians.'' I've called myself a Never Trump conservative ever since, even when I agreed with his policies from time to time. I also opposed him throughout his run this year.

Could his second term be as bad as his most fervent critics fear? Yes. Is it time to drop the heavy moralizing and incessant doomsaying that typified so much of the Never Trump movement -- and that rendered it politically impotent and frequently obtuse? Yes, please.

Who, and what, is Trump? He's a man and the symbol of a movement. The man is crass but charismatic, ignorant but intuitive, dishonest but authentic. The movement is patriotic -- and angry.

Some of that anger is intensely bigoted and some of it misplaced. That side of the anger gets most of the media's attention. But some of it, too, is correctly directed at a self-satisfied elite that thinks it knows better but often doesn't, whether the subject is Covid restrictions, immigration policy or how to get our allies to pay more for their defense.

It's Trump's sulfurous contempt for that elite -- his refusal to be shaped by their norms or shamed by their scorn and his willingness to call out their hypocrisy -- that makes him a hero to his followers. Cases in point: How come so many who denounce Trump as a sexual predator were, 20 years earlier, Bill Clinton's steadfast defenders? Why were the same people who demanded investigations into every corner of the Trump family's business dealings so incurious about the Biden family's dealings, like the curiously high prices for Hunter's paintings?

Never Trumpers -- I include myself in this indictment -- never quite got the point. It wasn't that we'd forgotten Clinton's scandals or were ignorant of the allegations about the Bidens. It's that we thought Trump degraded the values that conservatives were supposed to stand for. We also thought that Trump represented a form of illiberalism that was antithetical to our ''free people, free markets, free world'' brand of conservatism and that was bound to take the Republican Party down a dark road.

In this we weren't wrong: There's plenty to dislike and fear about Trump from a traditionally conservative standpoint. But Never Trumpers also overstated our case and, in doing so, defeated our purpose.

How so? We warned that Trump would be a reckless president who might stumble into World War III. If anything, his foreign policy in his first term was, in practice, often cautious to a fault. We hyperventilated about his odd chumminess with Vladimir Putin. But the collusion allegations were a smear, and Trump's Russia policy -- whether it was his opposition to the Nord Stream 2 pipeline or his covert aid to Ukraine -- was much tougher than either Barack Obama's or (at least until Russia invaded Ukraine) President Biden's.

We predicted that Trump's rhetoric would wreck the Republican Party's chances to win over the constituencies the party had identified, after 2012, as key to its future. But we missed that his ***working-class*** appeal would also reach ***working-class*** minorities -- like the 48 percent of Latino male voters who cast their ballots for him last month. And we were alarmed by Trump's protectionism and big-spending ways. But the economy mostly thrived under him, at least until the pandemic.

We also talked a lot about democracy. That's important: The memory of Jan. 6 and Trump's 2020 election lies were the main reasons I voted for Kamala Harris. But if democracy means anything, it's that ordinary people, not elites, get to decide how important an event like Jan. 6 is to them. Turns out, not so much.

What ordinary people really cared about this year were the high cost of living and the chaos at the border. Why did Trump -- so often deprecated by his critics as a fortunate fool -- understand this so well while we fecklessly carried on about the soul of the nation?

What else did we not sufficiently appreciate? That, as much as Trump might lie, Americans also felt lied to by the left -- particularly when it came to the White House cover-up of Biden's physical and mental decline. That, as bigoted as elements of the MAGA world can be, there is plenty of bigotry to go around -- not least in the torrent of Israel-bashing and antisemitism that emerged from the cultural left after Oct. 7. That, as much as we fear Trump could wreck some of our institutions, whether it's higher education or the F.B.I., many of those institutions are already broken and may need to be reconceived or replaced.

So here's a thought for Trump's perennial critics, including those of us on the right: Let's enter the new year by wishing the new administration well, by giving some of Trump's cabinet picks the benefit of the doubt, by dropping the lurid historical comparisons to past dictators, by not sounding paranoid about the ever-looming end of democracy, by hoping for the best and knowing that we need to fight the wrongs that are real and not merely what we fear, that whatever happens, this too shall pass.

Enjoy the holidays.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/17/opinion/never-trump-republicans.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/17/opinion/never-trump-republicans.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A21.

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[***Using Tax Cuts and Near-Assassination to Show Trump as a Fighter for Workers; the ad campaign***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D6P-T9J1-JBG3-61CY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 635 words

**Byline:** Shane GoldmacherShane Goldmacher is a national political correspondent, covering the 2024 campaign and the major developments, trends and forces shaping American politics. He can be reached at .

**Highlight:** A pro-Trump super PAC shows Donald Trump’s “Fight! Fight!” response in Butler, Pa., to portray him as a champion for blue-collar Americans.

**Body**

A pro-Trump super PAC shows Donald Trump’s “Fight! Fight!” response in Butler, Pa., to portray him as a champion for blue-collar Americans.

Right for America, a super PAC supporting former President Donald J. Trump, is running [*this 30-second ad*](https://adm0.page.link/6Y6n) on television stations in Pennsylvania, Georgia and Arizona at a cost of $500,000 over the past three days, according to AdImpact. Another $360,000 has been spent to run [*a Spanish-language version*](https://adm0.page.link/6Y6n), mostly in Arizona.

Here’s a look at the ad, its accuracy and its major takeaway.

On the Screen

The ad begins with an image of Mr. Trump, as president, seen from behind while exiting a doorway at the White House as Marine guards step aside for him.

A man with a deep baritone gives voice to yellow-green headlines that flash through various forms of taxation that Mr. Trump says he wants to get rid of: “One man believes in no tax on tips. No tax on Social Security. No tax on overtime.”

As he speaks, the ad cuts through a quick succession of images of ***working-class*** and older Americans: a waitress carrying a tray of dirty dishes; an older couple at the kitchen table; a snapshot of Mr. Trump seated at his Oval Office desk flanked by Irving Locker, a D-Day veteran, and his wife, Bernice; a woman putting on an apron in a restaurant kitchen, a welder, a delivery person on a bike, a hospital worker in a surgical mask and scrubs, a man in a Dallas Cowboys shirt operating a machine.

Along the way, a clip shows Mr. Trump in a hard hat, flashing a thumbs-up. The words “American workers have been forgotten” soon follow, overlaid on a clip of Vice President Kamala Harris and her sister, Maya, laughing uproariously. That headline lingers over an image of a taxi driver behind the wheel, and then a truck driver filling his tank and looking up at the sun.

The ad cuts to video of Mr. Trump in the moments after he was nearly assassinated in July in Pennsylvania, pumping his fist and mouthing the word “fight,” as the headline “One man will refuse to fall” appears.

A billowing American flag briefly fills the screen, and then the headline is replaced with a last one — “For American workers to continue to stand” — over a final montage: Trump supporters, a retail clerk, a waitress, a man in a hard hat, Mr. Trump embracing victims of a tornado in Alabama, and a taxi passenger paying her smiling driver.

The Script

“One man believes in no tax on tips, no tax on Social Security, and now, no tax on overtime.”

“The people who work overtime are among the hardest-working citizens in our country. And for too long, no one in Washington has been looking out for them.”

“And one man will refuse to fall.”

“U.S.A.! U.S.A.!”

“So America and its workers can continue to stand great again.”

Accuracy

Mr. Trump has indeed called for a series of tax cuts during his 2024 presidential run, including on income from tips, overtime and Social Security.

The Takeaway

Mr. Trump has been trying to peel off more ***working-class*** voters, especially Black and Latino Americans who have historically voted overwhelmingly for Democrats. One of the ways he has tried to appeal to them is by promising big tax breaks. ***Working-class*** voters would benefit most from exempting tips and overtime pay from income tax. One sign that the proposals could be making inroads: Ms. Harris copied the no-tax-on-tips proposal in August during [*a campaign stop of her own in Nevada*](https://adm0.page.link/6Y6n).

The ad ends by trying to harness the emotional resonance of Mr. Trump’s striking response after the assassination attempt, portraying his fighting spirit as something he will harness for the benefit of American workers.

The ad was paid for by a super PAC, Right for America, whose biggest donors are the billionaires Ike and Laura Perlmutter, who have given it $25 million.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Eric Lee/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 23, 2024

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[***Done With Never Trump; Bret Stephens***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DNV-7SN3-RW5B-V1KC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 17, 2024 Tuesday 13:02 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 904 words

**Byline:** Bret StephensBret Stephens is an Opinion columnist for The Times, writing about foreign policy, domestic politics and cultural issues.

**Highlight:** There’s plenty to dislike and fear about Trump, but Never Trumpers overstated our case, defeating our purpose.

**Body**

It’s been more than nine years since [*I first denounced Donald Trump*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-donald-and-the-demagogues-1441064072) as a “loudmouth vulgarian appealing to quieter vulgarians.” I’ve called myself a Never Trump conservative ever since, even when I agreed with his policies from time to time. I also [*opposed*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-donald-and-the-demagogues-1441064072) him [*throughout*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-donald-and-the-demagogues-1441064072) his run [*this year*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-donald-and-the-demagogues-1441064072).

Could his second term be as bad as his most fervent critics fear? Yes. Is it time to drop the heavy moralizing and incessant doomsaying that typified so much of the Never Trump movement — and that rendered it politically impotent and frequently obtuse? Yes, please.

Who, and what, is Trump? He’s a man and the symbol of a movement. The man is crass but charismatic, ignorant but intuitive, dishonest but authentic. The movement is patriotic — and angry.

Some of that anger is intensely bigoted and some of it misplaced. That side of the anger gets most of the media’s attention. But some of it, too, is correctly directed at a self-satisfied elite that thinks it knows better but often doesn’t, whether the subject is Covid restrictions, immigration policy or how to get our allies to pay more for their defense.

It’s Trump’s sulfurous contempt for that elite — his refusal to be shaped by their norms or shamed by their scorn and his willingness to call out their hypocrisy — that makes him a hero to his followers. Cases in point: How come so many [*who denounce*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-donald-and-the-demagogues-1441064072) Trump as a sexual predator were, 20 years earlier, Bill Clinton’s [*steadfast defenders*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-donald-and-the-demagogues-1441064072)? Why were the same people who demanded investigations into every corner of the Trump family’s business dealings so incurious about the [*Biden family’s dealings*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-donald-and-the-demagogues-1441064072), like the curiously high prices for Hunter’s paintings?

Never Trumpers — I include myself in this indictment — never quite got the point. It wasn’t that we’d forgotten Clinton’s scandals or were ignorant of the allegations about the Bidens. It’s that we thought Trump degraded the values that conservatives were supposed to stand for. We also thought that Trump represented a form of illiberalism that was antithetical to our “free people, free markets, free world” brand of conservatism and that was bound to take the Republican Party down a dark road.

In this we weren’t wrong: There’s plenty to dislike and fear about Trump from a traditionally conservative standpoint. But Never Trumpers also overstated our case and, in doing so, defeated our purpose.

How so? We warned that Trump would be a reckless president who [*might stumble into World War III*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-donald-and-the-demagogues-1441064072). If anything, his foreign policy in his first term was, in practice, often [*cautious to a fault.*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-donald-and-the-demagogues-1441064072) We hyperventilated about his odd chumminess with Vladimir Putin. But the collusion allegations were a smear, and Trump’s Russia policy — whether it was his opposition to the [*Nord Stream 2 pipeline*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-donald-and-the-demagogues-1441064072) or his [*covert aid to Ukraine*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-donald-and-the-demagogues-1441064072) — was much tougher than either Barack Obama’s or (at least until Russia invaded Ukraine) [*President Biden’s*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-donald-and-the-demagogues-1441064072).

We predicted that Trump’s rhetoric would wreck the Republican Party’s chances to win over the constituencies the party [*had identified*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-donald-and-the-demagogues-1441064072), after 2012, as key to its future. But we missed that his ***working-class*** appeal would also reach ***working-class*** minorities — like the 48 percent of Latino male voters [*who cast their ballots for him last month*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-donald-and-the-demagogues-1441064072). And we were alarmed by Trump’s protectionism and big-spending ways. But the economy mostly thrived under him, at least until the pandemic.

We also talked a lot about democracy. That’s important: The memory of Jan. 6 and Trump’s 2020 election lies were the main reasons I voted for Kamala Harris. But if democracy means anything, it’s that ordinary people, not elites, get to decide how important an event like Jan. 6 is to them. Turns out, not so much.

What ordinary people really cared about this year were the high cost of living and the chaos at the border. Why did Trump — so often deprecated by his critics as a fortunate fool — understand this so well while we fecklessly carried on about the soul of the nation?

What else did we not sufficiently appreciate? That, as much as Trump might lie, Americans also felt lied to by the left — particularly when it came to the [*White House cover-up*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-donald-and-the-demagogues-1441064072) of Biden’s physical and mental decline. That, as bigoted as elements of the MAGA world can be, there is plenty of bigotry to go around — not least in the torrent of Israel-bashing and antisemitism that emerged from the cultural left after Oct. 7. That, as much as we fear Trump could wreck some of our institutions, whether it’s higher education or the F.B.I., many of those institutions are already broken and may need to be reconceived or replaced.

So here’s a thought for Trump’s perennial critics, including those of us on the right: Let’s enter the new year by wishing the new administration well, by giving some of Trump’s cabinet picks the benefit of the doubt, by dropping the lurid historical comparisons to past dictators, by not sounding paranoid about the ever-looming end of democracy, by hoping for the best and knowing that we need to fight the wrongs that are real and not merely what we fear, that whatever happens, this too shall pass.

Enjoy the holidays.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-donald-and-the-demagogues-1441064072) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-donald-and-the-demagogues-1441064072). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-donald-and-the-demagogues-1441064072).

Follow the New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-donald-and-the-demagogues-1441064072), [*Instagram*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-donald-and-the-demagogues-1441064072), [*TikTok*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-donald-and-the-demagogues-1441064072), [*WhatsApp*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-donald-and-the-demagogues-1441064072), [*X*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-donald-and-the-demagogues-1441064072) and [*Threads*](https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-donald-and-the-demagogues-1441064072).

This article appeared in print on page A21.

**Load-Date:** December 18, 2024

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[***51 Varieties of 'Every Man' Found Guilty in French Trial***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DP9-H883-RRR2-R0JX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 20, 2024 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 10

**Length:** 379 words

**Byline:** By Ségolène Le Stradic and Catherine Porter

**Body**

Most of the accused received sentences of eight to 10 years, less than the 10- to 18-year terms that the public prosecutor had recommended.

All 51 defendants in the Gisèle Pelicot rape trial were found guilty on Thursday. Most of the accused received sentences of eight to 10 years, less than the 10- to 18-year terms that the public prosecutor had recommended.

Ms. Pelicot's ex-husband, Dominique Pelicot, who admitted to drugging and raping her over nearly a decade and bringing other men to their home to participate, received the maximum sentence of 20 years.

Fifteen of the 50 others were sentenced to eight years. In all, 41 of the men received prison sentences, including 18 who were already behind bars during the trial. Three were given deferred sentences because of their health, and six were released because of time already served. One is on the run and was tried and sentenced in absentia.

The French news media labeled the defendants, who range in age from 27 to 74, ''Monsieur Tout-le-monde,'' or Mr. Every Man, because of how varied and ordinary they appeared during the trial. Most were employed in jobs that reflect the middle- and ***working-class*** rural France they come from: truck drivers, carpenters, a prison guard, a nurse, an I.T. expert working for a bank, a local journalist.

Here are some of the others convicted:

Jean-Pierre Maréchal: He pleaded guilty not to violating Ms. Pelicot, but to following Dominique Pelicot's blueprint and drugging and raping his own wife -- and inviting Mr. Pelicot along. He was sentenced to 12 years in prison. The prosecutor had recommended 17. (Mr. Pelicot was also convicted of raping Mr. Maréchal's wife.) Mr. Maréchal's lawyer, Paul Gontard, said after the sentencing that he did not intend to file an appeal.

Charly Arbo: A laborer at a cement company, he was among the youngest accused, and was sentenced to 13 years. Mr. Arbo was 22 when he first went to the Pelicots' home in 2016. While most of the men said they had gone to the home once, Mr. Arbo went six times.

Joseph Cocco: Mr. Cocco, a retired manager of a beer company subsidiary, was convicted on a lesser charge of aggravated sexual assault. He was among the few defendants who asked Ms. Pelicot for forgiveness. He was sentenced to four years.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/19/world/europe/pelicot-rape-trial-convictions.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/19/world/europe/pelicot-rape-trial-convictions.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: A lawyer for one of the accused, Paul Gontard, speaking to reporters after the verdict. This article appeared in print on page A10.

**Load-Date:** December 20, 2024

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[***A Book that Explains the 2024 Campaign***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D97-FYY1-JBG3-61D2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 29, 2024 Tuesday 10:38 EST

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1902 words

**Byline:** David LeonhardtDavid Leonhardt runs , The Times&amp;#8217;s flagship daily newsletter. Since joining The Times in 1999, he has been an economics columnist, opinion columnist, head of the Washington bureau and founding editor of the Upshot section.

**Highlight:** We’re covering America’s ***working-class*** majority.

**Body**

We’re covering America’s ***working-class*** majority.

If you want to understand this year’s election, a book published in 1970 turns out to be surprisingly useful. Both liberal and conservative analysts have recently cited its ideas, and the Harris and Trump campaigns have embraced its arguments in different ways.

The book’s title is “The Real Majority,” and it appeared during Richard Nixon’s first term. Its authors were two Democrats hoping to save their party from future defeats: Richard Scammon, who had run the Census Bureau under John F. Kennedy, and Ben Wattenberg, who’d been a speechwriter for Lyndon Johnson.

Scammon and Wattenberg believed that their fellow Democrats misunderstood the country’s electorate. The energy of the 1960s had led the party to imagine that the typical voter was young and highly educated. As a hypothetical example, the book described a 24-year-old political science instructor at Yale University. In reality, the authors wrote, the typical voter resembled a 47-year-old woman living in the suburbs of Dayton, Ohio, who didn’t have a college degree and whose husband worked as a machinist.

This Dayton voter wasn’t poor, but she struggled with rising inflation. She worried about crime, student protests and drug use, polls showed. She felt ambivalent about the Vietnam War. She was one of the “plain people,” as Scammon and Wattenberg put it, who had long voted Democratic but was uncomfortable with the party’s leftward shift — toward the views of that 24-year-old Yale instructor. Unless Democrats changed course, the authors wrote, “we may well see Republican presidents in the White House for a generation.”

The book was prophetic: Republicans won four of the next five presidential elections, including landslides by Nixon and Ronald Reagan.

The new 1960s

The book also foreshadowed the political dynamics in 2024, when the cost of living is a major issue, foreign wars rage and the Democratic Party is trying to leave behind a period of liberal foment.

When “The Real Majority” appeared, that period was the 1960s. Today, it is [*the late 2010s and early 2020s*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html), when many Democrats pushed unpopular ideas, such as less border security, less policing, long Covid lockdowns, the end of private health insurance and the decriminalization of hard drugs. All those ideas are more popular on college campuses than in places like Dayton. And the country more closely resembles Dayton; roughly 60 percent of voters do not have a four-year college degree.

“There is a natural ***working-class*** majority in American politics and those who hope to lead the country ignore it at their peril,” Patrick Ruffini, a Republican pollster, wrote in his recent book, “Party of the People: Inside the Multiracial Populist Coalition Remaking the G.O.P.” Ruffini cited the Dayton-Yale framework. Timothy Shenk, a progressive historian at George Washington University, also used the framework in his new book “Left Adrift: What Happened to Liberal Politics.”

(You may be interested in Shenk’s recent Times Opinion essay about [*the most effective ways to combat Trumpism*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html), as well as Ruffini’s list of [*the 21 communities that will help decide next week’s election*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html), with maps.)

Class over age

The ***working-class*** majority holds a complex set of views. It tends to be deeply dissatisfied with the country’s direction and to want sweeping change. It leans left on economic policies, like Medicare and Social Security, while worrying about government overreach. It leans isolationist on foreign policy. It tends to be wary of trade and immigration and to feel positively about the military and the police.

Donald Trump managed to take over the Republican Party in 2016, and then win the presidency, with help from his gut feel for ***working-class*** politics (despite his own wealth). He defied Republican orthodoxy by criticizing trade and immigration while promising not to cut Medicare and Social Security. If he wins again this year, it will be partly by appealing to people whom Democrats wrongly imagined as loyal progressives — including Black, Latino, Asian American and younger voters. Social class, as Scammon and Wattenberg suggested, can be an even better predictor of a person’s vote than race or age.

Much of Kamala Harris’s 2024 campaign is also consistent with their arguments. After adopting fiercely liberal positions four years ago, she has reversed course and changed her positions on immigration, fracking and more. Her ads describe her as “a border state prosecutor.” She emphasizes patriotism and economic populism.

Still, it’s a tricky pivot: More Americans describe Harris as “too liberal” (44 percent) than describe Trump as “too conservative” (32 percent), according to a New York Times/Siena College poll last month. I know that many people find that comparison hard to fathom. “The Real Majority” helps make sense of it.

For more: [*On today’s episode of “The Daily,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html) Michael Barbaro and I explain why immigration has become such a sore spot for ***working-class*** voters. And [*in this short Times video*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html), I break down the campaign advertisements of several Democratic Senate candidates who are running strong races in purple and red states — including Ohio.

THE LATEST NEWS

Democratic Campaign

* Harris campaigned across Michigan. In Philadelphia, John Legend and Bruce Springsteen performed [*at a rally featuring Barack Obama*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html).

1. Harris campaign aides [*argue that the race is shifting in her favor*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html) and that her warnings about Trump and abortion are breaking through.
2. President Biden waited in line and voted early for Harris near his hometown, Wilmington, Del. A reporter asked him whether it was bittersweet. [*“No, this is just sweet,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html) he said.
3. Harris [*has avoided campaigning alongside Biden*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html) in the final days of the race. Her campaign believes that his unpopularity would hurt her chances.
4. Michael Bloomberg, who had given less to Democrats this year than in 2018 and 2020, [*donated about $50 million*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html) to support Harris.

Republican Campaign

* The Trump campaign [*denounced a comedian’s offensive jokes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html) about Puerto Rico and minorities at a rally in Madison Square Garden. Republican lawmakers also [*distanced themselves from the remarks*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html).

1. Trump is [*using much more profanity now*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html) than he did in 2016. What minimal self-restraint he once showed in his public discourse has evaporated, Peter Baker and Dylan Freedman write.
2. If he wins, Trump would likely have [*more financial conflicts of interest*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html) than any previous president. He has ties to foreign governments, real estate deals and a publicly traded social media company.
3. After the Supreme Court overturned Roe v. Wade, Trump stopped talking about a federal abortion ban. [*These charts show how else his language changed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html).
4. Philadelphia’s district attorney sued Elon Musk’s super PAC over its [*$1 million giveaways*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html) to people who both registered to vote and signed a conservative petition.
5. A growing number of voters say that Trump was [*“just exercising his right” to contest the 2020 election results*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html), New York Times/Siena College polling finds, and most aren’t worried that he will try to contest this year’s results.

More on 2024

* Foreign election interference has become more sophisticated with the help of A.I. [*Read about efforts by China, Iran and Russia*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html).

1. In response to rising migration, both Trump and Harris [*promise restrictions on political asylum*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html), breaking with decades of U.S. policy.
2. Two ballot drop boxes — one in Oregon, one in Washington State — [*were set on fire*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html). The police believe the arsons are linked.
3. Three Washington Post journalists [*stepped down from the paper’s editorial board*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html) in protest of Jeff Bezos’ decision not to endorse a presidential candidate. (Bezos [*wrote a defense of his decision*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html) in The Post.)

War in Ukraine

* Ukraine is bracing for [*North Korean soldiers to attack*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html) alongside Russian troops. Thousands of North Korean soldiers are now in Russia’s west.

1. Russian glide bombs, which fly so quietly that they evade detection, are [*menacing a Ukrainian city*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html) thought to be a haven from the war.
2. Volodymyr Zelensky has been pushing Western leaders to support a plan that he says could end the war next year. [*He has received a lukewarm response*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html).

Middle East

* The Iran-backed Houthi militia has [*arrested dozens of Yemenis*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html) linked to the U.S. Embassy or international agencies.

1. Hezbollah [*named a new leader,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html) Naim Qassem, a longtime deputy.
2. The Israeli Parliament passed laws [*that could threaten the work of UNRWA*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html), the main U.N. agency that aids Palestinians.

Other Big Stories

* Steve Bannon, the strategist who helped elect Trump in 2016, [*was released from prison*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html) this morning. “I’m not broken, I’m empowered,” he said.

1. In Austin, Texas, Musk is trying to create a compound where his children — of which there are at least 11 — and their mothers could live. [*It’s been complicated*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html).
2. [*A Ph.D. student accidentally found a lost Maya city*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html)in a Mexican jungle, including pyramids and amphitheaters, the BBC reports.
3. In Brazil, criminals are [*increasingly using chemicals instead of chain saws*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html) for deforestation.
4. More than a third of the world’s trees are [*at risk of extinction*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html), scientists say.

Opinions

Climate disasters have made [*renting a safer financial choice*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html) than homeownership, Benjamin Keys argues.

Trump says [*America is on the decline*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html). The data says otherwise, Steven Pinker writes.

Here are columns by Michelle Goldberg on [*Trump’s New York rally*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html), and Lydia Polgreen on [*the BRICS bloc*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html).

MORNING READS

Wildlife: Crows can hold grudges, scientists say. [*Their wrath can be alarming*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html).

Ask Vanessa: “[*What is the perfect length for a winter coat*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html)?”

A lot of Cheddar: Scammers stole [*22 metric tons of rare cheese*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html) from a leading London retailer.

Lives Lived: Paul Morrissey collaborated with Andy Warhol in the late 1960s and early ’70s to create films that captured New York’s demimonde of drug addicts, drag queens and hipsters. Morrissey [*died at 86*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html).

SPORTS

M.L.B.: The Los Angeles Dodgers [*defeated the New York Yankees*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html), 4-2. The Dodgers are one victory away from winning the World Series.

N.F.L.: In Pittsburgh, [*the Steelers beat the New York Giants*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html).

N.B.A.: The Orlando Magic forward Paolo Banchero [*delivered the first 50-point game*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html) of the season. He scored 37 points in the first half alone.

ARTS AND IDEAS

Commonweal magazine was founded in 1924 as a sort of Catholic version of the The New Republic, a journal for middle-class, liberal-minded members of the faith. It attracted an illustrious roster of writers, including Dorothy Day, W.H. Auden and John Updike. But a century later, with Mass attendance dwindling and the church’s conservative voices growing louder, Commonweal is [*wrestling with its place*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html).

More on culture

* Jon Stewart will continue to [*host “The Daily Show”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html) on Monday nights through next year.

1. After Trump’s rally at Madison Square Garden, [*Stewart said*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html): “How dare they desecrate the stage that the Piano Man has consecrated?”

THE MORNING RECOMMENDS …

Cover salmon [*in an everything bagel seasoning*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html) and serve with a creamy caper sauce.

Use [*this cream on curly hair*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html).

Open a bottle of wine [*with these corkscrews*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html).

GAMES

Here is [*today’s Spelling Bee*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html). Yesterday’s pangram was warming.

And here are [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html), [*Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html), [*Sudoku*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html), [*Connections*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html) and [*Strands*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html).

Thanks for spending part of your morning with The Times. See you tomorrow. —David

[*Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html). Reach our team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/nyregion/ocasio-cortez-democrats-congress.html).

PHOTO: Dayton, Ohio, left, and New Haven, Conn. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Ty Wright, Christopher Capozziello for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 29, 2024

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[***Nicholas Kristof: Readers Respond to My Column on Trump Voters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D1S-6GG1-JBG3-63S8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 24, 2024 Tuesday 18:17 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1174 words

**Highlight:** The best way to persuade people is to engage with them.

**Body**

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In this episode, the columnist Nicholas Kristof argues that Democrats should focus their criticism on Donald Trump instead of the people who are voting for him.

Below is a lightly edited transcript of the audio piece:

Nicholas Kristof: Usually column writing is a one-way street, and we pontificate and tell the world what we think. Instead, today I’ve invited some people who really disagreed with a column to speak up and set me right.

I want to persuade readers. I want to win them over on issues that I care deeply about. That’s why I am a columnist. And I think I’m more likely to win people over if I treat their criticism seriously and engage with them. And that’s what I’m trying to do right now.

Let me tell you about my column first. Bill Clinton gave me the idea, actually. I thought he gave a terrific speech at the Democratic National Convention, saying that Democrats should engage people whom they disagree with.

Audio clip of Bill Clinton: I urge you to meet people where they are. I urge you not to demean them, but not to pretend you don’t disagree with them if you do. Treat them with respect, just the way you’d like them to treat you.

Kristof: So I wrote a piece arguing that Clinton is exactly right and that Democrats in particular should go after Donald Trump himself, but should really try to avoid the impulse to demean all Trump voters. We have enough dehumanization in American politics, enough anger, that we don’t need to add to it.

Maybe not surprisingly, a lot of my fellow liberals disagreed with the column. There were thousands of comments on it, and some of them made some very fair points in disagreeing with me.

I thought I would try to address some of those concerns.

Clip of Jordan: I’m Jordan, from Kansas City, Mo. Back in 2016, I reserved some judgment for folks who were swept up in Trump’s lies about taking on corrupt institutions and uplifting the forgotten reaches of the country. Instead, he did what the G.O.P. always does: cater to the rich and powerful at the expense of the ***working class***. He has the very image of corruption in politics, and after Jan. 6, every American should have been repulsed by the idea of him returning to power. I’m sorry, but I’m fresh out of sympathy for these deluded souls. They can cry victim all they want, but if they seriously believe Trump is the answer to their problems, they’re either lying to themselves or lying about their true intentions. Enough is enough.

Kristof: Jordan, I think you’re absolutely right that Trump and, more broadly, the G.O.P. has been of zero help to those ***working-class*** voters. But why wouldn’t you have sympathy for people who’ve been left behind and in their desperation turn to a false prophet? These are folks whose life expectancy has fallen, who are struggling with early death.

Yesterday I was talking to a friend whose car had broken down, and he needed two dollars for a bolt to fix his car and he couldn’t afford two dollars. He didn’t have two dollars.

I think it’s easy from a position of privilege to wag fingers and say: “Why don’t these folks understand?” But one of the reasons the U.S. historically has not had better, more socially conscious policies is a complete lack of empathy among conservatives for those who are struggling. I don’t want to see liberals now follow along and likewise give up on empathy and blame the victims.

Clip of Robert: I’m Robert, from Woodland, Calif. I take exception to Mr. Kristof patronizing Democrats and instructing them how to address Donald Trump’s supporters. Yes, there are those supporters who have suffered addiction and hardship, but that this might logically lead them to support a criminal and potential dictator — it is simply a bridge too far. Besides, many Trump supporters can’t even plead hardship as an excuse. They include the wealthy, the angry and the just plain ignorant.

Kristof: Robert, I think you make a very valid point that plenty of Trump supporters are affluent and don’t have a good excuse. But there are a lot of ***working-class*** voters who are drawn to Trump precisely because they have been left behind. I’m much more sympathetic to them.

One of the things that I think complicates this is there has been this big educational shift in the electorate. In 1992, Bill Clinton got about two-thirds of white ***working-class*** votes, but now, Trump has been getting about 60 percent of those voters. So Democrats, I think, pioneered empathy toward ***working-class*** voters. I think of Franklin Roosevelt in particular:

Clip of Franklin Roosevelt: These unhappy times call for the building up of plans that build from the bottom up and not from the top down, that put their faith once more in the forgotten man at the bottom of the economic pyramid.

Kristof: That was a time when there were many ***working-class*** white Americans who were profoundly bigoted and antisemitic and racist and sexist. Yet F.D.R. didn’t catalog their shortcomings and say, “Oh, well, you don’t really deserve empathy.” Rather, he reached out. He acknowledged their pain. And he won elections and created this democratic majority for decades to come. So I’d like to see us recover some of that empathy and some of that ethos.

I also think that American politics could desperately use a certain amount of humility. One of the things that I think my generation maybe was fortunate about was that liberals like myself, who grew up in the 1960s and ’70s, we saw firsthand how dumb our own side could be. One of the great political misjudgments was that of the left in the 1960s and ’70s and the tendency to embrace communism or Maoism. And maybe that inoculated us to some degree from this sense that we’re always going to be the virtuous ones who get it right.

From my point of view, conservatives have been unusually wrong over the last few decades: wrong on civil rights, wrong on gay rights, wrong on women’s rights, et cetera. And I think that has resulted in a certain amount of hubris on the left. I think that it’s worth pushing back at that.

We all have a tendency to screw up, and I think that perspective, perhaps, can give us a little more sense of respect and civility for those who disagree with us.

Thoughts? Email us at [*theopinions@nytimes.com*](https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/the-opinions/id1762898126).

This episode of “The Opinions” was produced by Jillian Weinberger. It was edited by Kaari Pitkin and Alison Bruzek. Mixing by Pat McCusker. Original music by Carole Sabouraud, Isaac Jones and Sonia Herrero. Fact-checking by Kate Sinclair. Audience strategy by Shannon Busta and Adrian Rivera. Our executive producer is Annie-Rose Strasser.

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Illustration by The New York Times; photograph by Justin Sullivan/Getty FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 4, 2024

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[***The Elites Had It Coming; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCK-BTG1-JBG3-625M-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 9, 2024 Saturday 16:52 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1442 words

**Byline:** Thomas Frank

**Highlight:** Democrats got exactly what they set out to get, and now here we are.

**Body**

Everyone has a moment when he first realized that Donald Trump might well return, and here is mine. It was back in March, during a visit to the Smithsonian’s National Portrait Gallery, when I happened to read the explanatory text beside an old painting. This note described the westward advance of the United States in the 19th century as “settler colonialism.” I read it, and I knew instantly where this nation was going.

My problem with this bit of academic jargon was not that it was wrong, per se, or that President Biden was somehow responsible for putting it there but rather that it offered a glimpse of our poisoned class relations. Some curator at one of our most exalted institutions of public instruction had decided to use a currently fashionable, morally loaded academic keyword to address a visitor to the museum — say, a family from the Midwest, doing the round of national shrines — and teach them a lesson about American wickedness.

Twenty years ago I published a book about politics in my home state of Kansas where white, ***working-class*** voters seemed to be drifting into the arms of right-wing movements. I attributed this, in large part, to the culture wars, which the right framed in terms of ***working-class*** agony. Look at how these powerful people insult our values!, went the plaint, whether they were talking about the theory of evolution or the war on Christmas.

This was worth pointing out because working people were once the heart and soul of left-wing parties all over the world. It may seem like a distant memory, but not long ago, the left was not a movement of college professors, bankers or high-ranking officers at Uber or Amazon. Working people: That’s what parties of the left were very largely about. The same folks who just expressed such remarkable support for Donald Trump.

My Kansas story was mainly about Republicans, but I also wrote about the way the Democrats were gradually turning away from working people and their concerns. Just think of all those ebullient Democratic proclamations in the ’90s about trade and tech and globalization and financial innovation. What a vision they had: All those manifestoes about futurific wired workers or the learning class, all those speeches about how Democrats had to leave the worker-centric populism of the 1930s behind them, all those brilliant triangulations and reaching out to the right. When I was young, it seemed that every rising leader in the Democratic Party was making those points. That was the way to win voters in what they called the center, the well-educated suburbanites and computer-literate professionals everybody admired.

Well, those tech-minded Democrats got exactly what they set out to get, and now here we are. At the Republican convention in July, JD Vance described the ruination visited on his ***working-class*** town in Ohio by NAFTA and trade with China, both of which he blamed at least in part on Mr. Biden, and also the human toll taken by the Iraq war, which he also contrived to blame on Mr. Biden. Today Mr. Vance is the vice president-elect, and what I hope you will understand, what I want you to mull over and take to heart and remember for the rest of your life, is that he got there by mimicking the language that Americans used to associate with labor, with liberals, with Democrats.

By comparison, here is Barack Obama in 2016, describing [*to Bloomberg Businessweek*](https://www.bloomberg.com/features/2016-obama-anti-business-president/?sref=B3uFyqJT) his affinity for the private sector: “Just to bring things full circle about innovation — the conversations I have with Silicon Valley and with venture capital pull together my interests in science and organization in a way I find really satisfying.”

I hope Mr. Obama finds his silicon satisfaction. I hope the men of capital whose banks he bailed out during the financial crisis show a little gratitude and build him the biggest, most expensive, most innovative presidential library of them all. But his party is in ruins today, without a leader and without a purpose.

It would have been nice if the Democrats could have triangulated their way into the hearts of enough educated and affluent suburbanites to make up for the ***working-class*** voters they’ve lost over the years, but somehow that strategy rarely works out. They could have gone from boasting about Dick Cheney’s endorsement to becoming a version of Mr. Cheney themselves, and it still wouldn’t have been enough. A party of the left that identifies with people like Mr. Cheney is a contradiction in terms, a walking corpse.

For a short time in the last few years, it looked as if the Democrats might actually have understood all this. What the Biden administration did on antitrust and manufacturing and union organizing was never really completed but it was inspiring. Framed the right way, it might have formed the nucleus of a strong appeal to the voters Mr. Trump has stolen away. Kamala Harris had the skills: She spoke powerfully at the Democratic convention about a woman’s right to choose and Mr. Trump’s unfitness for high office. Speaker after speaker at the gathering in Chicago blasted the Republicans for their hostility to working people. There was even a [*presentation*](https://www.bloomberg.com/features/2016-obama-anti-business-president/?sref=B3uFyqJT) about the meaning of the word “populism.” At times it felt like they were speaking to me personally.

At the same time, the convention featured lots of saber-rattling speeches hailing America’s awesome war-making abilities. The administration’s achievements on antitrust were barely mentioned. There was even a [*presentation*](https://www.bloomberg.com/features/2016-obama-anti-business-president/?sref=B3uFyqJT) by the governor of Illinois, an heir to the Hyatt hotel fortune, in which he boasted of being a real billionaire, not a fake one like Donald Trump supposedly is, and the assembled Democrats cheered their heads off for this fortunate son. Then, once Ms. Harris’s campaign got rolling, it largely [*dropped*](https://www.bloomberg.com/features/2016-obama-anti-business-president/?sref=B3uFyqJT) economic populism, wheeled out [*another billionaire*](https://www.bloomberg.com/features/2016-obama-anti-business-president/?sref=B3uFyqJT) and embraced Liz Cheney.

Mr. Trump, meanwhile, put together a remarkable coalition of the disgruntled. He reached out to everyone with a beef, from Robert Kennedy Jr. to Elon Musk. From free-speech guys to book banners. From Muslims in Michigan to anti-immigration zealots everywhere. “Trump will fix it,” declared the signs they waved at his rallies, regardless of which “it” you had in mind.

Republicans spoke of Mr. Trump’s persecution by liberal prosecutors, of how he was censored by Twitter, of the incredible strength he showed after being shot. He was an “American Bad Ass,” in the words of Kid Rock. And clucking liberal pundits would sometimes respond to all this by mocking the very concept of grievance, as though discontent itself were the product of a diseased mind.

Liberals had nine years to decipher Mr. Trump’s appeal — and they failed. The Democrats are a party of college graduates, as the whole world understands by now, of Ph.D.s and genius-grant winners and the best consultants money can buy. Mr. Trump is a con man straight out of Mark Twain; he will say anything, promise anything, do nothing. But his movement baffled the party of education and innovation. Its most brilliant minds couldn’t figure him out.

I have been writing about these things for 20 years, and I have begun to doubt that any combination of financial disaster or electoral chastisement will ever turn on the lightbulb for the liberals. I fear that ’90s-style centrism will march on, by a sociological force of its own, until the parties have entirely switched their social positions and the world is given over to Trumpism.

Can anything reverse it? Only a resolute determination by the Democratic Party to rededicate itself to the majoritarian vision of old: a Great Society of broad, inclusive prosperity. This means universal health care and a higher minimum wage. It means robust financial regulation and antitrust enforcement. It means unions and a welfare state and higher taxes on billionaires, even the cool ones. It means, above all, liberalism as a social movement, as a coming together of ordinary people — not a series of top-down reforms by well-meaning professionals.

That seems a long way away today. But the alternative is — what? To blame the voters? To scold the world for failing to see how noble we are? No. It will take the opposite sentiment — solidarity — to turn the world right side up again.

Thomas Frank is the author, most recently, of “The People, No.”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.bloomberg.com/features/2016-obama-anti-business-president/?sref=B3uFyqJT) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.bloomberg.com/features/2016-obama-anti-business-president/?sref=B3uFyqJT). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.bloomberg.com/features/2016-obama-anti-business-president/?sref=B3uFyqJT).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Jonno Rattman for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 11, 2024

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[***You Had a Lot of Questions About the Election; The Ezra Klein Show***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DM6-4N51-DXY4-X1S6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 10, 2024 Tuesday 14:42 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 6393 words

**Byline:** Ezra Klein, Ezra Klein joined Opinion in 2021. Previously, he was the founder, editor in chief and then editor at large of Vox; the host of the podcast &amp;#8220;The Ezra Klein Show&amp;#8221;; and the author of &amp;#8220;Why We&amp;#8217;re Polarized.&amp;#8221; Before that, he was a columnist and editor at The Washington Post, where he founded and led the Wonkblog vertical. He is on Threads.

**Highlight:** Ezra Klein answers listener questions about the future of the Democratic Party, the meaning of “the ***working class***,” how blue cities should respond to their apparent electoral rebuke and more.

**Body**

This is an edited transcript of an episode of “The Ezra Klein Show.” You can listen to the conversation by following or subscribing to the show on the [*NYT Audio App*](https://apps.apple.com/us/app/nyt-audio/id1549293936), [*Apple*](https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/the-ezra-klein-show/id1548604447), [*Spotify*](https://open.spotify.com/show/3oB5noYIwEB2dMAREj2F7S), [*Amazon Music*](https://music.amazon.com/podcasts/c4a3b1da-5433-49e6-8c14-0e1da53be78c/the-ezra-klein-show), [*YouTube*](https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLdMrbgYfVl-szepgVpArP0obwYgbKdfvx), [*iHeartRadio*](https://www.iheart.com/podcast/326-the-ezra-klein-show-31142409/) or [*wherever you get your podcasts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/19/opinion/how-to-listen-ezra-klein-show-nyt.html?action=click&amp;module=RelatedLinks&amp;pgtype=Article).

Ezra Klein: Welcome to the first subscriber-only “Ask Me Anything” episode. We’re in the new postpaywall era. We want to make sure you’re getting more for your money.

I’m joined today by Claire Gordon, our great senior editor, to talk through a bunch of election-related questions you all have sent in.

Claire Gordon: Yeah, people are paying for this. So you’ve got to tell them how you really feel.

Klein: It’s got to be good.

Gordon: We got a ton of questions sent in about the elections. This is very much an election-focused AMA.

And to start off: Democrats have been losing the ***working class***. Democrats are desperate to win back the ***working class***.

And we got a couple questions, one from Garrett Burnett, who asked, “What does ‘***working class***’ even mean anymore?” And then Andrew Owen, who’s like: What are we talking about with the ***working class***? I mean, I imagine it’s not really a monolith in today’s economy.

So what the heck is the ***working class***?

Klein: Ah, a nice easy question about an endlessly contested definitional controversy.

Look, there’s no definition of the ***working class*** that works. People are individuals, and no megacategory is going to capture everybody. So imagine if you say the ***working class*** is anybody making less than $50,000. Well, you got a lot of English Ph.D. students who are making less than $50,000. Is an English Ph.D. student at Yale a member of the ***working class***?

Maybe in a sense. But in another sense, probably they are working with cultural capital that the son of a barber who is making a little bit above minimum wage doing deliveries for Uber is not working with.

So on the one hand, you miss people if you’re looking just at income. If you’re looking just at education, if you want to make the cut that we normally make, which is college or noncollege: Plenty of people who don’t go to college have amazing careers. You have people who didn’t go to college, but they have an exterminator company that does really well in South Texas. You have people who are college dropouts. Depending on how you make that cut, maybe you catch him, maybe you don’t? But is Bill Gates a member of the ***working class***? Or Mark Zuckerberg?

There’s nothing perfect here. I tend to go with the educational cut. I think it’s cleaner. I think it captures something more enduring about a person’s situation. The problem with income is income fluctuates a lot year to year. So somebody might be having a down year: They’re making $45,000. Maybe next year it’s $90,000.

Gordon: Or over your life.

Klein: Or over your life.

Gordon: All young people are ***working class*** by an income definition.

Klein: Exactly. So income: It fluctuates so much that it doesn’t tell you a lot about the trajectory people are on. And where they were even just a couple of years ago. Whereas education tends to be capturing something that is a little bit more consistent.

It is related to their cultural capital. It is related to where they come from. We know that people are much more likely to go to college if their parents went to college. So that’s what I use. That is what most people who study this use.

And I do think, by the way, as the Democratic Party’s coalition becomes more college educated, you see too much focus on the problems people like that specifically have.

So student-loan forgiveness was a big demand inside the Democratic coalition, a big demand from what you might call the Jacobin left of the Democratic Party. It turned out to be quite unpopular because it was functionally, depending on the measure you looked at, upward redistribution. Somebody does pay for that.

Now, there might be reasons you want to do that, and there might be particular groups for whom you want to do that. People got ripped off by for-profit colleges. But I do think one of the reasons it turned out to be bad politics was it was another example of Democrats’ focusing more on the people who were in their coalition and the problems they had than on the people who were not.

And people felt that. For a lot of people, going to college is a sign itself of a certain level of privilege. And for that to have been the thing that got forgiven, not credit card debt, not medical debt, not debt to payday lenders — that hurt. So I think that’s one reason it’s worth focusing on them.

The other thing I would just say is there’s not a cut you can make here that tells a different story. It is not as if Democrats are doing worse with noncollege voters but better with voters making less than $50,000 a year. Almost no matter how you look at this, the trends are going badly for Democrats among the people, again, they claim to represent and whom they say their policies are focused on.

And that’s a thing we’re seeing in a lot of advanced democracies. You see this in a lot of European countries. So it’s not a specific mistake that the American Democratic Party is making.

There are bigger global trends happening here that are happening to a greater or lesser extent in different places. But we are seeing them mirrored in country after country after country, suggesting some pretty big structural factors here — and that reversing them will require pretty big structural and political movements.

Gordon: So I found this question pretty interesting, very curious what you think, from Noah Case:

It’s not uncommon to see people claim that the United States is moving toward a postmaterial politics. I can’t decide whether these election results weaken that claim or strengthen it.

On the one hand, for all the talk of wokeness and cultural issues, it seems like voters swung to Trump because of inflation — a material issue. On the other hand, voters picked a candidate whose policies will raise prices and diminish Americans’ standard of living.

What do you make of that contradiction? Is it even a contradiction?

So was this a postmaterial election or was it the economy, stupid?

Klein: So all elections are now postmaterial elections. But it’s important to say what that means.

The theory of postmaterialism, which comes from Ronald Inglehart and, to a large degree, Pippa Norris, who’s been on the show in the past, is noting that in the ’70s, you begin to see — in America but also in other countries — a sharply rising set of concerns that are not directly about the pocketbook or about war.

So environmental concerns, concerns about equality, concerns about different forms of political participation. And this continues to rise as countries become more educated and more affluent. And so the basket of issues is just broader.

And to some degree that was always true. I do think you can overstate how much the pre-’70s politics was all material. It’s not as if race was not an issue in American politics in 1940, to say nothing of 1840.

Gordon: Or women in the 1910s.

Klein: Or women. But there is very, very good evidence that this hits a kind of tipping point. You have much more of societies going to college. That seems to change the way politics works. And that’s just continued to be true.

So inflation was very, very important this year. In that way I wouldn’t say it was a postmaterial election at all. On the other hand, when we say inflation was very, very important this year — what are we saying? Well, in 2020 we didn’t have an inflation problem. And what we seem to have had is a five-to-six-point swing in the vote from 2020, something like that.

Overwhelmingly, the way people voted in 2024 was how they voted in 2020. So what shifted this election on the margin, I think, was largely what we would call material concerns. On the other hand, most people are not voting in a way that is exquisitely sensitive to the promises the two parties are making about material concerns.

The fundamental fact of the elections now is that they’re stable and that partisanship is very deeply entrenched, and people are not changing their minds in relationship to this or that policy. They’re not changing their minds even in relationship to this or that economy. To see how much some of this is psychological, it is worth going and looking at these charts.

You can go see them at Gallup or other places that measure consumer confidence and expectations about the economy and people saying the economy is good or bad. Just look at the shift that happens if you break that down by partisanship when Donald Trump wins. Partisans feel better about the economy when their team is in charge, and that has a much bigger effect on economic expectations than any individual policy you can isolate.

Gordon: And that’s an indication of postmaterial times.

Klein: I think so. It’s an indication that people are putting a lot before the actual condition of their bank account.

Gordon: Well, that kind of tees up nicely. My next question, which we also got from a couple different listeners, is: In the middle of this postmortem season on the election, what lessons do you worry would be the wrong ones for the party to learn, going forward, or lessons you worry that Democrats might overlearn?

Klein: Oh, that’s a good question.

Let me start here. I think the battle on what you might call extreme wokeness has already been won. I think it was won before the election. I think you saw that in Kamala Harris’s campaign.

So one concern I have is I think there is more likelihood on that of an overcorrection, where, particularly, trans people get thrown under the bus. And if you look at what Representative Nancy Mace is doing, targeting Senator Sarah McBride in Congress: There is such hatred of trans people in the Republican Party right now. And trans people are such a vulnerable group that I think it’s worth being very careful there.

And Democrats made really severe political mistakes here. I would say the trans activist community was part of those political mistakes, and they allowed themselves to get caught on the edge cases Republicans had chosen. It was as if the main political issue around trans rights was National Collegiate Athletic Association swimming competitions or, for that matter, combat sports. And it’s just not.

You do not want to let the other side choose the issue. And in a very strange way, a lot of the groups that were trying to represent and were working in a very sincere way on behalf of trans people were also trying to make Democrats get caught on these edge cases. Because they were using them to force Democrats to send a costly signal of their commitment to trans rights.

If you were willing to say, for instance, that yes, you would do gender-reassignment surgeries for prisoners: That’s a real signal you’re willing to take some political pain in order to show your allegiance or your allyship to that community. I think that just ended up being a fairly disastrous political maneuver. But I think that’s done.

And I think that’s true on a lot of things. I’m more worried now about people forgetting that systemic racism is a real thing that we need to think about in policymaking than about it being overly big in policymaking.

There are places where this isn’t true. I think that university diversity, equity and inclusion organizations are still a very strange space. There’s a [*great piece by Nicholas Confessore in The New York Times*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/16/magazine/dei-university-michigan.html) about the architecture of the University of Michigan’s huge D.E.I. efforts and how ineffective it has been — how much money has gone into it, how it’s made everybody less happy there — and there’s been no advance on anything people care about.

So to me, there is a tendency here that is mirrored in many other areas of liberal lawmaking to focus on process and not outcomes. I’m pretty for D.E.I. efforts that achieve the outcomes they set out to pursue. I am not for the ones that don’t. And there’s been very little seriousness about it. There’s been a lot of signaling.

So that’s one area, though, where I am more worried about the overcorrection than I think the needed correction.

Gordon: I’m just curious: Politically, how do you walk that line in practice, say, if you’re a Democrat running for office? Because I imagine Republicans are going to keep wanting to make this a salient issue.

They see it as a winning one for them. Journalists will ask candidates about it. It sounds like you’re saying that you hope the Democratic Party doesn’t make trans issues their Sister Souljah moment.

Klein: That is one of the things I’m saying. Because also I don’t think that’s why Kamala Harris lost. I don’t think it’s the most important feature of this period of American policymaking.

I will say that I thought Representative Seth Moulton, who is from Massachusetts, who there was flak around because he said after the election that he didn’t want his girls playing in sports with people who were biologically born as men, and then the parts of the Democratic Party or the parts of the liberal coalition, whatever you want to call it, that have been enforcing a lockstep on this came after him.

And you watch Moulton hold his ground, and nothing bad happened to him. And then he said something in a more recent — I saw it quoted in a Times article: But that doesn’t mean that I want to allow anybody to be discriminated against in this country for being trans.

And every single issue is like this.

You have to know what it is you are for and what it is where the politics do not support you going further — or you don’t even think it’s a good idea to go further. And you just have to draw the lines correctly.

When people say the Democratic Party was listening too much to the groups, it’s not that they listened to every group on everything. Ask the people demanding a Gaza cease-fire how quick the Biden administration was to take up their cause.

I think one thing that did happen here was that Joe Biden was very, very, very engaged on foreign policy. And he really kept hold of that. And I do think as a man in his 80s, there were limits to how much he was that level of engaged on.

And I think domestic policy was outsourced much more to larger internal coalitions in the Democratic Party than the foreign policy was. And so there were a lot of lines drawn on foreign policy, and there was a lot less of that internal balancing happening on domestic policy. They were just saying yes to too much.

Everybody has to figure out where their politics are, and then they have to work, if they don’t think the politics is where they want it to be, to change the politics. But what was happening too often in the Democratic Party was a shortcut. You weren’t trying to change the politics; you were just getting the politicians to sign on to what you wanted. And the politicians were treating signing on to things as if those were acts of politics, as if those groups spoke for very large parts of the country and, by bringing them on, you were actually bringing on the constituencies they claimed to represent.

And the political theory in both directions was wrong. But that is not unique to social issues, not unique to gender identity issues, not unique to racial issues.

This is how economic issues work. Tax cuts are popular until you go too far and you gut the government. This is how health care policy works. Climate policy has all these dynamics.

What good politicians do is they balance.

Gordon: So to make this issue a little bit more personal, we’ve got a question from Don Frost, who said: “As a young gender-queer Pennsylvanian, the ads this cycle have been difficult, to say the least. Trans and queer folk, especially around the Philly area, are already targets for violence. My fear is that this violence will grow over the next four years. Hearing the mainstream media —”

Gordon: The narratives that you were just talking about that Democrats have gone too woke on trans issues —

“— has me deeply worried. I understand wanting to focus our messaging on the ***working class***, but why should I fight for a party that views me as expendable?”

Klein: I can’t speak for the Democratic Party. My position, as I said a second ago, is that this election was not lost on trans issues — and that it is neither the right nor the moral response to it to flip all the way in the other direction.

I have many of the same fears as that listener. I watch what Nancy Mace is doing. I watch what the Trump administration — or the incoming Trump administration — is saying what that coalition in the Republican Party wants, and I think it is reasonable to be afraid. And one of the lessons I take from that is that if you are trying to protect vulnerable people or if you are a vulnerable person who is working in politics, you have to take the politics really seriously.

People often make the analogy between this set of issues and gay rights and gay marriage. And there’s a lot of reasons that analogy may not hold, depending on what part of this you’re talking about. The questions of expanding marriage and the questions of, say, gender-reassignment surgery for minors are just very different questions.

And they’re probably going to have a different politics ultimately associated with them. So assuming that things will naturally all take the shape of gay marriage, even over time, is probably not right.

Even so, in 2004, which is a year I keep going back to as an analog for this year, there was, after that election, a belief among Democrats that a series of ballot initiatives around gay marriage had been part of what lost John Kerry the election by juicing evangelical turnout. And there was, by the way, in that period an effort to change the Constitution to make gay marriage unconstitutional, to define marriage as between a man and a woman.

So there was a real political effort to discriminate here — in a way that, looking back from our current vantage point, feels crazy. It was very, very little time after that that the right to gay marriage was enshrined in the Constitution. But what happened in the middle of that period was Barack Obama got elected. And he didn’t get elected by saying that he supported gay marriage.

He said he didn’t support gay marriage. But everybody kind of knew he did. And what he was doing explicitly, implicitly, in different ways, was balancing the politics so that he and the people who agreed with him — or, frankly, went further than him, like Joe Biden, ultimately — would have power and they would then be able to protect the people in their coalition they cared about. You cannot take the politics out of politics. And this is what I mean when I talk about the costly signaling — the investment in having politicians offer costly signals of supporting you. Not just saying the thing that is popular but saying the thing that is unpopular.

And that’s been taken as evidence of their commitment. You can really trust a politician who’s willing to take an unpopular stand on your behalf.

Well, now we’re seeing, at least partly, why that may not be a good strategy. Because what matters first is not everything the politician says but the power they have.

And if the politician who agrees with you 95 percent of the way or 90 percent of the way but only says 70 percent of the things you want them to say, because they’re trying to win votes in suburban Ohio or exurban Ohio — if that politician knows how to win, that’s actually a pretty good bet.

So I’m not going to tell anybody that they’re wrong to be afraid. But if the listener asks if they should work on behalf of a party that views them as expendable — I don’t know if they should work for Democrats. I’m not here to recruit anybody for the Democratic Party.

But the questions they should be asking, I think, need to be more fully political — that the question is gaining power for the coalition that will listen to and work with you, not finding a coalition that says everything that you want them to say. Because of the nature, the purpose, of the political coalition is to win political power, not to signal agreement.

And I think that has been forgotten in a lot of activist circles.

Gordon: Well, another question from a despairing corner of the Democratic —

Klein: Is this all going to be [Gordon laughs] anything but this? [Klein laughs.]

Gordon: What?

Klein: Do you think anybody is still listening? [Gordon laughs.] This is what we’re giving our subscribers? Thank you for subscribing to The New York Times?

Gordon: It’s an emotional arc. And then we’re going to end on just the rosy side of this whole election. So, Gaza, from Josh Wartel. He wrote in: “Many Democrats (fairly) wanted silence about Gaza during the campaign — to keep a united front against Trump. Now that Trump has won, was that a mistake?”

And basically, what do you do now if you desperately care about the situation in Gaza?

Klein: I’m going to hold off on the question of the politics of it.

This was impossible politics for the Democratic coalition.

It’s really worth noting that Donald Trump made huge gains among both Arab American voters and among Orthodox and conservative Jewish voters.

So the politics of this were so bad, the Democrats lost support on both sides of it simultaneously. And I think it is very clear in the appointments Trump is making which side of this he was actually on when he is putting people like Mike Huckabee in as the ambassador to Israel, and Huckabee has an evangelical messianic set of views on Israel.

I don’t think, in the end, the Biden administration did a good job here. I’m not particularly supportive of where they’ve been over the past six or eight months.

But Donald Trump, from the signals being sent by these appointments, is really frightening. And it is, I fear, a real blank check for the Netanyahu government.

And what can be done about it? I don’t know.

I don’t think that anti-Gaza protesters are going to have a lot of influence on a Trump administration. I don’t think, frankly, America has as much influence over Israel as it wishes it does. This is, to be fair to the Biden administration, part of the balancing act they’ve been in.

If I had one of their senior staffers here, what they would say is that they often had the choice between functionally severing the relationship with Netanyahu and the Israeli government — and that government possibly becoming more brutal, pulling closer to China and Russia — and being in this delicate act of trying to, at least in their mind, hold them back somewhat and maintain influence.

Again, my view is that a harder pivot needed to have been made much earlier, and that if in the end that did mean we lost some of the relationship with Israel, I think that would have been at least a risk worth running. I don’t think what they did worked out. That’s just my view.

I think the better outcome you can hope for here is that all these wars are near their natural end.

Yahya Sinwar, the Hamas leader, is dead. Hamas is functionally annihilated as a significant military force. That’s been true for some time now. And Iran clearly doesn’t want the fight, and Trump doesn’t want disorder. He wants to be seen as the strongman who came back in and restored order. And what I think that he will want to do — and what I think the Israeli government might want to give him — is order.

Now, that order is going to come in the context of a zero political horizon for the Palestinians. It is going to come in the context of just functionally unending Israeli occupation over Gaza.

I don’t think the Trump administration is looking or particularly interested in the question of whether or not Palestinians have self-determination or even self-governance in Gaza. And the ability of West Bank settlers and the Israeli right wing to continue annexation in the West Bank is going to accelerate.

And I don’t know what the levers people can pull from here on that are. They were not strong in the Biden administration. They’re going to be weaker in the Trump administration. So I think you might get an end to the really acute phase of violence, at least for now. But the slower violence, the more politicized violence, the movement toward annexation — I think that’s going to accelerate.

And I think that they will be emboldened with Trump to say this is our chance to maybe destroy the Iranian nuclear efforts — if they think they can do that. It’s not clear if they can do that. Or in punishment for something, to set fire to the Iranian oil fields — that kind of thing.

The Trump administration is full of very intense Iran hawks. So that is a space that I worry about as a place where you could see a lot of war. That will be somewhat restrained by the fact that I think the Trump administration does not want to be seen as having a lot of war on its watch. I think they don’t want to be presiding over chaos.

So maybe you get some stability. I think you would have gotten that one way or the other because of where the conflict is. But if you wanted a movement at any point here toward a more just outcome, I don’t, at least at this moment, see the pathway for it.

And you were saying this is a despairing question. But it’s a despairing answer.

Gordon: How about a nice question for you?

Klein: Yeah, how about one?

Gordon: From Matthew Dreiling:

One of the striking things about the presidential election was how places like California and New York swung toward Trump. As the Democrats rebuild from this defeat, I think a lot of local elections, like the upcoming mayoral election in New York, could be a testing ground for a new type of politics: one that focuses on making it easier for ***working-class*** people to live and raise a family in big cities. What do you think would be the best policies Democrats could embrace to make their cities better?

Gordon: You just finished a book on this?

Klein: I just finished a book, coming out in March, “Abundance,” which you’ll be hearing more about.

I think in terms of what is difficult here: It worries me that there isn’t yet an example of a big American city that entered into what I’d call the equilibrium of tightly regulated growth constraint — very, very hard to build homes, a lot of process really to build anything — and was able to really turn that around.

Austin, Texas, and Houston are very good examples here that have had much looser restrictions on building, have been able to be much more flexible. And Austin has built homes at a pace like nothing you see in San Francisco or Los Angeles or Boston or New York — and rents have fallen. That is a real policy win there.

I will say this was beginning a couple years ago. Eric Adams won the New York mayoral race very much on this sort of appeal. He is a Black ex-cop who was running against disorder, made good arguments about upzoning and building more homes. And the problem is, he’s ineffective and possibly corrupt. And so it didn’t really work.

Gordon: Turkey. Why Turkey?

Klein: Why Turkey? I think there is less proven than there is suspected. Let me put it that way. It’s probably not just a weakness for the country of Turkey, is my point.

And then you look at other cities. You know, London Breed, who was the mayor of San Francisco and just lost for re-election — she knew all this.

She was considered by many to not be that effective, though the mayorship in S.F. is a limited office, as it is everywhere, to different degrees. She at least talked a big game on NIMBYism. And I’ve watched so many of these big city mayors promise more housing but not be able to deliver it — not because they didn’t want it but because they couldn’t master the bureaucracy, the process. They couldn’t get it through the board of supervisors; they couldn’t deal with the planning commissions; the power is very fractured. The idea that it’s just what the mayor wants is simply not true.

But I’ve been working on a piece about why, if the YIMBYs have been so intellectually effective, they made it into both Kamala Harris’s and Barack Obama’s Democratic National Committee speeches.

Why in San Francisco — which is the center of YIMBY power, where the YIMBY movement began, where in California they have passed the most legislation — why do you not see more homes being built? Why can you not see an effect, really, of YIMBYism in San Francisco?

And so I was calling and talking to people who build homes there. And one of the things they were saying to me was: Well, yeah, Senator Scott Wiener and Buffy Wicks, the California State Assembly member, and other excellent, pro-housing California legislators have passed a lot of bills. But those bills, in order to take advantage of those fast-track processes, you have to accept all these other standards. You have to pay, say, prevailing wage, which is paying a much higher wage, sort of more like what union members would make. What they said is: When you do that, when you add in all the things you have to then do in the project, the set-asides for affordability, that kind of thing, to take advantage of the faster process means adding so many things that raise my costs, it’s just not worth it for me, so I don’t do it.

So California has passed all these bills to build homes faster. But it’s not building homes faster because, in the end, it wasn’t willing to make the trade-offs to get there. The thing that they can point to as having done really well is made it possible to build these accessory dwelling units.

That’s because now you really just can do it. Like, if you own the land, you can build a little in-law unit. But you can’t build a house that way. And so it’s not that everybody wants to make a million compromises. Big-city politics, state politics are difficult: There are interest groups. You need to win over the support of legislators who have come up in a different politics than you have. This stuff takes time. And it hasn’t been going on for all that long. But right now it has not been successful.

And until what is actually happening in these cities changes, I think it is important for Democrats to be pretty skeptical and to keep a lot of pressure on.

Voting is cheap. The fact that a lot of people who live in blue cities or blue states either didn’t come out for Harris or voted for Trump — that’s a cheap expression of disinterest. Or anger. What’s expensive is moving. That is what people there are doing, too.

People are leaving Illinois and New York and California — by the hundreds of thousands. Net migration is very big. It is so big, if the trends continue, the 2030 census will take so much political power away from the big blue states because they have lost so much population to red states that if Kamala Harris or a future presidential candidate on the Democratic side won every state Harris won and won Michigan and Pennsylvania and Wisconsin — the so-called blue wall — that still would not be enough to win the presidency.

So Democrats, in the states they govern, are losing so many people that they are also losing political power. That is a very deep expression of anger. And not just anger — sadness. A lot of these people don’t want to leave. They just can’t afford to raise a family in the place they live. That, to me, is a huge failure.

And it doesn’t end until it actually ends. Electing a mayor who says they want to change it doesn’t change it. We’ve seen that a lot. You have to change an entire system built up over a very long period of time. And the truth is nobody has done that yet.

Gordon: We actually had a question — a listener wrote in a question about that — about how the Electoral College might change, the math might change, Florida might gain, Texas might gain and how worried Democrats should be and if they should start thinking about it now and planning for it.

And it sounds like the answer might be: Just make it easier to build in New York City or in San Francisco.

Klein: They should be worried, but I’m very careful about futurecasting into politics. So we’re talking here, I guess, about the 2032 election — eight years from now.

Eight years ago, we had the 2016 election, which we now understand began creating a coalitional realignment in American politics that flowered in 2020 and 2024. Things are going to change between here and then, too. And so I don’t want to do too much static forecasting of “Well, the population will change this way. And if you hold the two-party coalitions constant, they’re going to do this.”

Gordon: We’re here with the same president as we had back then.

Klein: But how good does the demographic forecasting that had made Democrats so confident in 2015 look right now? He’s not winning for the reasons he won, necessarily, in 2016. If he had not made huge gains with, particularly, Hispanic and Asian voters and some gains maybe with Black voters, he’d be in a very different position.

So the things that people did when they drew straight lines on their population charts and assumed that people would be voting the way they are now in 10 years — I’ve just become very cautious about that form of analysis.

Gordon: As a final question, this one is from Ilan Golberstein: “I’m currently 13. If you were a 13-year-old right now, what would you be telling yourself,” he says, “about school but maybe about politics right now?”

I love thinking about being 13 right now. And this kid became, like, sentient in the first Trump administration.

I don’t know if you have an immediate thought.

Klein: I didn’t think about politics when I was 13. I have to be honest — I mean, I don’t think if you’re 13, maybe you should be thinking that much about politics.

I don’t know that I have a good answer for this. Here’s what I believe about advice in general, and it’s, like, a very old-school podcast question: What would you tell your younger self? Tim Ferriss used to ask a question like that. I remember always enjoying it. And I’ve thought about that question. And the truth is, I don’t think anything I could have told my younger self would help.

Gordon: Because you’re doing pretty good.

Klein: [Laughs] Well, that’s not what I mean, actually. I don’t think advice is that useful. Except in very rare circumstances. It’s really hard to implement. You know, the thing everybody wants to say, right? The thing that, you know: Enjoy it. I wish I told myself at 13 to enjoy it. These were some really wonderful, amazing years.

I did not enjoy being 13. I did not enjoy being 14, did not enjoy being 15 —

Gordon: You were not unique in that.

Klein: Yeah, and nobody coming to me and saying, “Stop and smell the flowers. This is actually great!” could have made me do it. I did terribly in school. I had, like, very few friends.

And I just had to change. And it wasn’t advice that changed me. It was life. It was experience. And it was things that I couldn’t have predicted and still don’t, myself, really understand.

So, I mean, I have some things that I think are just good for people all the time: I think people should read as many books — on paper — as they possibly can. I think that building that form of attention in yourself, even aside from what you learn from the books, building the ability to focus and think for long periods of time, is so valuable. And it is only getting more valuable as TikTok and the internet and A.I. and a million other things train us out of that. As everybody’s brain is being adapted to a much more hyperstimulated, short-form world, the ability to think in long form becomes that much more valuable.

But also, I don’t think me saying that is going to change anything for anybody. It’s hard to do all this. I’ve always loved reading books — and so easy for me to say.

Thirteen can be a tough age. The thing that I knew but wish I had known in my bones is that nothing that is true at 13 is necessarily going to be true in five or 10 years. That the degree to which life changes even year to year — I’m 40 — the degree to which my life is different today than five years ago, the degree to which in some ways it’s different than one year ago, it just shocks me every single year.

And it’s not because I can make a change or control it. But having the one real piece of wisdom I think aging has given me is some little part of me that actually believes — doesn’t just think or know or get told but actually believes — that whatever is going on now is not going to be going on in the same way in six months or to say nothing of six years. Like a somatic sense that just everything changes. And how you feel now may not even be just how you feel tomorrow. And there’s a lot of grace in that if you’re having a hard time.

Gordon: And four years — very long time for a 13-year-old, not that long in the grand scheme of things.

Klein: Yeah, four years, not that long in the grand scheme of politics and not predictable. I keep saying this to people, but there’s no guarantee that the shift from 2004 to 2008 is mirrored from 2024 to 2028. But what we’ve seen in the past in big second defeats for parties that then feel like a realignment — what was called the Republican permanent majority in 2004, the belief in the emerging Democratic majority after 2012 —

Gordon: People should stop writing books with these kinds of titles.

Klein: Exactly. And then now, things change politically more in four years than can be imagined. And so being open to those changes — and being alert — is really important.

Don’t draw a straight line from how you feel now or how the country feels now. Because the line is going to wiggle, curve, loop back on itself, become a star. All kinds of things are going to happen that we have not predicted now.

Gordon: All right. Thank you, Ezra.

Klein: Claire Gordon, thank you very much. And to all of you who have subscribed, thank you very much.

You can listen to our whole conversation by following “The Ezra Klein Show” on [*NYT Audio App*](https://apps.apple.com/us/app/nyt-audio/id1549293936), [*Apple*](https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/the-ezra-klein-show/id1548604447), [*Spotify*](https://open.spotify.com/show/3oB5noYIwEB2dMAREj2F7S), [*Amazon Music*](https://music.amazon.com/podcasts/c4a3b1da-5433-49e6-8c14-0e1da53be78c/the-ezra-klein-show), [*YouTube*](https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLdMrbgYfVl-szepgVpArP0obwYgbKdfvx), [*iHeartRadio*](https://www.iheart.com/podcast/326-the-ezra-klein-show-31142409/) or [*wherever you get your podcasts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/19/opinion/how-to-listen-ezra-klein-show-nyt.html?action=click&amp;module=RelatedLinks&amp;pgtype=Article). View a list of book recommendations from our guests [*here*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/ezra-klein-show-book-recs.html).

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**Body**

At six feet, the statue was taller than the man ever was. Carved roughly from limestone, his large shoulders hunched under a bright red jacket, the likeness of the man known as the Old General had held its perch in Nottingham, England, for nearly a century, suspended in a display window above the front door of the local pub.

From there, the statue had watched the world change around him. He was placed there at the start of Nottingham's 19th-century industrial heyday, but by the mid-2010s the English Midlands city, once powered by coal mining and manufacturing, had reinvented itself.

Modern flats dotted the streets. New offices and corporations had moved in. And the pub that housed the Old General statue and shared its name, in the center of the ***working-class*** Hyson Green neighborhood, had closed.

Still, through ups and downs, and as economic headwinds shuttered many local watering holes, the statue endured. Every Christmas, for as long as anyone could remember, residents dressed him as Santa Claus, filling his glass display window with twinkling lights and draping his stone shoulders in red velvet. To many longtime residents of Nottingham, the Old General's robing signaled the start of the Christmas season.

''It is a landmark,'' said Steve Oliver, a Nottingham native. ''Something that's ingrained in people's memories.''

For a while, even after the pub closed in 2009, the Christmas tradition continued and the statue remained, tended to by diligent locals who saw its upkeep as part of their community's disappearing traditions.

Then, in 2016, the Old General disappeared, too.

Born sometime around 1780, the real Old General -- a man named Benjamin Mayo -- lived his entire life in Nottingham. He came of age alongside his town, which became part of England's industrial boom.

Mayo was four feet tall and walked with a hunch, according to local lore. He made a small income hawking newspapers to Nottingham's workmen and, in his downtime, commanded a brigade of young hellions, whom he led as they performed innocent high jinks around town. His penchant for wearing old military garb earned him his moniker.

He died in 1843, but four decades later, when a pub opened at the corner of Radford and Bobber's Mill Roads, the proprietor named it the Old General. It soon boasted a rudimentary stone statue of Mayo, set prominently in a display window above the bar's front door.

The likeness survived the turn of the century, World War II and Nottingham's postwar renaissance, as the demand for coal from mines near the city drove an industrial and cultural boom.

But in a script that played out in many parts of Britain, the area's mines began closing in the second half of the 20th century, and most of the factories left, too. Raleigh Bicycles, one of the city's prized exports, stopped production in Nottingham in 2003. John Player and Sons cigarettes, which had produced rolled tobacco in the city for more than a century, left in 2016.

''We were sort of left to rot,'' said Lisa McKenzie, a professor who studies Britain's ***working class*** and was raised in Nottingham by a coal miner and a factory worker. ''There was no plan, no plan at all on what would happen to us.''

The Old General pub went through several ownership changes before closing for good in 2009. The window in which the statue had stood for more than 100 years was boarded over.

It signaled a broader trend in Britain's pub scene. Watering holes began shuttering en masse around 2010, according to the Campaign for Real Ale, or CAMRA, a commercial group that lobbies for pubs, which blamed taxes and rising costs, among other factors.

The coronavirus pandemic and changes in drinking patterns have calcified such trends. The British Beer and Pub Association, a lobbying organization, said 530 pubs closed in 2023, and 48 more in the first quarter of 2024, and called such figures worrying for Britain's economic and social fabric.

''The pub is still the great leveler,'' said Emma McClarkin, the association's chief executive. ''A lord and a bricklayer rubbing shoulders, sharing a drink -- that is a social value that they have to believe in.''

Mr. Oliver, 48, the longtime Nottingham resident, noticed immediately when the statue of the Old General' disappeared from sight behind the pub's boarded-up window. He cheekily began passing around missing persons fliers featuring pictures of it.

It worked, briefly: The boards came down, and the owner let Mr. Oliver in to dress the statue for Christmas.

But under yet another new owner, the building was locked up in 2011, the statue covered by a metal grate. It stayed there until 2015, when a developer bought the site to turn it into shops and apartments.

The news set off alarm bells through Hyson Green. Soon, people noticed that the figure behind the grates had disappeared. The developer promised that the statue would be preserved, and displayed in the redeveloped site.

''It is in a secret location,'' Derek Francis, a representative for the developer, told the BBC in 2016. ''But it is safe.''

There was no public sign of the statue for years. Hyson Green continued changing. The pub became an apartment building. The development company, which could not be reached, appeared to have changed hands.

''We'd always wondered,'' Andrew Ludlow, the secretary for Nottingham's chapter of CAMRA, the pub lobbying group, said of the statue. ''Everybody sort of remembers that they think he should be somewhere, but nobody knows exactly where he is.''

Then, in February, a CAMRA member was wandering the cluttered backyard of a charity shop next to the former pub when he noticed a large, precarious-looking plywood box, its panels green with mildew. The man asked what was in it.

Oh, a shop employee said, that's the Old General.

He summoned other members of the group, and not long after that they stood in the backyard and pried open a piece of the rotting plywood. There, wobbly but still standing, was the likeness of Benjamin Mayo. The Old General hadn't gone so far after all.

CAMRA members have since found the statue a new home. Castle Rock, a local brewery, paid to move it to another pub, the Vat and Fiddle. Then, a former bartender from the Old General reported that she had rescued some of the pub's memorabilia, including an old print of the statue, from a dumpster when it first closed. They have since joined the statue at the Vat and Fiddle.

The community has celebrated the statue's reappearance, said Ms. McKenzie, the Nottingham-raised professor, because it offers a link to a fast-changing city's past.

''When the sense of who you are is lost, that's the thing that people hold on to the most,'' she said. ''If that starts to be removed, you become nothing. And I think that is what has happened to these sorts of places.''

This Christmas season, the pub celebrated Benjamin Mayo's return with a ceremony, dressing him once again in his red velvet best.

''We can continue the journey,'' said Colin Wilde, the managing director of Castle Rock, ''and start writing its next chapters.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/24/world/europe/nottingham-pub-statue-uk.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/24/world/europe/nottingham-pub-statue-uk.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: The Old General after being liberated from a charity shop. Its new home is the Vat and Fiddle pub in Nottingham, England. (PHOTOGRAPH BY PETE MCWILLIAM/CASTLE ROCK BREWERY) This article appeared in print on page A6.

**Load-Date:** December 25, 2024

**End of Document**



[***David Brooks: Maybe Bernie Sanders Is Right***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DDD-X9H1-DXY4-X0TY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 13, 2024 Wednesday 14:28 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 223 words

**Byline:** David Brooks and Derek ArthurDavid Brooks is an Opinion columnist for The Times, writing about political, social and cultural trends.

**Highlight:** Democrats lost sight of the nation’s greatest inequality: Education.

**Body**

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The biggest divide in America today is not about race or gender, the Times Opinion columnist David Brooks argues. In this episode, he explains how the “diploma divide” can help us understand Donald Trump’s overwhelming support from ***working-class*** Americans and what Democrats can do to win them back.

(A full transcript of this audio essay will be available within 24 hours of publication in the audio player above.)

Thoughts? Email us at [*theopinions@nytimes.com*](https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/the-opinions/id1762898126).

This episode of “The Opinions” was produced by Derek Arthur. It was edited by Alison Bruzek and Kaari Pitkin. Mixing by Sonia Herrero. Original music by Sonia Herrero, Carole Sabouraud and Pat McCusker. Fact-checking by Mary Marge Locker. Audience strategy by Kristina Samulewski and Shannon Busta. The executive producer of Opinion Audio is Annie-Rose Strasser.

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Illustration by The New York Times; photograph by Harold M. Lambert/Getty FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 14, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Who Are the 51 Men Convicted in the Gisèle Pelicot Rape Trial?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DP4-6573-S9NJ-3492-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 19, 2024 Thursday 22:38 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 400 words

**Byline:** Ségolène Le Stradic and Catherine PorterS&amp;#233;gol&amp;#232;ne Le Stradic is a reporter and researcher covering France.

**Highlight:** Most of the accused received sentences of eight to 10 years, less than the 10- to 18-year terms that the public prosecutor had recommended.

**Body**

Most of the accused received sentences of eight to 10 years, less than the 10- to 18-year terms that the public prosecutor had recommended.

[*All 51 defendants*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/27/france-mass-rape-pelicot.html) in the Gisèle Pelicot rape trial were found guilty on Thursday. Most of the accused received sentences of eight to 10 years, less than the 10- to 18-year terms that the public prosecutor had recommended.

Ms. Pelicot’s ex-husband, Dominique Pelicot, who admitted to drugging and raping her over nearly a decade and bringing other men to their home to participate, received the maximum sentence of 20 years.

Fifteen of the 50 others were sentenced to eight years. In all, 41 of the men received prison sentences, including 18 who were already behind bars during the trial. Three were given deferred sentences because of their health, and six were released because of time already served. One is on the run and was tried and sentenced in absentia.

The French news media labeled the defendants, who range in age from 27 to 74, “[*Monsieur Tout-le-monde*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/27/france-mass-rape-pelicot.html),” or Mr. Every Man, because of how varied and ordinary they appeared during the trial. Most were employed in jobs that reflect the middle- and ***working-class*** rural France they come from: truck drivers, carpenters, a prison guard, a nurse, an I.T. expert working for a bank, a local journalist.

Here are some of the others convicted:

* Jean-Pierre Maréchal: He pleaded guilty not to violating Ms. Pelicot, but to following Dominique Pelicot’s blueprint and drugging and raping his own wife — and inviting Mr. Pelicot along. He was sentenced to 12 years in prison. The prosecutor had recommended 17. (Mr. Pelicot was also convicted of raping Mr. Maréchal’s wife.) Mr. Maréchal’s lawyer, Paul Gontard, said after the sentencing that he did not intend to file an appeal.

1. Charly Arbo: A laborer at a cement company, he was among the youngest accused, and was sentenced to 13 years. Mr. Arbo was 22 when he first went to the Pelicots’ home in 2016. While most of the men said they had gone to the home once, Mr. Arbo went six times.
2. Joseph Cocco: Mr. Cocco, a retired manager of a beer company subsidiary, was convicted on a lesser charge of aggravated sexual assault. He was among the few defendants who asked Ms. Pelicot for forgiveness. He was sentenced to four years.

PHOTO: A lawyer for one of the accused, Paul Gontard, speaking to reporters after the verdict. This article appeared in print on page A10.

**Load-Date:** December 19, 2024

**End of Document**



[***'Coach Walz' Delivers Last Round of Pep Talks as the Clock Ticks Down***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DBP-SD01-DXY4-X2M0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 5, 2024 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2024 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 19

**Length:** 1278 words

**Byline:** By Jazmine Ulloa

**Body**

Gov. Tim Walz, the Democratic vice-presidential nominee, is making a last-minute appeal to white ***working-class*** men. But for all his talk of football, that bloc is far from a safe bet for his ticket.

In a packed music venue in Savannah, with polls showing Vice President Kamala Harris and former President Donald J. Trump in a dead heat in Georgia and beyond, the lights were dim and the room was focused.

Gov. Tim Walz leaned into the lectern and locked eyes with his audience.

''This thing is tied, and you know it,'' he said the other day, lifting both hands forward, fingers slightly spread. ''Two minutes left on the clock.''

He paused, rubbed a thumb on his nose, and then shot his index fingers toward the crowd.

''The good news is we've got the damn ball,'' he said to cheers. ''We're driving that thing down the field.''

Mr. Walz has kept up a frenetic pace in the last stretch of the race as he crisscrosses the country, giving closing arguments that evoke the final timeout on the sideline of a game from his days as a high school football coach. His pep talks, as he dubs them, have mixed urgency with optimism. Mr. Walz has simultaneously sought to cast Mr. Trump as a chaotic opponent interested only in his own statistics, and to convince his supporters that change in leadership is in their control -- if they pull together as a team.

But everywhere he has traveled, the constituency he was entrusted to reach with his ''Coach Walz'' persona and his hunting gear -- white ***working-class*** voters without a college degree -- has seemed out of reach. In such a tight race, the Harris campaign needs only to shave off a small number of votes from that group to make a difference, but a New York Times/Siena College poll of the seven key battleground states on Sunday showed that Mr. Trump continued to hold a strong grip on that bloc.

In interviews with dozens of voters at Mr. Walz's events and rallies over the past month, Democrats were asked if they were feeling the hope and joy infused in his stump speech. The responses were often the same.

A pause with a wrinkled brow. A sigh. A deep, long breath.

''I've been praying and praying a lot as the election has been getting closer,'' Ajani de Roock, 19, a college student, said at a Saturday rally in Tucson, Ariz.

Four hours north, in Flagstaff, where Mr. Walz had spoken just hours before on a stage decked with marigolds and bales of hay, Cheryl Meilbeck, 59, a math professor at a community college, clutched a blue baseball cap embroidered with the words ''Make Lying Wrong Again.''

She was feeling ''hopeful but nervous,'' she said. ''I have felt sick for the last eight years, just absolutely sick,'' she said, referring to Mr. Trump's rise to power and transformation of the Republican Party.

Mr. Walz was feeling ''nauseously optimistic,'' he told a handful of students from Atlanta's historically Black colleges and universities when he met with them Sunday morning in a hotel conference room. But with age, he said, he had learned the best way to soothe the nerves before a big moment was to stir into action.

The idea that on Wednesday morning, people could wake up with a ''Madam President,'' he added, ''the optimism of that, it feels like the rain has kind of stopped and the sky opened up that sunshine -- we get to do that.''

Never mind that, as he said that, the skies he glanced at outside the nearby windows were overcast and dreary.

When Ms. Harris selected Mr. Walz as her running mate, he blazed onto the national stage with Midwestern charm, the little-known governor of Minnesota who sharpened the word ''weird'' into a signature attack on Republicans. He came across as a lovable dad or uncle who, as several voters put it, had not been lost to Mr. Trump's MAGA movement.

On the trail, Mr. Walz quickly proved adept at connecting with people no matter the venue. He has appeared equally comfortable discussing hate crime legislation before L.G.B.T.Q. advocates in Washington, D.C., talking about climate issues with tribal leaders in Wisconsin, and learning about the apple dehydration process from orchard owners in Pennsylvania. Voters were more likely to say that Mr. Walz was honest, trustworthy and caring than they were to say the same about Mr. Trump's running mate, Senator JD Vance of Ohio, according to September polls from The New York Times and Siena College.

But Mr. Vance drew more favorable views among men, many of whom continue to believe Mr. Trump is better for the economy, and whose anger and frustration Mr. Vance has been better able to tap into, pollsters said.

Early on in the campaign, Mr. Walz seldom talked to reporters and wasn't very accessible, leaving right-wing conservative media personalities to define him as a liberal governor who had enacted left-wing policies.

''That is not what the voters we are talking about have wanted to hear,'' said Dennis Darnoi, a Republican strategist in Michigan, referring to ***working-class*** white men without a college degree.

Mr. Walz did not help his case with an uneven debate performance in October, or by telling inaccurate anecdotes, including that he had been in Hong Kong during the Tiananmen Square massacre 35 years ago, which he later acknowledged was not true.

Still, Mr. Walz's supporters said they did not understand why the race remained so close so late in the game -- not when Mr. Trump is a felon and has been escalating his violent, angry rhetoric. Monica Whatley, 35, an immigration advocate who watched Mr. Walz speak at a rally in Columbus, Ga., said she believed the Democrats' lack of traction was in part because they had been so divided. She said that even her own loyalty was being tested by her disappointment with the party's handling of immigration policy.

Yet, she was heeding Mr. Walz's calls to pull together in the face of what she saw as a more dangerous force: Mr. Trump. ''I am going to try to unite and be a team player, but I am not happy about it,'' she said.

In his final days on the campaign trail, Mr. Walz emerged from the bubble wrap armed with a stockpile of zingers and with his daughter, Hope, at his side. He has hit multiple cities a day, slapping backs with bar patrons and huddling with voters in buzzing coffee shops and union halls.

If Mr. Walz has not won over male voters handily, he still draws plenty of women and young people, who often wear what became one of the year's most popular Democratic merch items, a camouflage cap emblazoned with the Harris-Walz logo in neon orange. Vivian Jones, 50, a real estate agent in Charlotte, N.C., said at a Walz event in Atlanta that she did not believe Mr. Walz's positivity was enough to counter the falsehoods about Ms. Harris or the hostile ideas Mr. Trump was letting percolate online and in society, but that it was needed, nonetheless.

''I'm very nervous for me, my family, and just democracy altogether,'' she said.

The chances of a vice-presidential candidate delivering a battleground state are remote. But running mates can make a difference in shaping how people perceive the candidate at the top of the ticket.

In this respect, Mr. Walz has been consistent, emphasizing Ms. Harris's credentials, her life experience and the barrier-breaking potential of her candidacy, something she does not tend to mention herself.

''Kamala Harris has done everything we could ask of her,'' he said, warming up canvassers preparing to knock on doors on Sunday in an Atlanta suburb. ''Now it's our turn to get her over the goal line.''

On a rally stage later that day, the coach-candidate clapped his hands and closed his speech with a booming shout: ''Win it for America, Georgia, let's go!''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/04/us/politics/tim-walz-voters-democrats.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/04/us/politics/tim-walz-voters-democrats.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Gov. Tim Walz last month in Scranton, Pa. The constituency he was entrusted to reach, white ***working-class*** voters without a college degree, has seemed out of reach. (PHOTOGRAPH BY RUTH FREMSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A19.

**Load-Date:** November 5, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Crash, Burn, Repeat: A Pop Star's Spectacle***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DRT-5RG3-RRTB-1009-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 27, 2024 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; Movies, Performing Arts/Weekend Desk; Pg. 4; CRITIC'S PICK

**Length:** 561 words

**Byline:** By Jeannette Catsoulis

**Body**

The singer Robbie Williams's caustic, often vulnerable narration is the melody that enriches this musical biopic's otherwise familiar beats of pop stardom.

Whatever your opinion of the troubled British entertainer Robbie Williams, it's unlikely to be more scathing than his own. And if there is one thing that distinguishes the electrifying musical biopic ''Better Man'' -- aside from the fact that Williams is portrayed throughout as a computer-generated monkey -- it would be an unwavering commitment to its subject's self-flagellating point of view.

Excerpted from 18 months of audio recordings obtained by the director, Michael Gracey, Williams's caustic, often vulnerable narration is the melody that refreshes and enriches the movie's otherwise familiar beats of pop-star meltdown and resurrection. Enumerating decades of suffered insults -- ''punchable'' being one of the kindest -- Williams describes a cocky, ***working-class*** kid who ''came out of the womb with jazz hands'' and a desperate need to please his fame-obsessed father (a moving Steve Pemberton). Those twin desires would drive him to teenage stardom in the early 1990s as a member of the boy band Take That, followed by a hypersonic solo career seemingly sustained as much by alcohol and cocaine as by talent.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

There will be more than one crash and burn. Yet, remarkably, Williams never comes across as self-pitying. His consistently cheeky voice-over, along with the vivacity of Jonno Davies's performance as his adult avatar (using the motion-capture wizardry perfected on the ''Planet of the Apes'' reboot), and the sheer verve of Gracey's filmmaking ensure a tone that's rarely less than exuberant. Smoothly combining comedy and tragedy, the movie sells its simian frontman with straight-faced sincerity. It's astonishing how quickly and easily we embrace the gimmick, a brilliant visualization of how Williams at times saw himself, as someone with no more worth than a capering monkey whose preferred headgear reads ''Northern Scum.''

Drawing on the work of Bob Fosse and Terry Gilliam, the director and his choreographer, Ashley Wallen, design dreamlike musical sequences that vault far beyond those in his polarizing debut feature, ''The Greatest Showman'' (2017): a flash mob erupting on London's Regent Street to the sound of the Williams hit ''Rock DJ,'' stunningly captured by Erik Wilson's soaring, snaking camera; a gorgeously romantic shipboard rendition of ''She's the One,'' as Williams meets his future fiancée, the girl-band singer Nicole Appleton (Raechelle Banno), for the first time.

This fondness for spectacle can feel hucksterish, but ''Better Man'' is too tender and empathetic -- especially in its surprisingly sweet finale -- to settle for just the razzle-dazzle. Instead, Gracey paints a fabulously entertaining and touching picture of an insecure, complicated man hauling himself from a quicksand of grasping fans, greedy impresarios, unresolved addictions and father-son dysfunction. Neither hagiography nor hatchet job, the movie casts an understanding eye on a once-infamous musical artist who weathered dizzying highs and devastating lows. Think about it: Is there anything worse than losing your woman to a member of Oasis?

Better ManRated R for familiar vices and unfamiliar diphthongs. Running time: 2 hours 14 minutes. In theaters.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/25/movies/better-man-review.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/25/movies/better-man-review.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Jonno Davies, left, the adult avatar of Robbie Williams, and Damon Herriman in ''Better Man.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY PARAMOUNT PICTURES) This article appeared in print on page C4.

**Load-Date:** December 27, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Here's Why Democrats Shouldn't Demean Trump Voters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CVW-CXV1-JBG3-607J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 1, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2024 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 3; NICHOLAS KRISTOF

**Length:** 1037 words

**Byline:** By Nicholas Kristof

**Body**

Some of the best advice Democrats have received recently came from Bill Clinton in his speech at the Democratic National Convention.

First, he warned against hubris: ''We've seen more than one election slip away from us when we thought it couldn't happen, when people got distracted by phony issues or overconfident.'' That's something that any Clinton understands in his -- or her -- gut.

Second, related and even more important, he cautioned against demeaning voters who don't share liberal values.

''I urge you to meet people where they are,'' said Clinton, who knows something about winning votes outside of solid blue states. ''I urge you not to demean them, but not to pretend you don't disagree with them if you do. Treat them with respect -- just the way you'd like them to treat you.''

That's critical counsel because too often since 2016, the liberal impulse has been to demonize anyone at all sympathetic to Donald Trump as a racist and bigot. This has been politically foolish, for it's difficult to win votes from people you're disparaging.

It has also seemed to me morally offensive, particularly when well-educated and successful elites are scorning disadvantaged, ***working-class*** Americans who have been left behind economically and socially and in many cases are dying young. They deserve empathy, not insults.

By all means denounce Trump, but don't stereotype and belittle the nearly half of Americans who have sided with him.

Since I live in a rural area, many of my old friends are Trump supporters. One, a good and generous woman, backs Trump because she feels betrayed by the Democratic and Republican political establishments, and she has a point. When factories closed and good union jobs left the area, she ended up homeless and addicted; four members of her extended family killed themselves and she once put a gun to her own head. So when a demagogue like Trump speaks to her pain and promises to bring factories back, of course her heart leaps.

Then her resolve strengthens when she hears liberals mock her faith -- it was an evangelical church that helped her overcome homelessness -- or deride her as ''deplorable.''

Then there's the woman who cut my hair: She had a daughter who was overcome with addiction, so she quit the shop to care for a grandson. Her successor cutting my hair lost her husband to an overdose and is struggling to help a son who is addicted. She isn't much interested in politics and didn't watch any of the Democratic convention; she said she distrusts Trump and sees him as a bully, but she is mad at Democrats because food prices are too high.

''I'm not sure how I'll vote,'' she told me, ''or if I'll vote.'' She's a good, hardworking person who would benefit from a Democratic victory, and Democrats should fight for her -- not savage her for political thought crimes.

***Working-class*** Americans have a right to feel betrayed. After almost 3,000 people died in the Sept. 11 attacks, we started two wars and allocated trillions of dollars to the response. But every three or four days we lose as many Americans to drugs, alcohol and suicide as died in the Sept. 11 attacks, yet the national response has been pathetically weak. The social fabric in many blue-collar communities has unraveled, and people are angry and frustrated.

Since the Obama presidency, Democrats have increasingly become the party of the educated, and the upshot has often been a whiff of condescension toward ***working-class*** voters, especially toward voters of faith. And in a country where 74 percent of Americans report a belief in God, according to Gallup, and only 38 percent over the age of 25 have a four-year college degree, condescension is a losing strategy.

Michael Sandel, the eminent Harvard philosopher, condemns the scorn for people with less education as ''the last acceptable prejudice'' in America. He's right: Elites sometimes indulge in open disdain for ***working-class*** voters that they would never acknowledge about other groups.

I worry about Democrats neglecting their proud heritage since at least the time of Franklin Roosevelt of standing up for ***working-class*** Americans. Maybe it's time for more educated liberals to reread F.D.R.'s famous ''Forgotten Man'' speech of 1932, hailing ''the forgotten man at the bottom of the economic pyramid.''

We liberals today are attuned to identity and thus to racial and gender disadvantages, while often seemingly oblivious to class disadvantage -- even though recent research by the Harvard economist Raj Chetty underscores that race is playing a smaller role in opportunity gaps while class gaps are yawning wider.

You can't have a serious conversation about inequality today without discussing race. But you also can't have a serious conversation about poverty or opportunity without considering class (and for many people of color, race and class disadvantages overlap).

Kamala Harris seems to get this. She chose as her running mate a man who can reach ***working-class*** voters with his words as well as his policies. And she can present herself as the candidate who worked at McDonald's while her opponent was exploiting his inheritance -- and renters.

I wasn't planning to write this column, but then I approvingly tweeted Clinton's comment about not demeaning those we disagree with. Plenty of readers replied hotly: But they deserve to be demeaned!

Sure, it's satisfying to hurl invective. But calling people ''Nazis'' probably won't win over undecided voters any more than when Trump supporters deride ''libtards'' or the ''Biden crime family.''

Whatever our politics, Trump brings out the worst in all of us. He nurtures hate on his side that we mirror.

So let's take a deep breath, summon F.D.R.'s empathy for the forgotten man, follow Clinton's advice -- and, for the sake of winning elections as well as of civility, remember that the best way to get others to listen to us is to first listen to them.

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**Graphic**

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[***Would Bernie Have Won?; The Ezra Klein Show***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DH6-HPD1-DXY4-X4MH-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 13588 words

**Byline:** Ezra Klein, Ezra Klein joined Opinion in 2021. Previously, he was the founder, editor in chief and then editor at large of Vox; the host of the podcast &amp;#8220;The Ezra Klein Show&amp;#8221;; and the author of &amp;#8220;Why We&amp;#8217;re Polarized.&amp;#8221; Before that, he was a columnist and editor at The Washington Post, where he founded and led the Wonkblog vertical. He is on Threads.

**Highlight:** Faiz Shakir makes a case for the Democratic Party to embrace economic populism.

**Body**

As the Democratic Party debates where to go after its 2024 drubbing, we’re going to spend the next two episodes of the show featuring two very different perspectives on the way forward.

After Trump won the election, Bernie Sanders released a blistering statement saying, “It should come as no great surprise that a Democratic Party which has abandoned ***working class*** people would find that the ***working class*** has abandoned them.”

And Bernie’s advisers and allies have been making their own versions of this argument and jockeying for the positions that would help them rebuild the Democratic Party around this vision. Some have floated Bernie’s 2020 campaign manager, Faiz Shakir, to be the next chair of the Democratic National Committee. And Faiz sent me an email after the episode with Patrick Ruffini, the Republican pollster who’s been tracking the movement of ***working class*** voters to the G.O.P., saying there was a friendly debate he wanted to have here: That Bernie, or at least Bernie-ism, is the obvious answer, and Democrats simply refuse to see it. And the fact that they refuse to see it says something very telling about the party.

At the same time, I’ve heard from a lot of Democrats who are annoyed, to say the least, about this attack from Sanders’s world: Democrats abandoned the ***working class***?

Biden has been the most economically populist president of the modern era. He’s been the most pro-labor president of the modern era. And what did it get him — or Harris? And if democratic socialism, if Bernie-ism, is the answer to winning back these voters, why don’t you see democratic socialists winning in red districts?

So this is a rich conversation, and it’s a very real debate among Democrats right now. And Faiz Shakir, whom I’ve known for years, is a great person to have on to talk about it. He has seen the Democratic Party from every vantage point. He didn’t just work for Sanders. He’s worked in senior positions for Nancy Pelosi, for Harry Reid, for the A.C.L.U. He co-founded ThinkProgress, and he’s currently the executive director of the pro-worker nonprofit media organization More Perfect Union.

This is an edited transcript of an episode of “The Ezra Klein Show.” You can listen to the conversation by following or subscribing to the show on the [*NYT Audio App*](https://apps.apple.com/us/app/nyt-audio/id1549293936), [*Apple*](https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/the-ezra-klein-show/id1548604447), [*Spotify*](https://open.spotify.com/show/3oB5noYIwEB2dMAREj2F7S), [*Amazon Music*](https://music.amazon.com/podcasts/c4a3b1da-5433-49e6-8c14-0e1da53be78c/the-ezra-klein-show), [*YouTube*](https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLdMrbgYfVl-szepgVpArP0obwYgbKdfvx), [*iHeartRadio*](https://www.iheart.com/podcast/326-the-ezra-klein-show-31142409/) or [*wherever you get your podcasts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/19/opinion/how-to-listen-ezra-klein-show-nyt.html?action=click&amp;module=RelatedLinks&amp;pgtype=Article).

This episode contains strong language.

Ezra Klein: So you emailed me after the Patrick Ruffini episode saying that we should have a friendly debate about why Bernie Sanders isn’t mentioned more in these conversations and the discomfort you feel that people — maybe me, maybe the Democratic Party, as you understand it — have with him and his politics. So let’s start there. What’s the shape of that debate?

Faiz Shakir: Do you agree with that? First of all, I think we should probably start with it. In my view, there are people who in the Democratic ranks, as a constituency, I find and feel as someone who has, as you know, worked for him for a long period of time, kind of a discomfort, a spin, a shun: Here’s Bernie talking again about the Democratic Party’s banning the ***working class***, that kind of attitude that I roll and move on. And I’m saying, don’t I roll? Let’s talk about it! And that’s what I wanted to engage. But you tell me that I’m off base on that.

Well, I have multiple thoughts on it. One is that if you ask me who has been the most prominent member of Congress being heard in the media giving their postmortem on 2024, it is Bernie Sanders, right? He’s one of the most prominent members of the Democratic Senate caucus, he was very close to the Biden administration.

He was very woven into the Biden administration. Many of his people were, and Elizabeth Warren’s people from a similar wing of the party were, in the Biden administration. So sometimes it feels to me like the Bernie wing of the party still has this feeling of exclusion, that when I look around — I think most members of Congress would be pretty excited to have the level of influence over Democrats that Bernie Sanders has.

Did you hear or see Kamala Harris stand with Bernie Sanders during the course of her campaign? Did you hear or see any major Democratic candidates campaign with Bernie Sanders?

I don’t know. You tell me.

No. The answer was no. And that goes to the heart of a, all-in, all of the above strategy for the Democratic Party.

I would argue Joe Biden stood out from a crowd in which he always appreciated and respected that this vision of a Democratic Party has a progressive economic populist element to it and has value to the Democratic Party. Even to the end of the campaign, Joe Biden held an official side event with Bernie Sanders in New Hampshire during that course, I think it was sometime in October, to talk about prescription drug prices.

During that whole period of time, Harris’s campaign did not want to stand with Bernie Sanders. And it wasn’t just her, but there are other Democrats, too. And that’s where I sense and feel to your point saying, Oh, you know, you guys run the Senate Health Committee, and you’re an important part of the Democratic Party. I’m like, Hmm, that doesn’t always feel that way.

So are we talking here about Bernie Sanders? Are we talking about this thing one might call Bernie Sanders-ism?

Yes.

I think I want to talk more about the latter.

I think he’s a person who reflects, right, exactly. We’re moving into now that conversation.

What is Bernie Sanders-ism that you think is being rejected by the Democratic Party?

Well, fundamentally, it’s an economic-first style of thinking — that we speak to and appeal to ***working class*** Americans. We both do it in policy, but we also do it in politics. There are approaches in which you signal and send messages to ***working class*** people that they are part of this coalition.

You’re not only part of it but that we think of you first and foremost. And I straddle these worlds, a lot of different worlds. And one of the things I often do is interview people who work for me, people who are candidates. And I’ll ask him this question. I’m interested in what your response will be.

Which is: I blindfold Ezra Klein. I drop you into a random city in America for this. I’m going to say it’s Atlanta or Las Vegas or Baraboo, Wis. — Superior Wisconsin — Marquette, Mich. I’m going to drop you in.

There’s going be a hundred people in a room. You’re going to go in there not knowing anything about the people in this room. And your job is to persuade them.

You go in there. Ezra. What are you going to talk about?

I’m not a politician, so what I’m going to talk about is not, I think, what people should talk about to get elected. But I’m going to ask you what you are saying I should talk about.

Great. So that’s where I want to live. This is where I want to start. This is the Bernie-isms that I’m trying to drive at.

So I’m going in there to talk about economic populism in a certain way. I am making certain assumptions that when I am talking about economic populism, it is a supermajority issue. This is majoritarian stuff.

We’re going to not only talk about policies but we have to tell you a story about America’s economy. It starts with it being rigged against you. It talks about how hard it is as a middle class person right now to afford college to pay for child care.

While you are struggling to make it on a middle class life. There are people in the society who are doing quite well with their passive income. Making tons of money, finding ways to rig this economic system to benefit them. And our job in life as public servants, our job as candidates who want to own some authority within government, is to fight for you.

And so now I’m walking you into: Here are some stories specifically that I know are challenging in this modern economy, but that I have constructive solutions to. And I want to offer them up, and I want to pose them against you.

But I do think it starts with a theory of: What am I seeing in this economy? So that you don’t feel like you live in a different world than I do. I live in the same world that you do.

I see what you’re going through, and now I’m going to connect it to why I want to serve. And that just fundamental framework that we just talked about is not a principal way in which I hear a lot of Democrats thinking about how to campaign. Although I think some of the better ones who are doing it and winning are doing that.

So I want to stress-test this, and I guess we should start with the Biden administration. The Biden administration, in my view — I’d be curious to hear if you disagree with this — is without doubt the most economically left, economically populist presidential administration of my lifetime. More so than Bill Clinton, more so than Barack Obama.

He walks up the picket line. He’s very, very explicitly pro-labor. There is a focus on industrial policy, on manufacturing. They come in with the intention to run the economy hot. To hit full employment, to make sure the wage gains that full employment will bring are spreading to the more marginalized groups of workers who often do not get wage gains during expansions.

They do all of that. There’s also a lot of other problems — foreign policy crises, inflation — but they are without doubt coming in with a blended view of the, you might say, Obama’s and Sanders’s theories of the economy. And through this administration, they’re not popular. Biden routinely struggles to crack 40 percent in favorability. There is a ***working class*** loss that you’re seeing all the way through.

Why didn’t it?

Because the politics didn’t match the policy. All those things were correct, I think, in what you diagnosed there. And when I went out and I tested this proposition ourselves, polled it and went out and talked in the country, and you ask people a basic question: What did Joe Biden and Democrats do on the economy? I would say that message of what you did on the economy is confusing and muddled out there at best. And I ask a lot of people this: What did you think Joe Biden helped you — what was his vision? What’s his theory? And people struggle with that question.

Like, well, in my view, it was pretty basic that you wanted economic freedom, economic security for Americans. That economic freedom, you get to call it economic democracy, had two major components to it: One was workplace democracy.

You mentioned it: Here the president goes to the picket line. He fights to ban noncompete clauses. He supports unionization. He stood with the Amazon workers — they’re organizing. He saved the Teamsters pensions. He wants a vision in which we believe in workplace democracy where workers have more power and freedom.

Secondly, he believes in marketplace freedom, marketplace democracy. He fights against big tech. He fights against big monopolists. He fights for right to repair. He fights for small businesses that have the ability to bring back to America supply chains and with their entrepreneurial spirit, grow their own market share in this modern economy.

That is what he’s fighting for. But the rigged economy is such that it isn’t going to happen overnight, and it’s going to take some time. But we’re on the right track, and let us keep going down this track to continue to make progress for you.

Now, I’m telling you a story that I believe in my view, Ezra, most people don’t know. This is not the way in which people communicate or think or talk about Joe Biden.

They’ll hear Inflation Reduction Act. They’ll hear Covid economy. He said this thing or that thing about inflation. All missing the point of: What is your theory? What do you want to do about this economy. And that language in the modern Democratic Party is missing.

But not from everybody. So let’s talk about a particular election example, which is Senator Sherrod Brown in Ohio.

Sherrod Brown is alongside Sanders, one of the party’s longtime and highly skilled economic populists. His voters know him. He’s a fixture in Ohio politics, has been there for a long time. They know what he stands for. They know what he fights for. He’s fought the North American Free Trade Agreement. He’s fought for years and in very much the terms that you’re talking about, And Sherrod Brown loses to a car dealer Republican candidate in Ohio.

It’s a hard-fought race, but he loses. Why does Sherrod Brown lose?

Well, I think there’s a Democratic brand problem that I’m trying to push at. I think Sherrod Brown, Jon Tester, Amy Klobuchar — they all outperform Kamala Harris. In fact, the person who outperforms — if you look at the Senate map and you say: OK where was Kamala’s base line versus where did other candidates do? You know who’s the most blue in this scenario? It is Dan Osborn in Nebraska.

Archived Clip of Dan Osborn: It shouldn’t be this hard. I’m running for U.S. Senate because people aren’t getting a fair shake. I’m running for every Nebraskan. So we have enough at the end of every week to buy groceries, have a house, set money aside for Christmas and college. And all we have left to worry about is bake sales and Little League. Kind of sounds a little bit like the American dream.

You know, if you looked at a map of where the base line was, he turns Nebraska blue in many ways. My argument of why Dan Osborn does well and loses is this story. Because we get so stuck in win/loss.

Sherrod Brown outperforms. What is the problem with a modern Democratic brand that isn’t helping a Sherrod Brown, Jon Tester, Dan Osborn get over the top — it’s that people don’t believe that whatever you might say here, Jon Tester or Sherrod Brown, this Democratic brand doesn’t fight for me.

It is not affiliated with my economic thinking and the concerns that I have in the type of governance I want to see that disrupts a system that works really well for the wealthy, doesn’t want to challenge powerful actors. And so therefore I am penalizing you — even though I might like you.

I think party brands are very complicated things to manage.

So Dan Osborn, for people who were not following that election, is an independent candidate. Runs an economically populist campaign, and does way better than anybody expects. Surprises Republicans, becomes competitive and doesn’t win — but, as you say, highly overperforms what you might have imagined.

And why — just to put a point on this, Ezra — why does he overperform? Because his only brand — for a long period of time, he was only known as the guy who led his Kellogg’s workers on strike during the height of Covid: We worked a hundred days straight. It was grueling. We were told we’re essential workers. We weren’t treated with any degree of respect, and now I’m running for Congress to fight for working people.

That’s all people knew for a long period of time about Dan Osborn, and it got through. And I would argue that would restore a Democratic brand, that kind of background and vision.

But I think this gets to this question of parties. Which is what we’re talking about here.

I’ve seen you floated for Democratic National Committee chair. And you’ve had a lot to say about how the DNC should actually act in this era. And one of the problems with being a party — this is also true of the Republican Party, which is a, a trashed brand, as well, which Trump then was able to take over and hollow out — is that you have to pull together groups that don’t necessarily agree. Not just on everything, but in some cases on anything.

So something Bernie Sanders often says is: Why aren’t Democrats running in all these popular policies? And when he’s in control of the interview, he’ll say: You know, everybody else has health care for all residents, but we don’t. And we could have free college. And we could raise the minimum wage much higher. And it’s completely true that if you pull those policies in the way he talks about them, they’re very popular.

Of course, when he ran in 2020, and he was a candidate who might actually win, what you had was also a lot of discussion of the parts of those policies that do not poll highly. That you would be abolishing private health insurance under his single-payer plan, that you would be raising taxes on middle class Americans, forgiving student loans, which people talked about as a very popular policy. Did not end up being a political winner for Democrats.

And that reflects inside the Democratic Party, but also inside politics, broadly, a mix of people who would like to see the system upended and also people who don’t want to pay higher taxes, who don’t want to lose their health care. Maybe they want other people to have better health care than they do, but they like what they have, and they don’t want someone coming and taking it away.

So I do want to push this into relationship with the complexities of parties that don’t get to run. One guy unsullied by all the compromises that a large coalition actually has to make.

Yes, I agree with all that. And I’m not here to litigate whether Bernie would have won in 2020 general election — although he would have. But I think that

No, no litigation, just assertion.

Exactly.

To be fair, a lot of litigation is just that.

But what you and I know about Bernie, because you know, you’ve known him for a while, too, and obviously work with him and know a lot about how he actually thinks about managing politics: One of the things that you know about him and I know is that there’s a high degree of pragmatism there.

So while he’s pushing, let’s take Medicare for All. Then he gets into Congress: And can we at least lower the age from 65 to 60? Can we talk about Medicare expansion so that it covers home care, dental, hearing and vision — even if you can’t all move with me to Medicare for all?

That actually is how we’re President Bernie Sanders would have governed. And what it would have done, of course, is change how the Democratic Party is perceived all across this country. Because here comes a president, first stop is: Wait, spending Medicare is what we’re going to be doing at the front end? Oh, I love that. That sounds phenomenal.

He’s going to say, Here’s my North Star. Here’s my vision. And where can we get the votes to get the best version of this outcome? And he would have just set the agenda accordingly.

But that might be how he would govern. And I have tremendous respect for Bernie Sanders. And one question we will get to is, I actually think, one hard part about talking in this sort of “Would Bernie have won?” is that just some politicians are really good at what they do. And Bernie Sanders is really good at what he does.

And Obama-ism doesn’t work that well without Obama. And Donald Trump-ism doesn’t work that well without Donald Trump. And I’m not sure Bernie Sanders-ism works that well without Bernie Sanders. But in terms of the things that are exportable, like the policies, I don’t want to let you move to this: Well, in practice, he would be a pragmatist.

Because we are talking about how you run and win in elections. And when you run and win elections and put out the big vision, then the people who don’t like you, the people who are worried about you, come and point out all the things that are going to scare people about your vision. Which is what Kamala Harris had to deal with and what Bernie Sanders had to deal with in the 2020 primary and would have dealt with in the general election.

You don’t get to then just say: Oh, I didn’t really mean that whole thing about abolishing private insurance. Don’t worry: I’m a pragmatist when I govern.

No, no, it’s when you get into presidency. Hear me as saying the orientation of fighting for ***working class*** people is the thing. That is what we’re after right now. That Bernie Sanders, more so and better than I would argue a lot of the people with whom he ran against, would have put that question, that framework, that mentality — and still does — at the front and center of how the Democratic brand is received.

And you’re right that he has certain talents and abilities. But there are certain parts of that that I allow: Marie Gluesenkamp Perez is a Blue Dog or Jared Golden, who’s a Blue Dog, or Pat Ryan running in New York or Chris Deluzio in Pennsylvania. Or a whole bunch of other people who have similar frameworks of fighting for ***working class*** people, concerns about corporate power that they can articulate in their own ways. And when they do, they can win.

And the Democratic brand would be better restored and in a stronger position if we put this first and foremost.

I think this is a place where what I would like to see is more broad-based evidence. And here’s what I mean: I would find no answer to the Democratic Party’s problems more congenial than this one if the answer is simply that Democrats can embrace bigger social programs, a more economically populist agenda, more pro-worker rhetoric. I think that would be great. When I look at Democrats winning in red districts, I don’t typically see it.

You’ve mentioned people like Jared Golden there. I do not consider Jared Golden’s politics a close match for Bernie Sanders’s.

You should talk to Jared Golden. See how he thinks about him.

Yeah, but that’s where the —

But —

I know —

But this is where the actual policies that people are proposing matter. Dan Osborn also had a much more trimmed sail in terms of what policies he was actually proposing. I agree with you that there’s something to the orientation of being pro-worker, but it matters what signals you’re sending and what governing space you’re in. I look at Europe, where there’s been a real rise of other authoritarian right parties that have symmetries with what we’re seeing in America. And you don’t see left-wing populist parties winning in response.

And in fact, in a bunch of the places you’re seeing —

France?

I mean, they’ve had to come into a weird coalition in France. It has not been a consistent answer that has worked there. We’ve watched a lot of those parties lose.

Which does not mean one shouldn’t run on some of those ideas. But it does make me wonder if the actual appeal of right-wing authoritarianism as practiced by people like Donald Trump, where you have billionaires like Elon Musk becoming aspirational and central figures, is really the “Who’s on the side of workers?” question that people like you or Sanders want to phrase it as.

And now you see where I am, my kind of own emotional slog is with how you framed all of that, which is: I struggle with not seeing great models of pro-labor ***working class***-oriented progressivism — wherever it might be.

Obviously, there’s some evidence maybe in Mexico that counters some trends, but there are not great models. And we’re going to concede that.

And I’m pushing for a movement that more people push corporate power to the front of your conversation, labor power at the front of your conversation, push on a different style of ***working class*** orientation of progressivism.

And we need it. We desperately need it right now to rebrand the Democratic Party.

One person who’s always been interesting in this conversation is Senator Joe Manchin. And if you were looking a couple of years ago at who was overperforming the most, who was holding the seat that Democrats really shouldn’t be holding, it was Joe Manchin. His politics has long been about curbing the excesses of — or at least what he saw as the excesses of — the Democratic Party. Famously had this ad shooting a gun at the cap and trade bill that the House was trying to pass.

He was somebody who cut how big the Inflation Reduction Act was. He’s sort of a thorn in the side of the Democratic Party. And it allowed him to win elections in a very, very red place for a very long time.

What do you make of Joe Manchin’s success?

I associate that more with a couple of things: One is Joe Manchin is a terrific politician. If you’ve ever seen him, he really engages with his community and is all over the place on the ground — and for a long period of time. But the other point I’d say is: Old-school Democrat, right? Like, you look at Kentucky: Why is Andy Beshear still the governor? You look at North Carolina: generally still have some Democrats still at high office. Because there’s still the ethic of people who generationally were Democrats affiliated with it — for whom it is getting harder and harder to continue to stay associated with that brand.

Which obviously circles me back to the basic class-based populism that I’m arguing for.

But West Virginia had become very red and very anti-Democratic.

Yeah.

While Manchin is still running —

You’d agree with me, right?

I agree that he’s a good politician, but the way in which I think he would say he’s a good politician is that he understands that you have to not get out of step with your constituents. And he believes the people you are talking about — not the people Bernie Sanders wins in Vermont but the people he wins in West Virginia — are not that liberal. That they think the government spends too much money, not too little money. That they feel that Democrats are way out of step on cultural issues.

Look, Joe Manchin’s politics are not my politics —

It’s certainly not my politics at all.

Joe Manchin has personally killed a number of things I really cared about.

He killed child care. He killed home care. He killed a whole bunch of things.

But I think it is worth really grappling: When you’re saying that the way Democrats will perform in a way they haven’t been among people whom they are losing, is to move into this much more class-based, much more left space.

And then you see, Joe Manchin is not the only person I could name like this. But a lot of the people who perform in these places look sort of more like he did. I think his success has to be grappled with a little bit more than: He’s good at retail politics.

I don’t mean to go on the whole screen of Joe Manchin here. But he’s very good at making him sound like, I’m fighting big pharma in Washington, D.C. Was he? Sure. Inflation Reduction Act had pharma components. They were very valuable. But he goes home and he talks about it in a more compelling, theatrical way, an effective way. Not saying: Hey, I also helped kill tax cuts that would have been on the rich, that would have been effective in getting us more revenue. That’s not the way he’s going and talking campaign. We know a lot about that. You and I know a lot about that. But that’s in terms of how he delivers —

I don’t buy this. Because Manchin — here’s what I understand Manchin’s politics to be: Manchin’s politics are about demonstrating constant independence from the liberal wing —

From the Democrat brand —

Not just the Democratic brand, but the liberal wing of the Democratic brand. By publicly, and in a way that people keep hearing about and seeing him do, standing in the way of things Democrats, including Bernie Sanders — specifically, things that Bernie Sanders wants to do.

So I, again, I’m going to keep pushing this because I think it’s a good —

I hear you —

I think it’s a good counterexample. He’s not going home and running like a light socialist. And hiding that he has been holding up the Inflation Reduction Act and cutting it in half. Moderation was his brand, and he believed and proved out at least among his constituents, that moderation allowed him to stay afloat in a seat no Democrats should have been able to hold for even a minute.

This gets at, to me — I know you don’t love the answer — but: Why does Donald Trump sometimes have great ***working class*** appeal is not always a policy discourse with them. You can have ***working class*** appeal in the manner, in the performance art, of how you go and talk to them, how you’re at — in the political industry we refer to this as candidate affect.

How do you come across? To people and I do think he comes across and fights in interesting ways that have a ***working class*** dimension to it.

You’re right that the push off toward the left is one of them. The shooting the gun at the cap and trade bills — one of them. These have affect: knowing your state, finding ways to campaign according to your constituency. It’s healthy in a political ecosystem.

When you’re a populist, hopefully you’re learning a little bit from how everybody is finding their own interesting ways to campaign. But I would disagree with the notions that what people want is corporate friendliness, that they want to sit down with billionaires and negotiate tax bills.

That’s how actually Joe Manchin has taught us the future of the Democratic Party — I would disagree with.

You’d emailed me after this interview I did with Patrick Ruffini, who’s a GOP pollster who had written a book that was pretty prescient on the voting realignment we’ve seen. I want to play you a clip of the interview that has been on my mind.

Archived clip of Patrick Ruffini: I did a poll in Texas, of Hispanics in Texas, where I asked them: What is the number one problem that you see today with the Democratic Party?

The answer they gave wasn’t that it was too woke or the buzzword of socialism. The answer was very interesting, and it’s something you don’t see come up with virtually any other group you talk to. And that is: They perceive the Democratic Party as being the party of welfare benefits for people who don’t work.

And if you look at how the Democratic Party has been perceived in the last four years, in particular, in terms of: We’re letting immigrants into the country, illegal migrants into the country. And there’s a perception that they’re getting government benefits and not working. And all of this is coming at the expense of people who made their way in America, started from the very bottom of the rung and worked their way up to up the economic ladder. Through their own hard work and not necessarily through government policies.

What do you think of that?

Well, as a campaign — you know in the primary, we overperformed with a lot of Latino people, went to South Texas a number of times. And I think Bernie has a unique appeal. And people often asked: Why is it that Bernie Sanders among the Democratic primary camps would attract all these Latino ***working class*** people to him?

Part of it was that the immigrant mentality — I’m one of them — come to America with a vision of what America is: a land of opportunity, great freedom. Here’s why I came here. And slowly you learn, or maybe quickly you learn: Holy cow, this place is brutal, rough, to try to make it as a working person.

The bosses don’t care about the ethic that I’m putting into this. There’s no protection around basic retirement security or job security. There’s nothing. And you realize how brutal the economy is. And I think the vision of Bernie Sanders — this is where you cross ideological spans — the vision is: There’s somebody looking out for me. He’s got a vision for me. It matters.

You know, we could disagree whether: Does Social Security speak to them? I think it does. Expanding Social Security. Does expanding Medicare speak to them? I think it does. But if Patrick is also saying: Does tariff speak to them? Yes, it does. Does certain immigration policy speak to them? Yes, it does.

It’s a lot of those things. But fundamentally, it’s that they see in someone who understands their life and has a vision for society in which they’re central to it. Not back-seating it.

How much is this built around policy vision and rhetoric? And how much of it is the affect and signal?

Because I think people get a lot of signals from candidates that they can’t quite articulate. But we meet people and we know who they are and what they’re like.

Yes.

The Democratic Party is a much more educated party. Now if you look at the people who run at its top levels, they do not come from the ***working class***.

They have gone to college. They have not this particular year but in many years been to many elite colleges. It’s also true on the Republican side, where JD Vance went to Yale Law and Donald Trump went to Wharton. But nevertheless: How much is the problem that the Democratic Party is having trouble connecting to ***working class*** voters because it’s not running ***working class*** candidates?

I think ***working class*** candidates would help us. But why would that help us? Because we’re fundamentally not a populist movement. And that matters. And when I say populism, it means something to me. It means that you’re very connected to the emotions of people. Feeling that emotion and pain means being something of a populist, and then turning that into a majoritarian sentiment — don’t mean to dispute however many academics out there would give me a different definition of populism.

But that’s what it means to me: finding that majoritarian sentiment around that emotional pain, suffering — or happiness or excitement — of the communities that you’re fighting for. And we have become detached from that in the way in which we both politic and do policy design. That you can’t just spout rhetoric on a teleprompter, put some thoughts on there about how housing and here’s a home buyer tax credit and assume you’ve done the job.

You’re not going to do the job without the affect, the political affect, that this is something that animates me. This is something that I am concerned about. This is something I can tell you a story about. I can go on “Joe Rogan” for two hours or any other pockets or on Ezra Klein for two hours and talk at length about the housing-market problems that I see.

I think that there’s a hunger in America for understanding how the economy is rigged against them. And they expect government leaders when you enter into the forum to unpack that: You’re fighting for — you better understand this than I do.

And you’re going to tell me that, OK, federal interest rates — let’s just do housing for very briefly. I promise we’ll move off from it. Federal interest rates go up.

You don’t have to promise you’ll move off housing on this podcast. You can be on housing as long as you want.

But correct me if I’m wrong, Ezra. Like a basic story — people are hungry for it. And I think, and my assumption — I’m speaking politically for a moment — is that people will respect that I can disagree with Faiz about what he’s saying, but I understand he cares about this and he’s fighting for it and he understands. He had a theory. And maybe I’ll put him into office just because I know that this is his orientation. And as compared to the other person, maybe he would care more about housing.

So my answer would be — you push me on housing, OK. Federal interest rates go up. It locks the housing market, as you know. If I’m a homeowner, I’m not selling because I can’t afford to buy my next one. So it’s all prices now go up.

What happens in that market? Well, unless you’re a cash buyer, no one can really buy a house. Guess who comes in and buys houses at cash? Well, there’s large institutional investors. So we’ve got the growth of institutional investors who are buying in the housing markets. They are now raising rents, raising prices.

People like Invitation Homes, who don’t care. You don’t know your landlord. There’s a limited liability company. You don’t have a relationship with the people who are owning your homes. Increasingly, that’s one of the problems in this rental market: You’ve got a whole problems of RealPage and other algorithms being stacked against you, used by landlords to raise prices and keep lots empty just to maximize their profits.

How am I going to deal with this? Both going after price gouging by landlords and big institutional investors, creating ordinances that stop institutional investors from coming into communities.

I’m not asking you to agree with the policy solution. We can have a debate about policy. But I’m not telling you a story about what I see and why I care about this that I think would more resonate than telling you, Hey, you know, I want a 25,000 home-buyer tax credit.

So I’ll say a couple things. Because I don’t think here policy and politics are as separable as you as you’re trying to make them there. When you said a minute ago that populism means to you someone who has a majoritarian approach to politics with an authentic connection to the ways in which the ***working class*** is struggling, what seemed missing in that definition, to me, was, I think, what actually separates populism in all of its forms from any other forms of politics: which is it’s cut of an us versus of them. It’s decision to create enemies.

And if you’re looking at Donald Trump, his enemies are immigrants. His enemies are the left. His enemies are other countries that are ripping us off. His enemies of media. That’s a sort of standard right-wing populism.

And if you look at left populism, the enemies are billionaires. They’re corporations.

And one difficulty with that is that it makes some kinds of solutions and problems easier to point out than others.

I know housing policy quite well, and I just flatly do not agree that the problem is that you have more corporate or private-equity landlords that are pushing up prices.

The problem is that you cannot build homes. And many of the people stopping you from building homes are not billionaires, and they’re not private equity magnets. They’re people within the Bernie Sanders coalition or the Democratic Party coalition. They are people who don’t want an apartment building with affordable housing going up nearby, to say nothing of a homeless shelter. God forbid a homeless shelter is going to go up nearby.

One problem is that if you can’t identify them as a problem because they’re not your chosen enemies, it becomes hard, sometimes, to tell people the thing that they see in their own lived experience. Which is that there’s no building going on around in places Democrats govern.

And is that really because of private equity corporations? Maybe. But I’m not sure that works out as well in practice as people want.

And don’t hear me to dismiss — I think I agree with what you’re saying now. But what you and I are trying to do is merge for many candidates how to go and talk about housing — and win elections off of it.

You moved us, rightly, into: Now you’re in office governing, wreck some barriers, be somebody — and I have lots of thoughts about that — be someone with conviction who is willing to disrupt the status quo when in government to get the outcomes that you need. If we need three million units or plus of housing units, probably affordable housing units, what does that require such that you would be a bulldozer to wreck bureaucratic logjams? And all kinds of concerns.

There is that alpha quality that is still missing in the Democratic Party that says: Not only do I care about housing and tell you a story and campaign about this. But that if you put me in government, you will see in my DNA and my character, I am willing to take on people, even with whom you mentioned, who I generally would agree with.

Maybe there’s labor unions here. Maybe there’s environmental leaders here. Part of my job is to come in and say: We got to get this done. I’m going to be a bulldozer for this.

So that I think you’re putting your finger on something. But I would say if we’re winning elections, you’re still motivated by a degree of populism that can combine the story of how I also plan to govern.

But I don’t want to leave people with the idea that I think that you can have a good academic conversation about the municipal zoning laws in a certain community and that that’s going to resonate in a town hall setting that I dropped you into.

I think if you followed the growing alienation between the Democratic Party and the ***working class***, one of the things you come to really fast here are cultural issues.

And, I mean, famously, this was the subject of the most effective ad of the Trump campaign: “Kamala Harris is for they/them. President Trump is for you.” But you see this to some degree on abortion. You saw it around a lot of questions that got called wokeness a couple of years ago.

One way in which the Democratic Party has trouble representing the ***working class*** isn’t that it won’t talk about pharmaceutical prices. It’s that it has just become culturally different, religiously different, et cetera. How do you think about that while recognizing that is the case?

While recognizing that is the case, I start with a different assumption and be humble about acknowledging — maybe I’m wrong, but I’ve been doing this a bit, and I feel like I have a strong view on this. Which is: People will respect your disagreement as long as they think it is honest and sincere, that you can explain it and that you are also simultaneously fighting alongside and with them on something they care deeply about. They’ll give you allowance for disagreements in certain realms.

You take a lot of the social racial justice issues: I mentioned to you at the beginning of doing a town hall, and I drop you in and you go and talk to people. I intentionally started it on economic justice issues.

That is where I know I’ve got a supermajority here. I’m going to talk about how hard it is to be a middle class ***working class*** person in this economy and give you some prescriptions. But then I’m also good — I’m not going to leave you there. We’re going to walk through abortion, and we’re going to talk about immigration.

We’re going to talk about some racial justice issues. We’re not going to just end the town all at that. We’re talking about some of those things, recognizing that when I get to some of these, the orientation of my values — you’re going to see why I care about some of those things.

And I’m going to give allowance as I talk about them to say: You can disagree with me, but I want you to know where I’m coming from. In that language, that way of not telling them that you’re wrong, I’m right. But rather that we’re all on our journeys. This is where I’m at. This is where I believe, this is why I fight for, what I fight for that.

I think that’s what people really desperately want is: Stand by your convictions. Tell me what you really believe. Maybe you’ll persuade me. Maybe not.

Yeah, but how much with Bernie Sanders specifically is some of that allowance is he is a cranky old white guy with a political profile from a very different era in politics. And also a political profile that used to be different himself.

Something that the people in the party frustrated at Bernie Sanders are saying right now is: Sure, he used to outperform Democrats in Vermont, but he doesn’t anymore. He ran very, very slightly behind Kamala Harris in this election.

It’s not quite — if you dig in — so he outperforms her in all the Northern country, but third party candidate run who outflanked to the left on Gaza and got 7,000 to 8,000 votes. And that’s the reason. But to be clear, because she didn’t have that. So he —

But wait, I don’t really buy this, because you have third party candidates running. Was Jill Stein not on the ballot in Vermont?

Yeah, no, no, no, no. But the third party candidate was a well-known commodity or known commodity who advocated — had an actual campaign.

And the point I would make about this is that Bernie Sanders: He used to be much more pro-gun. He used to be somebody who seemed to have very little patience for some of the cultural, or what gets called by the academics, post-materialist turn in the Democratic Party. And over time, he’s become more part of the much more coalitional left, and the people who follow him in politics, the Squad, etc. —

He’s moved with the country on guns. You just take, I mean — you’ve got to parse these out one by one. But the country has moved on guns itself. But if you do a talk about background checks right now and universal — not only universal background checks but also getting guns out of schools and just safety measures — that is very strong majoritarian sentiment.

I’m not arguing about the politics of guns. What I am arguing about here a bit is that one of the reasons for Sanders’s success in politics is, as I long understood it, that he just seemed like he was from a class-first wing of the Democratic Party. The people come up after him don’t feel as much like that to me.

Given that we see a lot of these divergences happening in different countries at the same time, I’m not sure the reason it just keeps happening is nobody has figured out how to show that they disagree with conviction. I think that there is a disagreement here between a lot of ***working class*** voters and a lot of, not just the center left but the actual left, which is in a very much further along with some of these questions than much of the country is.

And I don’t just mean here, by the way. I’m not just talking about trans rights. Bernie Sanders was out there calling to ban fracking. His position on a lot of green energy things is very, very strong. I might agree on 80 percent of what he thinks there, but there’s no doubt that if he ran in a general election, these would be things that he would get attacked on in Pennsylvania.

There is a tendency for the left to not just believe in a higher minimum wage, which is what he talks about in interviews, but to believe in a huge basket of issues, with very little compromise, that a lot of people don’t believe in, and they’re not there on, and they don’t want to see their gas-powered car taken away, and so on.

But you glossed over the class-based prism quickly. That, to me, is the divergence, and that why I would argue Bernie Sanders could go into a fracking community in Pennsylvania and still get respectful disagreements: See, oh yes, you support my right to join a union. You support my right to a just transition. I believe you’re going to give a damn about me if there is an opportunity to get new jobs that come into these communities. You do want a better life for me.

I think that class-based orientation helps you in a lot of these issues, even immigration. It’s the same base. That class-based prism, I’ve heard Bernie Sanders talk about a bit. Not many others. That we have Hyundai or a lot of other companies in Alabama and Texas who exploit low-wage workers and depress wages of workers, create an uneven playing field. And that should matter. That should matter to all of us who care about rewarding work and dignity of work.

Where was Sanders in 2020 on the question of decriminalizing border crossing?

Well, you’re putting me on the spot, because I can’t remember the question. Because we were supposed to go — this tells you about our campaign. You were saying: Did we — are we willing to say no?

I came as a A.C.L.U. national political director to the campaign, and we were asked to go to an A.C.L.U. forum at which to discuss this. I think all the other candidates did, but we said no, we went to a Philadelphia A.F.L.-C.I.O. event on the same day instead.

But just to be clear, I just asked my producer, and Sanders supported it.

OK. I trust you. [Laughs]

And the reason I ask this is: So there’s a famous interview I did with Sanders years ago. And I asked him what he thought of open borders, and he says: It’s the Koch brothers’ plot.

Archived clip of Bernie Sanders: If you believe in a nation state or in a country called the United States or U.K. or Denmark or any other country, you have an obligation, in my view, to do everything we can to help poor people. What right wing people in this country would love is an open-border policy, bring in all kinds of people who work for $2 or $3 an hour — that would be great for them. I don’t believe in that.

It’s funny because people always think that was me demanding to support open borders, but I’m always interested in what cuts people draw in their politics. And Sanders had always been much more skeptical of various forms of immigration reform than a lot of Democrats were.

He had a different profile on that than a lot of Democrats did in that era, and he would come at it through this class-based prism. But the reason I think the question about decriminalizing border crossing is interesting in 2020, is that as these broader trends took hold in the Democratic Party and in the left, they took hold on him, too.

Yeah, and it’s fair that, and I think one of the things you saw happen during that period of time is the family separation, the asylum seeking during the period of Trump, in which the really heinous, inhumane efforts by him to attack immigrants did have an effect on policy, on the entire field.

You’re right that people wanted to distinguish in a bolder way from what Donald Trump was doing on family separation.

And so I guess this brings me back to this question, which is whether one of the dimensions of populism has to be taken seriously. One of the dimensions of representation isn’t just having honest disagreement but actually representing, in a bunch of ways the people you are trying to win over. If ***working class*** voters —

Well, what point do you want to drive? I wouldn’t argue — I mean, it’s fair to say we should reflect on policy choices —

I guess here is the point I’m trying to draw on. It’s always very hard to work with the “Would Bernie have won?” and “Would Bernie-ism win?” questions. Because in a way it has never truly been tested at the general-election level.

Yes.

So Bernie didn’t win the primary in 2016. He didn’t win it in 2020. So he didn’t have to run a general election campaign where he wasn’t even just talking to Democrats, but people are really coming at him on these questions of banning fracking, on these questions of undocumented migrant crossings and whether or not you’re going to keep that criminalized.

And on one level, there’s a version of this that is a very convenient answer for the Democratic Party: Disagree honestly and with conviction on everything where you disagree with more ***working class*** voters, but be much more forthright and populist in your economics, and that’ll win it for you.

And the other argument is: No, that wouldn’t win it for you — that in some ways, the downsides of that have not been tested, and you have trouble with some of the voters you’re saying you represent — because you don’t actually represent them. Because culture is not something people downgrade. They want candidates not who disagree with them honestly. They want candidates who represent them authentically — and agree with them. And if you ended up having to test that out, that’s what you would find.

Hear me to say that I want class-based populism testing of different kinds. I love people to be like Bernie — great, that’s fine.

You can also not be like Bernie and do class-based populism, to be very clear. Let’s put a point on this, right? Could you argue against: Ticketmaster is a giant monopoly. And it burns me that Shein, with its importation of clothes from China, has wrecked our American clothing industry. That I could go down the line of prescription drugs and cancer drugs that cost a hell of a lot of money.

Bank fees are gouging me; noncompete bans are depriving — stopping liberty in the workplace. There are so many forms of populism, class-based populism, that are available. If you look at the political consulting industry of the Democratic Party, if I raised many of these things, the I.R.S. is now auditing the wealthy in private-jet loopholes. It’s not even — I would be like, speaking a foreign language to them. That this is not the thing —

I feel like I hear the Biden administration say stuff like that all the time, and they actually passed a bunch of that.

What we’re arguing here is going and campaigning before the American public to win elections about a particular story that the Democratic brand is affiliated and associated with. Not that there is a nice technocratic point made by the National Economic Council on CNBC.

I’m saying: Go before a town hall, that 100-person crowd. What is that story that you want to tell them about: Hi, I’m Democrat. This is my orientation, and these are the problems that I’m going to address and concrete solutions that I’m going to be a wrecking ball in government to deliver for you?

In order to do this, does the Democratic Party need to unwind itself from what is now partially its coalition?

So there’s this quote from Chuck Schumer, it’s become kind of famous, where he says, “For every blue-collar Democrat we lose in western Pennsylvania — ”

Archived clip of Chuck Schumer: We will pick up two, three moderate Republicans in the suburbs of Philadelphia. And you can repeat that in Ohio and Illinois and Wisconsin. The voters who are most out there figuring out what to do are not the blue collar Democrats. They are the college-educated Republicans who lean Republican or independent and in the suburbs.

And I’m not sure exactly even he believes that anymore. I mean, this is from some election cycles ago. But there is an element of reality in this, which is that the Democratic Party is now a much more affluent party than it used to be.

It wins college-educated voters by very significant margins. And it has become a party that likes institutions. And I’m not saying Bernie Sanders loses all those people, but there is presumably trade-offs among some of them.

If you want to send a signal clear enough that you really hate the way things are in this country, and you are going to be much more class based in your politics, and you’re running inside a party that many of its voters come from the more educated and affluent classes, that you would lose all these suburbanites because they don’t want to have their private health insurance abolished. They don’t want to pay higher income taxes.

Is there a period of losing while you’re realigning your coalition?

The assumption that I am making — again, I would love to test it and have candidates run on it — is that you would maintain a large part of the vast majority of that coalition. You would keep Liz Cheneys in the tent.

Would it make some of them uncomfortable? Sure.

I think we are wrongly assuming that there’s a trade-off. We don’t know because we haven’t tried. We aren’t putting it first.

I would like to try. That is the fight. That is the tension that I’m having with the Democrats who say — they’re almost prejudging the outcome and saying: Well, if you go and campaign against big banks and you rail against big pharma and you say that there’s big oil collusion on raising gas prices, that somehow — Oh man, you know, we’re not going to get Liz Cheney, and Adam Kinzinger might run and all these other people.

I’m like: No, that’s not the reason they were there to begin with. They would like to win. They would like to prevent Donald Trump from winning. And let’s find the best way to win.

And we’re talking at the end of the day — I really firmly believe this, Ezra — is that we’re talking about 3, 4, 5 percent on the margins. And we’re talking about — that’s the difference between that gets us to majorities of the House and the Senate and the presidency.

I think it is this class-based populism that gets you to that 3, 4, 5 percent. If we don’t do it, it is more likely that it continues to drift in the JD Vance direction in 2028.

Putting aside the Adam Kinzingers and Liz Cheneys and putting aside the very specific threat Donald Trump represents to institutions, can you really have a class-based politics that doesn’t — if you’re going to flip the comfortable, aren’t you going to repel some of the comfortable? Does that create a push around things like taxes and just more old-school issues in American politics? Maybe one you want to make, right?

I think in some ways the argument I would almost like to hear somebody say is: Yes. I would like to trade out some of the coalition because there are trade-offs. I just think this part of the coalition is bigger and more just.

Exactly. Just to be on the math side of the equation: You are correct. Just to make that point that if you’re talking about the ***working class***, that’s a two-thirds of the workforce without a college degree. And then now you rightly reference this other one-third who are doing well.

And so when you start to leak from the two-thirds bucket — yeah, you have a math problem there. And that’s why the Schumer math doesn’t add up: Once you start leaking, you don’t know where the bottom is. And we find with Donald Trump that enough leakage of votes in the ***working class*** will cause you to lose an election.

So you want to fight for that. You don’t want leakage there. And you’re right that it may come to a point where some of the movement — and Google is a good example. Google donors: If you look at Google employees, I think they’re one of the highest among employers, donors to the Democratic Party. Whereas on the other side of this, it’s amazing.

I think Bloomberg did the study: U.P.S. workers were one of the biggest constituencies of small-dollar donors to Donald Trump. I would like that to flip. Not like a wholesale flip, but I would like — I don’t mind losing a few more Google employees to gain more U.P.S. drivers and workers.

You’ve got to make that argument. Yes, I’ll tell you: I’ll make that trade and tell you clear indirectly. That’s a direction I would go because it would be good for the Democratic Party. It’d be good for the path of our future sustainability in politics. It would lead to good policy outcomes.

So there’s been a discourse that has emerged after the election, and I’ve been part of it, where people are saying that one problem is that Democrats at many levels of government have stopped saying no to the groups. They have stopped saying no, and the way this codes is that you’re saying they don’t say no to the left.

When I say they don’t say no, I actually mean something much broader than that. Many of the people they need to say no to, many of the people they need — not to demonstrate independence from but be independent from — are actually what I would think of as on the right of the party.

Some of those are corporate interests. Some of them are local interests. Sometimes they’re unions. Sometimes they’re not unions. But all sorts of things create problems in different areas of governing.

Something that I think connects candidates from very different directions who succeed is that people believe they are independent. People believe Bernie Sanders is independent. And that, to me, is part of the work of him not running as a Democrat, running as a kind of independent democratic socialist candidate.

People believe Donald Trump, because of his billions, is independent. When Barack Obama ran in 2008 — people forget this — but he was a new face to politics, and he ran very much against special interests, who he said were the ones who were ruining our politics. One of the things that I think was difficult for Kamala Harris is that people didn’t believe she was independent. Not that she was necessarily bought and paid for — just that she was a normal party politician.

And in many different ways, what connects populists to me is that they’re able to send some costly signal, not joining their party, coming from the outside, etc., that signals to people they’re going to be somebody in there who says no in all kinds of different directions in order to solve problems in the way they should be solved.

Because people believe politics is fundamentally corrupt and idiotic. And if you’re too much a creature of politics, then you’re going to reflect that corruption and idiocy, too.

I’ll flesh out deeper on “independence.” I think you’re right to say the word, but I will say that independence comes from a sense of a vision, a sense of conviction, and a sense that you mean what you say.

That this isn’t a game; this isn’t theater. Somebody didn’t just put some words in front of me and I read them. I’m telling you something that I deeply and honestly believe. And when you see that I deeply and honestly believe it, that that conviction resides in me, then I — when I go and advocate for it, it will manifest itself.

So often when I talk to candidates, we might have differences of opinions, all kinds of different views. The first question is, What do you honestly believe? Give me a place of conviction. My view on this kind of inside/outside thing that you’re raising of groups or whatever the case might be, is that groups have play a role to just advocate sincerely with conviction.

That’s what you expect them to do. If you believe deeply in Gaza, fight for Gaza, explain and advocate for it, build a political movement. But when your candidate in the arena, you make the judgments about what you believe is majoritarian, what is consistent with your values. So, for instance, Ezra, you know, we went on the “Joe Rogan” show, as you remember, in the 2019 campaign —

I defended you in this. People got very mad at me.

I mean, well, at you?

Imagine how they felt about —

I mean, I had literally — I think the Human Rights Campaign launched a whole campaign against us. MoveOn, said like: You know, Bernie Sanders is like a disgrace to the communities for which he fights.

And that’s what we dealt with in real time.

It didn’t — we didn’t back — we didn’t say sorry. We didn’t apologize. This is the vision that — we thought we were going to go speak to a general-election populous, people with whom we disagree. Have long defended it. Continue to defend to this day. The job of being in the political arena is to speak to people who aren’t already on your side.

And to help make a case. That’s why we’re even having this conversation. But you’re right that you need that conviction of being willing to say no.

Are we really so different, Faiz?

[Laughs] See, I can persuade you.

If we are counting as people who disagree. [Laughs]

No.

But is this a cultural problem? Well, let me ask you this differently. Because I am going to say this is a cultural problem in the Democratic Party.

I was just having this conversation the other day with somebody. The disagreement feels harder and harder. I don’t know if you feel that way. And that’s why I kind of reached out to you, is like, can we have disagreement? Where I don’t say you’re a terrible person for disagreeing with you?

Where do you think this culture that fears or avoids certain kinds of disagreement came from? You and I are about the same age. We came up in digital media around similar times. People may not know this about you, but you are a founder of ThinkProgress. I don’t feel like it felt like this then.

I agree. And we rose up at a time where it was actually disagreement that prospered. We’re going to say names — I’m going to say names that people don’t remember. But like, whether you’re Josh Marshall or Glenn Greenwald or Kevin Drum or Marcos or, you know, Matt Yglesias — whoever it might have been writing at the time — there was a desire for disagreement. And it’s particularly in the Iraq war era and national security issues and tax cuts and Medicare Part D.

You remember all the stuff there — all kinds of issues going on. And there’s a desire to grapple with it. The sense at that time was that we were in the wilderness, and we need to have honest conversation. I think right now we are lacking in that. I refer to that word as populism, and you may have a different word for it.

But that populism reconnects you with actual sentiment among regular people and that whatever, wherever — that is missing. I don’t see a lot of organizations on the left, as opposed to the right, whose job and desire is to reach scale, to talk to as many people as possible. And when you’re trying to rescale, you have to grapple with this disagreement, different points of view.

How much do you think this is a story of media forms changing — that then change the cultures of at least, in this case, the Democratic Party? And what I mean by that is, when we’re talking about 2005 to 2010, that area, you have the mainstream media — these big platforms that are trying to be quite mass in that era, particularly wherever they dominate. Newspapers: They want everybody in what was then their geographical area to read them. And so they want to be broadly acceptable.

And then you had blogging, which was very fractious. But I would describe blogging as: You were in conversation with the people you were disagreeing with. Blogging was a highly conversational form, and the people you were most angry at, you were writing back and forth, and the two of you were often linking back and forth.

And the movement to me to social media: One of the things that it brought with it was, instead of talking to the people you were angry at, you talked about the people you were angry at to the people you disagreed with. And you got, you know, the likes and got retweeted. And this culture emerged of: You got engagement by drawing who was outside of your circle, who you didn’t have to talk to.

And at the same time, at the mass level of culture, there was a fracturing. And everybody was in competition with everybody: every newspaper against every other newspaper and against every magazine and ThinkProgress and Breitbart. And everything was playing, and it created a push to focus on your niche.

When there was that much competition, it created more push, even among the mass players, to define who they were for. So was this simply the result of the internet? Making media more about talking to the people who agreed with you and differentiating yourself in terms of who you were targeting as your audience? And that also became how politics worked?

I think this Substackization — I love Substack people. I read them. I’m sure you do, too. But what we’ve lost in a Substackized world, in the media environment in which everyone has, you know, small islands in which they talk to, is that we haven’t found that supermajoritarian outlets of how we convey news.

On the right, I would argue it exists. I watch them. I not only watch Trump’s speeches. But like, a lot of conservative media — you’ll see YouTube, itself, has millions and millions of subscribers and millions and millions of views. There aren’t that many corollaries on the left.

Who are you thinking of on the right there?

So PragerU, The Daily Wire are certainly doing —

You would describe what they’re trying to do as supermajoritarian?

No, no, no. I’m saying that’s scale. When Trump is building a movement and he’s trying to reach large numbers of people, I would argue to you, Ezra, you have the ability to reach scale with their vision and their arguments much better than right now we are prepared to do on a center left.

To just reach millions and millions of people. If tomorrow, Kamala Harris or Joe Biden or Bernie Sanders went out and had an important thing to say, we are still reliant largely on, you mentioned, some traditional news outlets, or you would pay media. This is why paid media matters so much to the Democratic side of the aisle — because that’s a chief method of communication.

Whereas I would argue on the right, you look at avenues — that they just have millions and millions of people with whom they can start to just seed arguments, thoughts, ideas. And then they can grow from there. And I do think it matters, Ezra, that scale issue.

Is this really such an advantage for the right? This is this huge blowout election for Donald Trump, the greatest win anybody could have imagined him having. And he’s going to win, what, a point or two in the popular vote? It’s a win, right? And when you win, you get the power in American government. But I could imagine a much stronger Republican performance given international trends in 2024 and think that is a party and a side that is figuring out how to talk to the people who don’t find them appealing.

Respecting where you’re coming from. I think I’m operating off a different base line. I think given what I believe of Donald Trump and both his record and who he was and the types of things he wanted to campaign upon, I don’t believe he could or should have gotten to a majority in this country.

And what I would say — I’m somebody who watches lots and lots of Donald Trump speeches — probably well over 100. I watched them. I want to learn. I feel like I want to learn what a populist candidate is trying to say and do out there.

And I do tend to think on the left, the center left, we’ve stopped listening to him. And so you’ll get like versions of: Well, Donald Trump, all he’s doing is spouting this anger and meanness of the enemy from within and Arnold Palmer jokes.

To be fair, it’s all there. But the thrust, if you listen to a lot of Donald Trump’s speeches and where he’s kind of galvanizing ***working class***, if you listened — even just the “Joe Rogan” conversation — it’s around an economic vision that when you listen to it: Here’s no tax on tips. Here’s my terrorist plan. I’ve got a plan idea to do something about it.

And I would argue to you that those things that we’re often less talking about in the center left, he’s able to actually reach regular people with his outlets. More effectively get that message across.

And that when you go to a town hall in Wisconsin and you talk about Social Security — this came up a lot — I stress-tested myself — go around and say, Hey, what’d you hear about Donald Trump on Social Security? Well, Democrats keep saying they’re going to protect Social Security. But Donald Trump says he says no taxes on Social Security. What do you think about that? And like, Right, we’re not. We haven’t even engaged that conversation.

They hear no tax on Social Security. It sounds good. It sounds like an expanded benefit, right? My point is that they’re able — he’s able — to get a message out like that, that you and I may not even be living or seeing if we’re not dialed in to what they’re talking about.

I think in this way, I would make a cut between two things in the Donald Trump media strategy or the Republican media strategy, which is: On the one hand, I think that the Balkanization into outlets like PragerU and The Daily Wire has not been good for them, does not be good for them intellectually, is not good for them politically.

This year, the Trump campaign concentrated much more on outlets that are fundamentally nonpolitical, like “Joe Rogan,” but have become alienated from —

Like Elon, himself —

Democratic politics. Say that again.

Elon himself has a platform in his own right. And you’re right: Adin Ross, Jake Paul —

Theo Von —

Lex Fridman.

I mean, there was a whole variety. You’re right. I mean, this is the way Donald Trump does the media: He’s willing and wants to reach out to a lot of people and have these conversations. Yeah, I didn’t mean to suggest that — I didn’t mean to take us down this road, just PragerU or whatever on the right.

But I think they’re part of an ecosystem in which the conservative arguments are dominating a center left style of arguments. That may be a better way to put it.

Bernie Sanders was on “The Daily” recently talking to my colleague Michael Barbaro, about some of this and specifically about “Rogan.” And here’s what he said when he was asked whether Harris should have gone on “Rogan.”

Archived clip of Bernie Sanders: Am I afraid of being on your show? I am not. Am I afraid of being on the “Joe Rogan” show. No.

Bottom line is what every communications director knows is that there is a new world of media out there. And it’s not just NBC, CBS, or The New York Times. It is podcasts. It is “Joe Rogan.” It is Fox News. It is young people who nobody in the Democratic leadership has ever heard of who have YouTube programs that attract millions of people.

That is the reality. Can you ignore that? That is insane. Anyone who thinks you could ignore that reality is crazy. In my experience, not that I’ve been on millions of these shows, the people that I talk to treat me with respect, and I think you cannot be, you know: Oh, Joe Rogan said this or he says that.

Yeah, so what? You know, my wife disagrees with me on this or that issue. So what?

You can’t run away from somebody because they may have said something stupid or something that you disagree with. That’s life.

But most importantly, when you go on the show, what do you say?

So Joe Rogan asked you: What do you think about the fact that we have more income and wealth inequality than ever before? Oh, well, I don’t know. I can’t answer that question.

What do you think about the fact that we’re the only major country not to guarantee health care? Well, gee, I’d like to not talk about that; I don’t want to offend the insurance companies.

Why are we paying the highest prices in the world for prescription drugs?Well, no, I can’t talk about that because, you know, I get money from the pharma.

That’s the problem. So yeah, you’ve got to go on different outlets. Of course, you do. But most importantly, you’ve got to know what you believe. And what you’re prepared to fight for. And what your vision for the future of this country is.

I was reminded of, during that appearance when Bernie sat with Joe Rogan that — not to be a promo for that show. But there was a moment which Bernie is doing his conversation that you’ve heard a number of times: The system is rigged, and the tax rates for corporations is lower than you and I or any ***working class*** person is paying. And Joe Rogan just, as a regular person says, “Why is that? Well, but why? That seems it should be illegal.”

And he goes, “Joe, it’s because they write the laws.” [Laughs.]

It was just so just genuine and honest. That that’s what you get out of people wanting this type of conversation that Bernie Sanders is referencing — in a setting in which he is correct: that people are so hungry for education in these spheres.

Like, they’re hungry for knowledge. That’s what you see people trying to gravitate to online is: Give me some honest discourse beyond what I hear is platitudes from political actors.

I want to catch on that “platitudes from political actors.” Because on the one hand, I so agreed with the first half of what Sanders said there. And on the other hand, sometimes he talks about a Democratic Party that I don’t really recognize. When he says, when he’s implying there that if you asked a Democrat, I guess in this case, Kamala Harris — but you really pick any generic Democrat, what they thought about high-income and wealth inequality, and they would say: I don’t know. I can’t answer that question.

I mean, that is not actually what generic Democrats say to that. Or: Why are we paying the highest prices in the world for prescription drugs? Well, I can’t talk about that because I get money from pharma.

I mean, but you’re taking him too literally.

So what he is saying, I’ll unpack it for you —

But this is what I’m pushing you on a little bit. Yes, go ahead.

I mean, what he’s saying, obviously, is that when we make choices to campaign, it’s fine to say: Hey, put a line in prescription drugs into your rally address. But the issue is so salient among so many people that they want to hear you really talk about, especially if you’ve been governing for three and a half years: Go and tell me this story of what we have been doing and what is next. That we haven’t just came, we saw, we conquered — insulin prices are now capped for people on Medicare. And that’s it.

Bernie Sanders was pushing Kamala behind the scenes, the whole campaign to say: You suggested, or Biden did in the State of the Union, a cap for people who aren’t on Medicare. So basically, the people on Medicare are going to get this great benefit this year. But what about the people who aren’t? Why don’t we continue to push that?

And if you do, that policy design that we’re now talking about blends itself into a story. That’s the power of it — not to stick it into the prompter and read it one time.

This goes to something you’ve said a couple of times in this conversation, which is that you have to mean it. And one of the reasons I think that Bernie Sanders is not scalable in the way that Donald Trump is and in the way that some, a lot of great politicians aren’t, is that he means it.

Sanders is just genuinely appalled by the nature of American capitalism and the corruption of the American political system in a way other candidates who might actually support many of the same ideas aren’t.

And that I keep referencing the word “populism.” That is what I mean, right? It has come from a realness. Not that we fed it into a 30-second ad, and we put it in front of you.

The 30-second ad works best when it works off of the authenticity of candidates who people already believe to some degree what you’ve been saying, what you’ve been doing — and now I connect it with the way in which you advertise.

We’ve been talking about individuals here: Bernie Sanders and Joe Biden and this person and that person. What about the party itself? You’ve talked about listening tours. What do you understand the Democratic Party institutionally to be now? And what would you like it to be? And how would you like to show up in people’s lives?

When I talk to most people around the country and say: What is a Democrat? What does it ask of you? It asks nothing of you. It says: Give me $20. Give me $35. It is a fund-raising vehicle.

And a Democratic Party — I think it has to be reconstituted to be of service in communities. You know, when you’re thinking about — in a period of inflation, when people are dealing with high utility rate hikes — I would love to see a Democratic Party that says, Hey, on the ground here, we’re fighting against an unjust rate hike in your community. When Starbucks workers organize in their local community, that’s an immense act of courage to go up against an employer and say, Hey, I would like to be recognized. I want the Democratic Party to stand with them.

When East Palestine, Ohio, happens, I want a Democratic Party that says: Hey, you know, we here rally in support of a community. Because fundamentally our ethic is that we want people to be in service of one another, but also structurally, we need institutions that represent us so it does. It reconceives a bit of what our value is in society — beyond the tactics of door knocking, phone banking, small-dollar donation.

All good. All fine. But to reclaim what the Democratic Party brand is, is in consistency with what our values and our aims of improving government — has to make us much more involved in society.

And you see on the right, arguably, that better civic organization. Whether it’s a home-school association, gun club, you name it. There’s a lot of churches. It facilitates and aids them.

And when you look at rural America and what’s going on, people desire to be part of something. Right now, the Democratic Party and the left and the decline of unionization has meant there aren’t as many avenues for being part of something.

And how does the Democratic Party start on that? How does it reconnect? How does it begin to build muscle or civic infrastructure that it doesn’t currently have?

We’ve got to open the doors. I mean, it is a closed club right now. And most people don’t even know who the voting members are within the D.N.C.

It’s fine. But you do want to open the doors. Particularly at a time when you feel like you’re starting to lose your currency with people in New Jersey, New York, California.

Look at the sways of this: Large numbers of people in most populous areas moving away from the Democratic Party to the Republican Party. It should send an alarm bell. Right?

And it’s open the doors and get out into communities and hold listening sessions. That’s why I love going to U.A.W. town halls or union town halls — because it brings people of different walks together — and just listen and ask questions, basic questions: What does being a Democrat mean to you? What does the brand mean? What do you like about it? What do you not like about it? What do you want us to hear? What do you want us talking about? What do you not like us talking about?

And just let that help inform this process.

Why do you think they haven’t been doing that? Why do you understand the Democratic Party has — and parties, in general — have deteriorated from being as muscular in people’s lives as maybe they once were?

Yes. I like that word, Ezra. It’s a good one. “Muscular.” Because it requires that. And we’ve been comfortably winning to a degree without it.

Because of the Trump era and what it does — and you could say all kinds of effects that the Trump era has had on the Democratic Party — you’re able to win in a lot of ways on the overreaction, disapprovals of him. And that false comfort of winning can pull you apart from where our actual community attitudes are about an affirmative vision and brand of a Democratic Party.

You’re just saying: Hey, what the other side is offering up is just so unacceptable. And that can get you through. That’s where we’re losing the “populism.” And that’s the word. And I welcome other people having different words. But that gets you closer to and compels you to go into forums and have dialogue, have disagreement.

It just pulls you into these zones. The best politicians we’ve got going on in the Democratic Party are just genuinely and organically interested in doing that kind of thing.

You can listen to our whole conversation by following “The Ezra Klein Show” on [*NYT Audio App*](https://apps.apple.com/us/app/nyt-audio/id1549293936), [*Apple*](https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/the-ezra-klein-show/id1548604447), [*Spotify*](https://open.spotify.com/show/3oB5noYIwEB2dMAREj2F7S), [*Amazon Music*](https://music.amazon.com/podcasts/c4a3b1da-5433-49e6-8c14-0e1da53be78c/the-ezra-klein-show), [*YouTube*](https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLdMrbgYfVl-szepgVpArP0obwYgbKdfvx), [*iHeartRadio*](https://www.iheart.com/podcast/326-the-ezra-klein-show-31142409/) or [*wherever you get your podcasts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/19/opinion/how-to-listen-ezra-klein-show-nyt.html?action=click&amp;module=RelatedLinks&amp;pgtype=Article). View a list of book recommendations from our guests [*here*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/ezra-klein-show-book-recs.html).

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[***Walz Sees if 'Minnesota Nice' Plays in Sun Belt***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D08-1YT1-DXY4-X097-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 17, 2024 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1298 words

**Byline:** By Kellen Browning and Jazmine Ulloa

**Body**

The Minnesota governor was picked for his appeal to the white ***working-class***. The Harris campaign hopes he can reach other demographics, too.

When Vice President Kamala Harris selected Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota as her running mate, many Democrats hoped that his folksy charm, quick-witted jabs at Republican opponents and ''Minnesota nice'' values would draw in white, ***working-class*** voters from across the Midwest -- and potentially beyond.

That theory has been put to the test in recent weeks as Mr. Walz has hit the campaign trail, embracing his role as a retail politician and attack dog against former President Donald J. Trump at stops not only in the blue wall states of Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, but also in Sun Belt battleground states like Arizona and Nevada. This week, he will head south to campaign in Georgia and North Carolina.

''I feel a bit like a snowman melting,'' Mr. Walz said at several stops during a sweltering campaign swing in the Southwest last week, a line that drew chuckles from college students in Tempe, Ariz., and wealthy donors in Las Vegas alike.

As he has traveled through the nation's battlegrounds, Mr. Walz has worked to overcome skepticism from moderate voters about Minnesota's leftward shift by presenting liberal policy priorities like student debt relief and housing tax credits as common-sense, neighborly goals. And across the Sun Belt in particular, he has had to try to shore up support among a much younger and more racially diverse electorate -- traditionally Democratic groups with whom Republicans have been making inroads in recent elections.

On the trail, where he has worked to pump up the Democratic base at events and to rally the faithful with visits to campaign offices, he often works to forge connections with his audiences, and individual voters, with a down-to-earth demeanor and a dose of humor.

At a campaign office in Phoenix, he laughed with a volunteer from Minnesota as they commiserated about the triple-digit temperatures. At an office for a Democratic group in Lansing, Mich., he marveled at the endless stream of volunteers emerging from a room to shake his hand.

''That's either a big room or it's a clown car,'' Mr. Walz said.

A moment later a volunteer introduced himself as ''part of the clown car,'' prompting Mr. Walz to respond, ''We all are!''

Voters appear to especially enjoy that the governor seems very food-oriented.

In Las Vegas, he dropped by Tiabi Coffee and Waffle, a coffee shop, and ordered a peanut butter banana smoothie. In Wausau, Wis., he drew laughs from a crowd when he explained that the owners of a local Ukrainian bakery had just sold him cake ''that I probably don't need but I sure wanted.'' Mr. Walz and his daughter, Hope, loaded up on whoopie pies and cider doughnuts at a visit to an orchard in Pennsylvania.

Republicans have suggested that Mr. Walz's policies are out of touch with the majority of the electorate, and he has faced early questions about how well his appeal would translate outside Minnesota.

At rallies, Mr. Trump has taken to calling him ''Tampon Tim,'' accusing him of signing a law to place tampons and pads in boys' restrooms for transgender students. While the law was written by Democratic lawmakers to guarantee access to the products for ''all menstruating students,'' schools have interpreted the law as a mandate to place tampons and pads in female and gender neutral bathrooms, rather than ones designated only for boys.

Mr. Trump's campaign argued that voters would not be drawn in by Mr. Walz's banter.

''He's unelectable to voters from the Midwest to the Sun Belt and beyond,'' Rachel Reisner, a spokeswoman for the Trump campaign, said in a statement. ''American voters won't be fooled by his jokes or silly dog and pony shows; they know the Harris-Walz agenda is dangerous and would destroy America as we know it.''

Stan Barnes, a former Republican state lawmaker and political consultant in Arizona, suggested Mr. Walz was focusing on aspects of his personality to distract from his left-leaning record.

''They are trying to convince voters that they are a likable, normal alternative,'' Mr. Barnes said. But he added that Mr. Trump, if polling proved accurate, had appeared to be appealing to racial minorities in a way no other Republican in the state had done before.

Several political strategists, though, suggested Mr. Walz's plain-spoken language and appeal to Midwestern values would most likely help him, even in diverse Sun Belt battlegrounds.

''We talk about white ***working-class*** voters and Latino ***working-class*** voters and Black ***working-class*** voters,'' said Ted Pappageorge, the secretary-treasurer of Nevada's powerful Culinary Workers Union, a key ally for Democrats. ''But ***working-class*** voters have a lot in common -- they all want more money in their pocket.''

In Arizona, the top issues for the independent voters who could sway the election remain inflation and immigration. But Mr. Walz's recitation of Midwestern values, such as family, honesty and hard work, have complemented his pleas to defend democracy and abortion rights and helped him draw a contrast with Mr. Trump, said Mike Noble, a pollster at Noble Predictive Insights in Phoenix.

''The more they can talk about those character issues, the more they can talk about abortion, the more they are winning,'' Mr. Noble said of Democrats.

In Tempe, addressing dozens of Arizona State University students, Mr. Walz focused on issues particularly relevant to young people, including climate change and student loans.

''If I were you all, how can you not constantly go around telling people to 'fork 'em,''' Mr. Walz said, making a knowing allusion to the pitchfork hand gesture associated with the university and the pitchforks that adorn the helmets of its football team, the Sun Devils.

At stops in the Midwest and the East, he continued to make explicit appeals to young people and minorities, sometimes acknowledging his perspective as the older white man in the room. Speaking to Michigan State University students in East Lansing, Mich., last week, Mr. Walz addressed Ms. Harris's debate performance.

''Kamala Harris did her job the other night,'' Mr. Walz said. ''The thing I want to say to everybody in here -- especially to women and people of color -- the folks who are surprised she did that, shame on them.''

And in Washington, at the annual dinner of the Human Rights Campaign, an L.G.B.T.Q. rights group, Mr. Walz described himself as an ''old, straight white guy'' who was working to guarantee that Americans could live as their ''authentic selves'' without interference from government.

The most emotional moment came when Mr. Walz recalled working on federal hate-crimes legislation when he was serving in Congress and meeting Judy Shepard, whose son, Matthew, a gay student at the University of Wyoming, had been beaten, tortured and left to die in 1998.

''I remember walking with a mother who lost her son and hearing the sheriff tell me the only place it wasn't bloody was where the tears ran down Matthew's eyes,'' he said, drawing gasps from the audience. ''And I watched a mother in unbelievable pain that I couldn't even fathom -- of losing a child this way -- walk with her head held high to make sure that none of the rest of us ever have to get a call from someone.''

Some of the people he met along the trail said that his words had resonated with them. Alexandria Jimenez-Greenshields, a 17-year-old student at Michigan State who attended Mr. Walz's event there, said he seemed genuinely interested in making a connection with people.

''He was speaking from passion -- it didn't feel fake,'' she said.

''It felt like he was a normal average person,'' she added, ''just having a normal average conversation.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/16/us/politics/tim-walz-sun-belt.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/16/us/politics/tim-walz-sun-belt.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Gov. Tim Walz at a presidential debate watch party in Mesa, Ariz., last week. The Minnesotan is campaigning in the Sun Belt. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CAITLIN O'HARA/REUTERS) (A15) This article appeared in print on page A1, A15.

**Load-Date:** September 17, 2024

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[***Democrats Are Still Treating Black Women as an Afterthought***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DK9-W4X1-JBG3-654W-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 6, 2024 Friday

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**Length:** 1036 words

**Byline:** By Patrice Peck

**Body**

In the aftermath of the 2024 presidential election, at times it has felt as though all Democrats could talk about was which demographic groups had drifted away from the Democratic Party and why. What's generally lost in that conversation is the fact that Black women rallied behind Vice President Kamala Harris. The Democratic nominee earned an overwhelming majority of their votes, including in swing states like Georgia, Nevada and Michigan, even as other groups shifted significantly to the right compared with 2020.

This is not just a matter of loyalty. It's the result of tireless, unglamorous labor by the Black political organizers and community activists who have helped keep the Democratic Party alive in recent election cycles. And yet, as the party scrambles to course-correct after its loss, it is missing the bigger picture. Black women like me are critical to the party's survival and its future. To build a stronger agenda, Democrats need to prioritize us.

Historically, Black women have higher labor force participation rates than other women, yet systemic barriers have kept us from reaching our full potential. In 2023 alone, Black women lost nearly $43 billion in potential earnings compared with white men, because they are often segregated into lower-paying jobs. This persistent devaluation of Black women's experiences and contributions undermines our collective potential for shared prosperity.

Janelle Jones, the first Black woman to serve as chief economist at the Labor Department, advanced the idea that when Black women thrive, the entire economy does, too. In 2020, Ms. Jones released a visionary fiscal and economic road map, ''Black Women Best,'' as a way to center equity in the conversation around policy. The plan could offer the party a clear way forward.

The Congressional Caucus on Black Women and Girls has already translated Ms. Jones's road map into a comprehensive legislative agenda. Its proposals include raising the federal minimum wage to at least $15 an hour, expanding the right to overtime and protecting collective bargaining. It advocates baby bonds, in which children receive a publicly funded trust account at birth to help close the racial wealth gap, guaranteed income programs, job subsidies and extending Medicaid postpartum coverage.

Investments in community organizations as well as health navigators -- people who could help patients, caregivers and health care providers get through the health care system productively and efficiently -- can be critical tools in the fight against systemic inequities. The beauty of these policies is that they can also address the economic issues that inform voter behavior among Latinos, Black men and ***working-class*** white Americans.

Black women are disproportionately represented among frontline and essential workers. And for all the talk about ***working-class*** voters, they remain virtually invisible in policy discussions. The framework focuses on those most excluded, dismantling the systemic hurdles that impede our access to education, housing and economic opportunities.

Our commitment to the party has had an enduring effect. In 2017, we were crucial in delivering Doug Jones a Senate win in Alabama, flipping a Republican stronghold. Despite making up roughly 14 percent of the state's population, Black women accounted for an estimated 17 percent of voters in that special election.

After her campaign for governor of Georgia in 2018, Stacey Abrams and her team turned frustration into strategy, founding Fair Fight. Her organization registered hundreds of thousands of new voters and helped flip the state's U.S. Senate seats in 2021. Similarly, in 2016, LaTosha Brown, who narrowly lost a 1998 State Board of Education race in Alabama, was a founder of Black Voters Matter. Her work has expanded voting rights and civic engagement in vulnerable communities across the country.

And yet, year after year, Black women express frustration at being taken for granted. We're expected to deliver victories, but when it comes time to pass policies that address our needs, we're met with silence. The Democratic Party's continued neglect has consequences. It risks not only our enthusiasm but also the leadership we bring to the table.

To move forward, the party would be wise to embrace the Black Women Best framework as the cornerstone of its platform. It should invest in grass roots organizations like Fair Fight and Black Voters Matter all year, not just when election season rolls around. It also needs to confront systemic barriers like voter suppression, economic inequality and health care disparities.

And Democrats must strengthen Black women's leadership by elevating us to positions of real power within the party and government. The recent elections of Angela Alsobrooks and Lisa Blunt Rochester brought two promising new leaders to the Senate. They have already shown their commitment to policies that center Black women, like the bill Ms. Blunt Rochester introduced while in the House of Representatives, known as the Moms Matter Act, which aims to address maternal mental health inequity. But much more work is needed to elect more women like them and elevate them to positions of power once they reach Washington.

Softening the Democratic platform to appeal to suburban moderates is a dead-end strategy. Black women are not just the backbone of the Democratic Party. We are its moral compass and its engine for progress. Our voting history reflects a deep commitment to safeguarding democracy, not just for ourselves, but for everyone. Loyalty without reciprocity is unsustainable.

If Democrats want to build a better future, they must stop treating Black women as an afterthought. What's best for us isn't just good politics, it's good for America. If the party fails to see this, it will be the one left behind.

Patrice Peck, a journalist, created the newsletter ''The Wakeful.''

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**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A22.

**Load-Date:** December 6, 2024

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[***Billy Joel's Dream Home and Its Rarefied Air***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D79-YV61-DXY4-X0PV-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Length:** 1145 words

**Byline:** By Rukmini Callimachi

**Body**

A teenager, then known as William Martin Joel, lived in the ***working-class*** suburb of Hicksville -- his family so limited that they didn't own a TV. He took a tiring minimum wage job dredging oysters.

The dredge crisscrossed the waters of Long Island Sound, including a bay that curves like a comma and faces some of the most expensive real estate in the United States. From the boat, he could see a stately brick mansion.

''Rich bastards,'' he thought to himself. ''I'll never live in a house like that.''

Several decades and dozens of Top 40 hits later, Billy Joel -- the oysterman turned piano man -- bought that very mansion on Centre Island in 2002.

Mr. Joel, 75, has told that story many times, right down to throwing in the vulgarity, maybe because it's so unbelievable: ''The word that applies is 'absurd.' I grew up in a quarter-acre lot house in Hicksville. And I would ride my bicycle up here and take a bike ride and look at all the rich people and cuss them out,'' he says.

On Wednesday, a team of real estate agents and publicists working on his behalf held an open house to sell it. The listing price is $49.9 million.

The hourslong affair was by invitation only, and high-end real estate agents arrived by speedboat. Potential buyers are in the 0.1 percent -- at least one billionaire and the representative of a Brussels-based hedge fund were expected to tour it. Among Mr. Joel's former neighbors are Rupert Murdoch, Sean Hannity and one of the heirs to the Exxon Mobil fortune, say his staff.

It's a crowd that is a world away from the one that Mr. Joel used to inhabit, his identity and music closely tied with Long Island's ***working class***.

Hicksville, where he grew up in the 1950s and '60s, is less than 15 miles away from his mansion. When President John F. Kennedy was assassinated, his mother sent him to a nearby store to rent a TV. He returned with the TV on a dolly, explained his biographer Fred Schruers.

Though his family didn't have a television set, they did have a beat-up Lester upright piano, and his mother insisted he take lessons, Mr. Schruers said. Eager to go out and play with his friends, he resented practicing so he learned to imitate the style of Beethoven just well enough to make his mother think that he was following the sheet music, said Mr. Joel.

He tried to embed those modest musical roots into the property when he first bought it by naming it ''MiddleSea'' -- a reference to its location in the middle of the sea, located on a spit that juts out with Oyster Bay on one side and Cold Spring Harbor on the other. But it's also a double entendre referring to the note of middle C, the first key that beginning piano players learn.

''If it's not for me being able to take piano lessons, I probably would never have been able to afford a high-flying property like this. So, I named it after the first note which I learned on the piano, which was C,'' he explained.

The high-flying, 26-acre property has a main house, a beach house and two guesthouses, totaling 18 bedrooms, 16 bathrooms, as well as three swimming pools, a bowling alley and a helipad.

The expansiveness of the grounds is hard to put into words, so I walked from one end of the property line to the other. At a brisk pace, it took me 9 minutes and 3 seconds -- about the time it takes me to walk seven city blocks in Manhattan.

Guests as well as Mr. Joel get around in golf carts -- electric ones, his property manager is quick to note.

A sandy beach, stretching over 2,000 feet, graces the edge of the property.

On Long Island's ''Gold Coast,'' as the area is known, ''it's rare to find a property with 200 feet of beach,'' said Emmett Laffey, the chief executive of Berkshire Hathaway HomeServices, who is representing Mr. Joel in the sale.

The singer still owns other property on Long Island, including a home in Sag Harbor, but his base is now in Florida, where his two youngest daughters, ages 7 and 9, are enrolled in school. ''Once they started going to school, you're kind of locked in,'' Mr. Joel said.

That's one reason he's selling. There's also a more mundane concern: taxes.

At $567,686, the yearly taxes on the property are more than the median sale price of a single-family home in the United States. ''It's not cheap, let's put it that way,'' he said. ''As successful, I've been financially, yeah, that's, you know, that's a lot.''

The home first went up for sale last year. A renovation that involved replacing all the bathroom fixtures, installing brand-new marble floors, revamping the kitchens and redoing the brick walkways and patios, was still underway -- tarps covered certain rooms and it didn't show well, said Mr. Laffey. It was taken off the market and re-listed last month after the renovations were completed, with a bump in the price tag to $49.9 million from $49 million.

To market a property at this price point, an ''elevated open house'' was apropos. Liveried waiters served shrimp and goat cheese hors d'oeuvres as classical music poured out from a property-wide speaker system.

The group of high-end agents who arrived by speedboat to tour the property were seeing it for the first time the way Mr. Joel first saw it -- from the coast, except that he was on an oyster boat and the guests arrived clutching luxury purses.

One woman from the group took off her heels and ran back barefoot after realizing she had forgotten her Dior purse on the dock -- the group had stopped to take photos against the shimmering water.

''This is so nice,'' said one. ''Gorgeous,'' said another, as the mansion on the hill came into focus. ''What a view,'' said a third.

What they toured was actually a restoration. Mr. Joel's property manager, Chad Nuzzi, discovered blueprints and plans, dated 1913 and signed by George Bullock, a railway magnate, in a tucked away closet. The property had been called ''Yeadon,'' thought by Mr. Joel and his staff to be a reference to Mr. Bullock's ancestral village in England, and had been subdivided into four lots.

In the years that followed, Mr. Joel said, he worked to reconstitute the original estate -- recreating a piece of land of Gatsbian proportions. (The trust that bought the original parcel in 2002 is listed as ''F. Scott LLC,'' a possible reference to F. Scott Fitzgerald.)

Mr. Joel has lived a life of luxury there. As fans of the ***working-class*** nostalgia embedded in his songs filled up Madison Square Garden again and again, Mr. Joel headed to the arena by helicopter -- a 13-minute ride from tail up to tail down -- from his helipad.

Not bad for a former oysterman.

''I love this property. I don't think there's a property as beautiful as this,'' he said. ''It's got that Gatsby sense to it, which I dreamed about as a little boy. When I hand over the keys, there'll be some regret.''

Kitty Bennett contributed research.Kitty Bennett contributed research.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/10/realestate/billy-joel-mansion-long-island.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/10/realestate/billy-joel-mansion-long-island.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Clockwise, from middle center left: real estate agents arriving by speedboat to tour the Joel waterfront estate

a foyer with marble stairs

the living room of the beach house, one of four homes on the property

agents and potential buyers mingling at the open house.

Left and below, the sprawling property that Billy Joel, its owner, below left, named MiddleSea. The home, on Centre Island on Long Island and a world away from his nearby ***working-class*** upbringing, is on the market for $49.9 million, helipad included. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ERIC STRIFFLER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

THEA TRAFF FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page RE8.

**Load-Date:** October 20, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Latino, Working Class and Proud***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6B9J-YHY1-JBG3-6003-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 11, 2024 Sunday 05:07 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1810 words

**Byline:** Jennifer MedinaJennifer Medina is a Los Angeles-based political reporter for The Times, focused on political attitudes and demographic change.

**Highlight:** A friendship forged in a Las Vegas barbershop offers clues to one of the biggest questions of the presidential election: Can Democrats win back Latino men?

**Body**

Daniel Trujillo and Paul Madrid took over the Eastside Cutters barbershop more than 20 years ago, just a few miles from the casinos of the Las Vegas Strip, where they both once worked.

Their profits bought them spacious ranch homes in subdivisions near their children’s public schools. They tucked away enough money to take their families on the occasional vacation. They survived several boom-and-bust cycles — a defining feature of Nevada’s economy.

The walls of the shop are covered with Mr. Madrid’s paintings of Mexican folk heroes, including Emiliano Zapata and Frida Kahlo, a display of an abiding ethnic pride.

A painting on the shop’s window advertises another important aspect of their lives. Across the swirl of a barber pole, in ornate cursive, it reads: “The ***Working Class***.”

“That’s who we are, man, and we never forget it,” Mr. Trujillo, 51, said. “We want to work. We want money. We want freedom. That’s it.”

“Nobody here ever got a great inheritance,” Mr. Madrid, 54, added.

That identity, a badge of honor for Mr. Madrid and Mr. Trujillo, is a source of intense interest for two other men: Donald J. Trump and Joseph R. Biden Jr. Democrats’ support among Latino men, particularly those without a college degree, [*has eroded*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/12/20/us/politics/election-hispanics-asians-voting.html) [*in the last several years*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/12/20/us/politics/election-hispanics-asians-voting.html), as Mr. Trump’s G.O.P. has tried to rebrand itself the party of the ***working class***. President Biden’s re-election could hinge on his campaign’s ability to reverse this trend in several battleground states, including Nevada.

Mr. Madrid and Mr. Trujillo are a study in President Biden’s challenge. Although the two share much of the same background — both grew up in Las Vegas, learned a trade, briefly belonged to a union and make a stable living — they are now split over who should be president.

Mr. Madrid has remained a loyal Democrat who stands by Mr. Biden, despite misgivings. Mr. Trujillo is an ardent supporter of Mr. Trump, whom he sees as giving voice to people like him.

It’s a rift that is often messy and emotional when it cuts through families or social media feeds. But for these two men, friends who spend their days bantering in an aging Las Vegas strip mall, conversations about the divide are more revealing than wrenching.

There is much they agree about: Both have a hard time seeing how government improves their lives. Both worry about whether their children will be able to attain the same kind of economic success they have. Both lament that no president has managed to fix a deeply flawed immigration system.

Still, they part on basic principles: Mr. Madrid is convinced that politicians can, and should, do good. Mr. Trujillo believes the government should stay out of his way — or maybe even be busted apart.

Nothing has done more to sharpen that split than nearly a decade of politics shaped by Mr. Trump. Politics has become part of the daily chatter in their barbershop, with more and more clients praising the former president, and venting deep frustration with both major parties. Yet the two friends’ disagreements rarely spill out in orderly dogmatic debates, but rather in the provocative ribbing and friendly antagonism of men who focus more on their similarities than their differences.

Drawn to the ‘Jerry Springer drama’

Mr. Madrid and Mr. Trujillo grew up in parallel: the children of rural New Mexicans who moved to Las Vegas during the boom of the late 1960s and early 1970s. They spoke Spanish with their grandparents, played football and rode around in lowriders.

After graduating from high school, Mr. Madrid joined the U.S. Army and was stationed in Alaska during the Gulf War. His friends’ struggles with PTSD made him grateful that he never saw combat. Mr. Trujillo briefly worked as a busboy and in casinos on the Strip. When he tired of the cigarette smoke, he apprenticed with his brother, a barber.

For years, Mr. Madrid was the one far more interested in politics; he considered voting a civic obligation. Mr. Trujillo mostly tuned it all out, except when the news became entertaining fodder for holding court at the shop. (He remembers President Bill Clinton’s impeachment fondly.)

“Politics talks to me. I don’t talk to it,” he said.

He remembers voting for Barack Obama once — maybe in 2012, or maybe in the hype of 2008? Either way, it was Mr. Madrid who sold him on the idea that supporting the first Black president was important, exciting and a chance to be part of a change.

A few years later, when Mr. Trump arrived on the scene, politics found Mr. Trujillo once more. Mr. Trump’s burn-the-house-down ethos matched Mr. Trujillo’s nagging sense that the country needed to be shaken up. His news conferences made him laugh. [*Like many other Trump voters,*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/12/20/us/politics/election-hispanics-asians-voting.html) Mr. Trujillo started paying closer attention and voting.

“Trump brought Jerry Springer drama to all of us,” he said.

Mr. Trujillo was not turned off by Mr. Trump’s crass rhetoric. He reveled in it. He still views Mr. Trump’s caught-on-tape comment about grabbing women by the genitals as a sort of call to “grab America” in the same place. “I don’t mean disrespect,” he said. “It’s him saying: ‘Stop being a sissy.’”

Mr. Madrid smiles and rolls his eyes at the bluster. He rarely argues with Mr. Trujillo or his customers. He finds quiet ways to make his point. Soon after Mr. Biden won in 2020, Mr. Madrid hung a large American flag at the back of the shop, his attempt to show that patriotism did not belong only to one party.

Mr. Madrid regards Mr. Trump as a master manipulator who has taken advantage of Christians, like him, the ***working class*** and anyone who believes the U.S. political system needs fixing. He does not always keep his complaints to himself. A few years ago, at his weekly Bible study meeting, he worried over how Mr. Trump’s attacks on immigrants were hurting his community, and a friend implored him to stop talking about politics.

His own optimism waxes and wanes, but he does not share the dim view of government that Mr. Trujillo and many of their customers do. Still, he wishes there were a leader younger than Mr. Biden poised to take over, and he cringes every time the president missteps.

Even small gaffes can take on a life of their own at the shop, where many clients join Mr. Trujillo in mocking the president.

“I’m a compassionate man,” Mr. Trujillo said. “I’d hate to see my grandfather up there like that, like all tired. I’d say, ‘Come and sit down, abuelito, you know, chill a little. You’ve done enough.’ But he’s up there, and he wants to keep going.”

As much as he might wish otherwise, Mr. Madrid has accepted that Mr. Biden will be his party’s nominee. He is already looking ahead at the next generation of Democrats.

“I try to just hang on,” he said, “and hope someone better comes along fast.”

What’s going to affect me?

Ever since the shop reopened after having closed during the coronavirus pandemic in 2020, the mood among the largely Latino clientele has been bleak.

Men vent their grievances and ask each other: When will they get ahead? These men — and they are all men (Mr. Trujillo politely declines any women who wander in looking for a trim) — describe a vague but persistent sense that they are missing out on advantages others have been handed.

“There’s a lot of people out there looking for help from someone else, getting things handed to them,” Mr. Trujillo said. “I want my taxes to be fair. I want my gas prices low. I want my interest rates low. If you could give me those three things as an American, that’s fine, you’re doing your job.”

For Mr. Trujillo, Mr. Trump’s image as a successful businessman is as untarnished as the former president’s name shimmering in gold on his Las Vegas resort. For months, he fumed as prices for groceries and gas rose, dismissing any analysts talking about the strength of the economy.

But both he and Mr. Madrid are more hopeful than they were two years, or even six months, ago. Some days they see the world as on the precipice of chaos. Other days they are more focused on the relative security of their lives: Mr. Madrid has traveled to Qatar and New York City with his family in the last couple of years. Both of Mr. Trujillo’s children recently purchased their first home. The shop is doing brisk business; customers pack the chairs at every hour of the day several days a week.

These days, Mr. Trujillo relishes railing against what he calls “a very woke world” that has forced him to watch his words. He does not believe that Mr. Trump’s verbal attacks on Mexicans have hurt him, personally. “People are just looking to get offended,” he said.

A few chairs away, Mr. Madrid offered his simple approach.

“You know what I care about: What’s going to affect me, personally?” he said one recent morning. “What’s going to affect my barbershop? What’s going to affect my house outside of that?”

A shared disappointment

Immigrants from Mexico, El Salvador, Honduras and Colombia make up a large part of the shop’s clientele. And for all they disagree about, Mr. Trujillo and Mr. Madrid agree on this: Both parties have taken advantage of undocumented immigrants who have worked and paid taxes for years.

Mr. Madrid winces when he talks about the Democratic Party’s record on immigration. He would never describe himself as an activist, but he knocked on doors for the Obama campaign, the first and only time he has done so. And he later handed out water bottles during immigration protests. He sees the failure to overhaul the immigration system — while still deporting millions of people — as a stain on President Obama’s legacy.

He has been equally disappointed that Biden has not fixed the system either.

“People will say, ‘Well, he didn’t have enough time or it wasn’t a priority,’” Mr. Madrid said, referring to both Democratic presidents. “When something is not a priority, you’ve never going to make time for it.”

Mr. Trujillo regards Mr. Madrid with a kind of brotherly respect, even turning to him for occasional political guidance. “He always is going to know more than I do,” Mr. Trujillo said, earnestly.

Mr. Madrid still struggles to understand exactly how and why Mr. Trujillo and others have turned to Mr. Trump. Perhaps it is a kind of rebellion, he muses. But he is more flummoxed than worried. He believes that he is part of a silent and solid majority.

As he sees it, Mr. Trujillo and his political allies are like “big, loud football players, looking for attention.”

“They’re the Billy Badasses,” he said. “But that doesn’t mean they’re going to win.”

PHOTOS: Daniel Trujillo, left, and Paul Madrid at Eastside Cutters barbershop in Las Vegas. Mr. Madrid, with Vince Saavedra, a customer, is a Democrat, though he has misgivings about President Biden. Mr. Trujillo, below, supports Donald J. Trump. Mr. Trujillo and Mr. Madrid, who are Latino, agree that it’s hard to see how government improves their lives. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY BRIDGET BENNETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A8.

**Load-Date:** November 6, 2024

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[***How MAGA Corrupts the Culture of the White Working Class; David French***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:69B4-BVJ1-JBG3-603Y-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 5, 2023 Thursday 17:41 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1241 words

**Byline:** David French

**Highlight:** Republican elites are delivering the worst kind of red meat to their ***working-class*** base.

**Body**

I’m not exactly optimistic about human nature. Yes, I certainly believe that human beings are capable of great good, but consider me [*in agreement*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/07/09/opinion/christian-right.html) with the Christian apologist G.K. Chesterton, who [*wrote*](https://www.pagebypagebooks.com/Gilbert_K_Chesterton/Orthodoxy/The_Maniac_p1.html) that the doctrine of original sin was “the only part of Christian theology which can really be proved.” Or, to quote a more modern pair of thinkers, [*the Indigo Girls*](https://genius.com/Indigo-girls-closer-to-fine-lyrics), “Darkness has a hunger that’s insatiable. And lightness has a call that’s hard to hear.”

What is true of individuals is also true of cultures. Not long ago, my colleague David Brooks kicked up a hornet’s nest online with a column titled “[*What if We’re the Bad Guys Here?*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/02/opinion/trump-meritocracy-educated.html)” In the piece, he took aim at the culture of elite American meritocracy and argued that it had a crucial role in creating this toxic American moment.

As David wrote, this class of elite Americans has many, many virtues, but it’s far from perfect. And he’s right. I’ve experienced this. I grew up in a small town in Kentucky. My family wasn’t ***working class*** (my father was a college professor, and my mother was a teacher), but I grew up in a ***working-class*** community, and when I left the South to attend law school at Harvard, I experienced both sides of the meritocratic elite.

It was intoxicating to meet people who were openhearted, brilliant and deeply public-spirited. I also met people who were remarkably arrogant, intolerant and, perversely enough (for all their education), ignorant. While I met and befriended many people who liked me in spite of our differences, I met many others who viewed me, a white, conservative evangelical, as an enemy to be vanquished rather than a new neighbor to know. In class, they were far more apt to boo me, hiss at me or try to shout me down than to spend any time in real conversation.

So, no, I don’t look at the American elite and see it as wholly good or wholly evil but rather as something that is torn between the better angels of its nature and the devilish pull toward arrogance, entitlement and exclusion.

But the same thing is true of the American ***working class***, of the people I grew up with in Kentucky and of the people in the rural Tennessee community where our kids spent most of their childhoods. In the tug of war between the angels and devils on our shoulders, too many times the devils prevail. In this toxic moment, much of the American white ***working class*** is indulging its worst aspects, enabled and encouraged by a man and a movement that caricatures ***working-class*** values, draining them of light until the darkness threatens to overwhelm us all.

What are these ***working-class*** values, in the best sense? I don’t want to oversimplify a complex culture, but there are some common themes — directness in speech, a respect for traditional family structures and roles, a more instrumentalist view of work (your job is what you do, not who you are), adeptness at practical learning, a tough protective ethos centered on family and community, and a deep sense of honor and loyalty.

I think, for example, of a vast majority of the NCOs I served with in the military. You could count on them to be honest, to be remarkably brave and to embody a profound sense of protective loyalty to the nation and to the brothers and sisters by their sides.

But these values also have their dark doppelgängers. Directness can become cruelty. Respect for tradition can yield to implacable hostility to necessary change. Protection can become aggression, dedication to common sense can devolve into prideful ignorance, and healthy loyalty can morph into destructive defiance.

I’m reminded of a [*vivid moment*](https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=Ar1WygVl_Vg) in the movie “American Sniper.” Young Chris Kyle, the hero of the film, was involved in a schoolyard fight, and his father gave him a life lesson. There are three kinds of people in this world, his father said: sheep, wolves and sheepdogs. Wolves prey on the flock. Sheepdogs defend the flock. Kyle’s father made the choice clear. He wouldn’t raise a wolf or a sheep. Kyle’s purpose was to be a sheepdog.

Now, I ask you, as the Republican Party self-consciously tries to become the party of the American ***working class***, which set of values does it model and espouse? Sheepdog or wolf? [*When Donald Trump said*](https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2016/01/23/464129029/donald-trump-i-could-shoot-somebody-and-i-wouldnt-lose-any-voters), “I could stand in the middle of Fifth Avenue and shoot somebody, and I wouldn’t lose any voters, OK?” he was cultivating not healthy loyalty but rather destructive defiance, and that defiance has withstood some of the worst scandals and misconduct in the history of the presidency.

When Senator Ted Cruz [*took the stage*](https://www.businessinsider.com/ted-cruz-says-he-once-told-students-his-pronoun-is-kiss-my-ass-2022-7) at a conservative conference and declared, “I’m Ted Cruz, and my pronoun is ‘kiss my ass,’ ” he wasn’t being direct or plain-spoken. He was crass and demeaning. When Senator Josh Hawley raised his fist in support of the Capitol mob before the Jan. 6 attack, he was saluting the wolves.

But here’s what’s particularly perverse: Each of the individuals I just mentioned is a member of the upper echelon of the American elite. Trump is an Ivy League-educated heir to staggering wealth. Cruz is a graduate of Princeton University and Harvard Law School. Hawley is a Stanford University and Yale Law School graduate who clerked for Chief Justice John Roberts.

In other words, like so very many elite members of the Republican Party, they’re standing well outside the white ***working class*** while they role-play a dark caricature of its values and interests. And all too many members of the American ***working class*** are eager to embrace that caricature. They soak up the pandering and pledge their loyalty in return.

Perhaps no single public figure better embodies this descent than Senator J.D. Vance of Ohio. He grew up ***working class***, faced incredible familial adversity and yet demonstrated real courage and grit. He joined the Marines after high school and served in Iraq. He attended a state university before he was admitted to Yale Law School.

The book that vaulted him to fame, “Hillbilly Elegy,” was a moving meditation on his life and community. The book resonated with me in large part because he so plainly loved his family and his neighbors while [*perceiving their weaknesses*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/26/opinion/sunday/the-bad-faith-of-the-white-working-class.html). I read the book not as an attack on or a defense of his community but as a powerfully true and insightful story.

And now? He’s one of Trump’s most loyal supporters in the Senate. [*Vance told The American Conservative*](https://www.theamericanconservative.com/articles/going-back-to-cincinnati/), “I think our people hate the right people.” After his ally Marjorie Taylor Greene spoke at a conference organized by Nick Fuentes, a notorious white supremacist, [*Vance not only said*](https://thehill.com/homenews/campaign/600290-jd-vance-greene-did-nothing-wrong-by-attending-white-nationalist-conference/) Greene did “nothing wrong”; he declared, “There’s no business in the world that asks you to stab your friends in the back like politics” and “I’m absolutely not gonna throw her under the bus or anybody else who’s a friend of mine.”

Is that admirable loyalty? Or destructive defiance?

Communities shape leaders, and leaders shape communities. Right now, in this dangerous moment of American life, MAGA corrodes the character of a vital American community, from the top down and the bottom up. Republican elites, from Capitol Hill to Fox News to the local lawyer driving his [*$250,000 MasterCraft*](https://actionwater.com/how-much-does-a-mastercraft-boat-cost/#:~:text=The%20XStar%20series%20from%20MasterCraft,54,900%20or%20$1,950/month*.) in a Trump boat parade, are delivering the worst kind of red meat to their ***working-class*** base. And sadly, that base isn’t rejecting the posers and demagogues. It’s looking at a collection of the fakest men and women in American politics and shouting, “More!”

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Illustration by Sam Whitney/The New York Times; photograph by 4x6/Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 5, 2023

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[***An English City Dressed a Statue as Santa for Years. Then It Vanished.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DR5-NMJ3-RTVK-40S0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 24, 2024 Tuesday 18:02 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1200 words

**Byline:** Ali WatkinsAli Watkins covers international news and is based in London.

**Highlight:** The Old General watched over Nottingham, England, for more than a century of profound change before disappearing. This Christmas, he’s finally back.

**Body**

At six feet, the statue was taller than the man ever was. Carved roughly from limestone, his large shoulders hunched under a bright red jacket, the likeness of the man known as the Old General had held its perch in Nottingham, England, for nearly a century, suspended in a display window above the front door of the local pub.

From there, the statue had watched the world change around him. He was placed there at the start of Nottingham’s 19th-century industrial heyday, but by the mid-2010s the English Midlands city, once powered by coal mining and manufacturing, had reinvented itself.

Modern flats dotted the streets. New offices and corporations had moved in. And the pub that housed the Old General statue and shared its name, in the center of the ***working-class*** Hyson Green neighborhood, had closed.

Still, through ups and downs, and as economic headwinds shuttered many local watering holes, the statue endured. Every Christmas, for as long as anyone could remember, residents dressed him as Santa Claus, filling his glass display window with twinkling lights and draping his stone shoulders in red velvet. To many longtime residents of Nottingham, the Old General’s robing signaled the start of the Christmas season.

“It is a landmark,” said Steve Oliver, a Nottingham native. “Something that’s ingrained in people’s memories.”

For a while, even after the pub closed in 2009, the Christmas tradition continued and the statue remained, tended to by diligent locals who saw its upkeep as part of their community’s disappearing traditions.

Then, in 2016, the Old General disappeared, too.

Born sometime around 1780, the real Old General — a man named Benjamin Mayo — lived his entire life in Nottingham. He came of age alongside his town, which became part of England’s industrial boom.

Mayo was four feet tall and walked with a hunch, according to local lore. He made a small income hawking newspapers to Nottingham’s workmen and, in his downtime, [*commanded a brigade of young hellions*](https://nottinghamcityofliterature.com/blog/literary-locations-63-old-general-radford-road-bobbers-mill-road/), whom he led as they performed innocent high jinks around town. His penchant for wearing old military garb earned him his moniker.

He died in 1843, but four decades later, when a pub opened at the corner of Radford and Bobber’s Mill Roads, the proprietor named it the Old General. It soon boasted a rudimentary stone statue of Mayo, set prominently in a display window above the bar’s front door.

The likeness survived the turn of the century, World War II and Nottingham’s postwar renaissance, as the demand for coal from mines near the city drove an industrial and cultural boom.

But in a script that played out in many parts of Britain, the area’s mines began closing in the second half of the 20th century, and most of the factories left, too. Raleigh Bicycles, one of the city’s prized exports, stopped production in Nottingham in 2003. John Player and Sons cigarettes, which had produced rolled tobacco in the city for more than a century, left in 2016.

“We were sort of left to rot,” said Lisa McKenzie, a professor who studies Britain’s ***working class*** and was raised in Nottingham by a coal miner and a factory worker. “There was no plan, no plan at all on what would happen to us.”

The Old General pub went through several ownership changes before closing for good in 2009. The window in which the statue had stood for more than 100 years was boarded over.

It signaled a broader trend in Britain’s pub scene. Watering holes began shuttering en masse around 2010, according to the Campaign for Real Ale, or CAMRA, a commercial group that lobbies for pubs, which blamed taxes and rising costs, among other factors.

The coronavirus pandemic and [*changes in drinking patterns*](https://nottinghamcityofliterature.com/blog/literary-locations-63-old-general-radford-road-bobbers-mill-road/) have calcified such trends. The British Beer and Pub Association, a lobbying organization, said 530 pubs closed in 2023, and 48 more in the first quarter of 2024, and called such figures worrying for Britain’s economic and social fabric.

“The pub is still the great leveler,” said Emma McClarkin, the association’s chief executive. “A lord and a bricklayer rubbing shoulders, sharing a drink — that is a social value that they have to believe in.”

Mr. Oliver, 48, the longtime Nottingham resident, noticed immediately when the statue of the Old General’ disappeared from sight behind the pub’s boarded-up window. He cheekily began passing around missing persons fliers featuring pictures of it.

It worked, briefly: The boards came down, and the owner let Mr. Oliver in to dress the statue for Christmas.

But under yet another new owner, the building was locked up in 2011, the statue covered by a metal grate. It stayed there until 2015, when a developer bought the site to turn it into shops and apartments.

The news set off alarm bells through Hyson Green. Soon, people noticed that the figure behind the grates had disappeared. The developer promised that the statue would be preserved, and displayed in the redeveloped site.

“It is in a secret location,” Derek Francis, a representative for the developer, [*told the BBC in 2016*](https://nottinghamcityofliterature.com/blog/literary-locations-63-old-general-radford-road-bobbers-mill-road/). “But it is safe.”

There was no public sign of the statue for years. Hyson Green continued changing. The pub became an apartment building. The development company, which could not be reached, appeared to have changed hands.

“We’d always wondered,” Andrew Ludlow, the secretary for Nottingham’s chapter of CAMRA, the pub lobbying group, said of the statue. “Everybody sort of remembers that they think he should be somewhere, but nobody knows exactly where he is.”

Then, in February, a CAMRA member was wandering the cluttered backyard of a charity shop next to the former pub when he noticed a large, precarious-looking plywood box, its panels green with mildew. The man asked what was in it.

Oh, a shop employee said, that’s the Old General.

He summoned other members of the group, and not long after that they stood in the backyard and pried open a piece of the rotting plywood. There, wobbly but still standing, was the likeness of Benjamin Mayo. The Old General hadn’t gone so far after all.

CAMRA members have since found the statue a new home. Castle Rock, a local brewery, paid to move it to another pub, the Vat and Fiddle. Then, a former bartender from the Old General reported that she had rescued some of the pub’s memorabilia, including an old print of the statue, from a dumpster when it first closed. They have since joined the statue at the Vat and Fiddle.

The community has celebrated the statue’s reappearance, said Ms. McKenzie, the Nottingham-raised professor, because it offers a link to a fast-changing city’s past.

“When the sense of who you are is lost, that’s the thing that people hold on to the most,” she said. “If that starts to be removed, you become nothing. And I think that is what has happened to these sorts of places.”

This Christmas season, the pub celebrated Benjamin Mayo’s return with a ceremony, dressing him once again in his red velvet best.

“We can continue the journey,” said Colin Wilde, the managing director of Castle Rock, “and start writing its next chapters.”

PHOTO: The Old General after being liberated from a charity shop. Its new home is the Vat and Fiddle pub in Nottingham, England. (PHOTOGRAPH BY PETE MCWILLIAM/CASTLE ROCK BREWERY) This article appeared in print on page A6.

**Load-Date:** December 25, 2024

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[***Under a Highway in Rio, a Dance Style Charms a New Generation; brazil dispatch***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DSN-H2R3-S02M-K07D-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 31, 2024 Tuesday 23:16 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; americas

**Length:** 1333 words

**Byline:** Ana Ionova and María Magdalena Arréllaga

**Highlight:** On Rio de Janeiro’s fringes, partygoers have been dancing “charme” to the sounds of R&amp;B for decades. Now, a new crop of dancers is reviving — and transforming — the scene.

**Body**

Trucks, buses and cars rumbled overhead, drowning out Marcus Azevedo’s voice. In the distance, sirens blared and exhaust pipes backfired. From under a highway overpass, Mr. Azevedo, a dance teacher, shouted over the noise, “Five, six, seven, eight!”

He hit play on his phone, and the first song started blasting from a pair of crackling speakers. Six rows of dancers began shuffling, twisting and popping their hips in unison. The playlist? All R&amp;B classics, from Donell Jones and JoJo to Destiny’s Child and TLC.

The dance routine wouldn’t have been out of place in New York City or Atlanta or Los Angeles. But we were on the decaying fringes of Rio de Janeiro, a metropolis better known for samba. And this dance is called charme, a style born here in the 1970s as an ode to American soul, funk and, later, R&amp;B.

This spot, in the ***working-class*** suburb of Madureira, has become a temple for lovers of charme over the decades. By day, it’s where many hone their moves. Once mastered, the steps are flaunted at nighttime parties known as “baile charme.”

“This is a magical place,” said Mr. Azevedo, 46, who began dancing charme — Portuguese for charm — when he was 11 and now leads a dance company focused on the style. “There is something spiritual, an energy that can only be found here.”

But the old-school R&amp;B tracks shouldn’t fool anyone into thinking that this is a nostalgic crowd yearning for a throwback. This hotbed of charme is attracting an increasingly younger crop of dancers, who are keeping the scene alive — and transforming it in surprising ways.

On a recent muggy Saturday morning, a few dozen people — from restless children and lanky teenagers to men and women in their 50s and 60s — flocked to the shady overpass. They were there for a class led by Mr. Azevedo and three other instructors, all part of a program meant to introduce charme to more people.

A small group practiced steps before class started. “It’s not hard — a little step here, a little step there,” said Juliana Bittencourt, 30, an administrative assistant, showing a fellow student how it’s done. “Charme is medicine, it has the power to cure anything.”

Geovana Cruz, 20, a bank teller who had come from São Paulo by bus that morning, excitedly stepped into the front row of dancers.

“It’s addictive,” said Ms. Cruz, who comes nearly every week and whose charme dance routines on TikTok draw thousands of likes. “The more you dance, the more you want to keep dancing.”

When the first song blasted from the speakers, shoulders and hips began to shift as if by reflex.

“Charme is not just music,” said Larissa Rodrigues Martins, 25, a schoolteacher. “It’s a place where we share and learn from each other — not just about steps, but also about life.”

On that Saturday morning, the class was already warming up with a simple two-step when Joel Medeiros, 54, a gym teacher, arrived on a bicycle, still wearing spandex shorts from a race that morning. “I came straight here, so I wouldn’t miss a minute,” he said.

The birth of charme is rooted in the influx of Black music and culture from the United States in the 1970s and 1980s.

At a time when Rio’s far-flung, impoverished outskirts offered young people few sources of pride or identity, the rhythm and style of American artists like James Brown and Stevie Wonder emerged as an inspiration.

One night in 1980, a D.J. named Corello was working at a club and decided to mix in some Marvin Gaye. “Now it’s time for a little charme, slow your body down,” he called out. The term stuck and came to define the homegrown urban dance movement.

After many Black social clubs went out of business in the 1990s, charme lovers moved the party to the nearby Madureira overpass, where they could dance undisturbed.

But the party shut down when the coronavirus pandemic ravaged Brazil. Now, charme is making a comeback.

The movements that define the dance are at once familiar to urban street dancers yet uniquely “Carioca,” as anyone or anything from Rio de Janeiro is known. The swings carry a hint of bossa nova’s sway; the two-steps have a distinct samba flavor; and the bold hip bounces channel Brazilian funk.

“I guarantee you,” Mr. Azevedo said with a smirk, “that there is no place in the world that dances like we do.”

In the middle of the routine, the dance students waved to curious passengers on a city bus stuck in heavy traffic. When a delivery truck snaked through the columns of the overpass, leaving a trail of smoke, the dancers covered their mouths.

The pace of the steps sped up when another teacher, Lucas Leiroz, took over. He walked the students through a complicated routine set to a catchy, fast-paced urban pop song, his body bending and twisting as if controlled by strings.

The first run-through was a mess; almost nobody managed to follow along. Mr. Leiroz, 28, laughing, stopped the music and started over.

“These faster songs are tough for me,” said Marcia de Lima Moura, 63, a retired secretary who started dancing charme in her teens. “But I try to keep up.”

This new, more dynamic form of charme may throw some off, but it’s at the heart of its revival, Mr. Leiroz said. “The songs that are played today are the same songs that were played 30 years ago,” he said, but “if we don’t innovate and bring something new, you start to lose people.”

It took eight attempts, but the group was finally dancing in perfect sync. When the song ended, the dancers, drenched but smiling, burst into cheers and snapped a group photo.

When night fell, the underpass transformed into an open-air nightclub. Strobe lights pulsed through the darkness, and early birds settled into plastic chairs with frosty beers. By midnight, the dance floor was packed.

The crowd was a mix of old-timers and newcomers. Many were clad in stylish sneakers and sported neat braids. Some wore basketball jerseys and gold chains. Both Ms. Martins and Ms. Cruz were there, ready to show off the steps they had learned earlier that day.

The flashiest dancers led an improvised routine. In pairs and groups, others followed, mirroring their moves. The crowd stepped to the right, moved into a cross-step, leaned a shoulder forward and swirled into a turn.

For many younger people, the charme scene under the overpass has increasingly become a symbol of Black identity and culture that is unique to Rio’s ***working-class*** neighborhoods.

“This is our ancestry,” Ms. Martins said. “The previous generation showed us this space where we can express ourselves.”

During the nighttime partying, older revelers mostly hung back. They swayed, stepped and turned with more subtle, sensual movements. “We learn from the new kids, and they learn from us,” said Bruno Oliveira, 44, a clothes salesman wearing a bejeweled cap. “It’s love, it’s peace.”

Michel Jacob Pessoa, better known as D.J. Michell, took the stage around 1 a.m. and spun a medley of crowd-pleasers like “Hotel” by Cassidy and “He Wasn’t Man Enough” by Toni Braxton.

Yet, lately, he has been mixing in more local talent like Os Garotin, or “the boys,” a trio with a contemporary R&amp;B vibe that has become an instant hit in Brazil.

“We’re not going to stop playing these songs we love,” Mr. Pessoa said. “But, today, charme is more Brazilian. And this is part of our evolution.”

Around 3 a.m., the crowd started thinning out, but Ms. Cruz was still on the dance floor. Her bus back to São Paulo, a seven-hour journey, wasn’t scheduled to leave for several hours.

“My legs are hurting so bad,” she said. “I’ll stay just a little longer.”

PHOTOS: Marcus Azevedo and Dandara Corrêa led a charme dance class under a highway overpass in November. “I guarantee you that there is no place in the world that dances like we do,” Mr. Azevedo said.; Clockwise from above: a class for older students at a park in Madureira; Geovana Cruz, who travels hours from São Paulo to dance; and murals by Airá Ocrespo at the spot where dancers gather to perfect moves. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARÍA MAGDALENA ARRÉLLAGA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A5.

**Load-Date:** January 1, 2025

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[***Democrats Must Stop Treating Black Women as an Afterthought; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DK4-89V1-DXY4-X383-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1046 words

**Byline:** Patrice Peck

**Highlight:** If the party fails to see this, it will be the one left behind.

**Body**

In the aftermath of the 2024 presidential election, at times it has felt as though all Democrats could talk about was which demographic groups had drifted away from the Democratic Party and why. What’s generally lost in that conversation is the fact that Black women rallied behind Vice President Kamala Harris. The Democratic nominee earned an [*overwhelming majority*](https://www.cnn.com/election/2024/exit-polls/national-results/general/president/6) of their votes, including in swing states like Georgia, Nevada and Michigan, even as other groups shifted significantly to the right compared with 2020.

This is not just a matter of loyalty. It’s the result of tireless, unglamorous labor by the Black political organizers and community activists who have helped keep the Democratic Party alive in recent election cycles. And yet, as the party scrambles to course-correct after its loss, it is missing the bigger picture. Black women like me are critical to the party’s survival and its future. To build a stronger agenda, Democrats need to prioritize us.

Historically, Black women have higher labor force participation rates than other women, yet systemic barriers have kept us from reaching our full potential. In 2023 alone, Black women lost [*nearly $43 billion*](https://www.cnn.com/election/2024/exit-polls/national-results/general/president/6) in potential earnings compared with white men, because they are often segregated into lower-paying jobs. This persistent devaluation of Black women’s experiences and contributions undermines our collective potential for shared prosperity.

Janelle Jones, the first Black woman to serve as chief economist at the Labor Department, advanced the idea that when Black women thrive, the entire economy does, too. In 2020, Ms. Jones released a visionary fiscal and economic road map, “[*Black Women Best*](https://www.cnn.com/election/2024/exit-polls/national-results/general/president/6),” as a way to center equity in the conversation around policy. The plan could offer the party a clear way forward.

The Congressional Caucus on Black Women and Girls has already translated Ms. Jones’s road map into a [*comprehensive legislative agenda*](https://www.cnn.com/election/2024/exit-polls/national-results/general/president/6). Its proposals include raising the federal minimum wage to at least $15 an hour, expanding the right to overtime and protecting collective bargaining. It advocates [*baby bonds*](https://www.cnn.com/election/2024/exit-polls/national-results/general/president/6), in which children receive a publicly funded trust account at birth to help close the racial wealth gap, [*guaranteed income*](https://www.cnn.com/election/2024/exit-polls/national-results/general/president/6) programs, job subsidies and extending Medicaid postpartum coverage.

Investments in community organizations as well as health navigators — people who could help patients, caregivers and health care providers get through the health care system productively and efficiently — can be critical tools in the fight against systemic inequities. The beauty of these policies is that they can also address the economic issues that inform voter behavior among Latinos, Black men and ***working-class*** white Americans.

Black women are disproportionately [*represented*](https://www.cnn.com/election/2024/exit-polls/national-results/general/president/6) among frontline and essential workers. And for all the talk about ***working-class*** voters, they remain virtually invisible in policy discussions. The framework focuses on those most excluded, dismantling the systemic hurdles that impede our access to education, housing and economic opportunities.

Our commitment to the party has had an enduring effect. In 2017, we were crucial in [*delivering*](https://www.cnn.com/election/2024/exit-polls/national-results/general/president/6) Doug Jones a Senate win in Alabama, flipping a Republican stronghold. Despite making up roughly 14 percent of the state’s population, Black women accounted for an estimated 17 percent of voters in that special election.

After her campaign for governor of Georgia in 2018, Stacey Abrams and her team turned frustration into strategy, founding [*Fair Fight*](https://www.cnn.com/election/2024/exit-polls/national-results/general/president/6). Her organization registered hundreds of thousands of new voters and helped [*flip*](https://www.cnn.com/election/2024/exit-polls/national-results/general/president/6) the state’s U.S. Senate seats in 2021. Similarly, in 2016, [*LaTosha Brown*](https://www.cnn.com/election/2024/exit-polls/national-results/general/president/6), who narrowly lost a [*1998 State Board of Education race*](https://www.cnn.com/election/2024/exit-polls/national-results/general/president/6) in Alabama, was a founder of Black Voters Matter. Her work has expanded voting rights and civic engagement in vulnerable communities across the country.

And yet, year after year, Black women [*express*](https://www.cnn.com/election/2024/exit-polls/national-results/general/president/6) frustration at being taken for granted. We’re expected to deliver victories, but when it comes time to pass policies that address our needs, we’re met with silence. The Democratic Party’s continued neglect has consequences. It risks not only our enthusiasm but also the leadership we bring to the table.

To move forward, the party would be wise to embrace the Black Women Best framework as the cornerstone of its platform. It should invest in grass roots organizations like Fair Fight and Black Voters Matter all year, not just when election season rolls around. It also needs to confront systemic barriers like voter suppression, economic inequality and health care disparities.

And Democrats must strengthen Black women’s leadership by elevating us to positions of real power within the party and government. The recent [*elections*](https://www.cnn.com/election/2024/exit-polls/national-results/general/president/6) of [*Angela Alsobrooks*](https://www.cnn.com/election/2024/exit-polls/national-results/general/president/6) and [*Lisa Blunt Rochester*](https://www.cnn.com/election/2024/exit-polls/national-results/general/president/6) brought two promising new leaders to the Senate. They have already shown their commitment to policies that center Black women, like the bill Ms. Blunt Rochester introduced while in the House of Representatives, known as the Moms Matter Act, which aims to address maternal mental health inequity. But much more work is needed to elect more women like them and elevate them to positions of power once they reach Washington.

Softening the Democratic platform to appeal to suburban moderates is a dead-end strategy. Black women are not just the backbone of the Democratic Party. We are its moral compass and its engine for progress. Our voting history reflects a deep commitment to safeguarding democracy, not just for ourselves, but for everyone. Loyalty without reciprocity is unsustainable.

If Democrats want to build a better future, they must stop treating Black women as an afterthought. What’s best for us isn’t just good politics, it’s good for America. If the party fails to see this, it will be the one left behind.

Patrice Peck, a journalist, created the newsletter “The Wakeful.”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.cnn.com/election/2024/exit-polls/national-results/general/president/6) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.cnn.com/election/2024/exit-polls/national-results/general/president/6). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.cnn.com/election/2024/exit-polls/national-results/general/president/6).

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A22.

**Load-Date:** December 6, 2024

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[***The Harlem Renaissance, 100 Years Later***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DDV-GFV1-JBG3-615D-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 15, 2024 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Metropolitan Desk; Pg. 2

**Length:** 1780 words

**Byline:** By Veronica Chambers

**Body**

Why the era still resonates a century later.

I'm a Brooklyn girl, but I'm low-key obsessed with the Harlem Renaissance. I've written a book about the era and taught its literature at universities. I can, and often do, spend whole weekends rereading Langston Hughes and Zora Neale Hurston, listening to Louis Armstrong and Duke Ellington, thumbing through books featuring artwork by Aaron Douglas and Augusta Savage.

But what brings me back to the Renaissance again and again is the way it changed this country. When the movement started a century ago, the United States was finally creating our own distinctly original culture -- songs and dances, paintings and novels. We were looking less to Europe as a model of creativity. And in this moment -- the 1920s, in New York City, both uptown and downtown -- we become more wholly American.

This year, a team of Times journalists marked the 100th anniversary of the Harlem Renaissance with a series examining its vibrant history.

We began with a little-known dinner party that took place on March 21, 1924, an unprecedented interracial gathering that included such luminaries as W.E.B. Du Bois, Carl Van Doren and Alain Locke, as well as up-and-coming writers like Gwendolyn Bennett and Countee Cullen.

Even today, in New York, this kind of gathering is rare. The purpose of the dinner was to marry talent to opportunity, connecting writers with editors and critics, and it was a wild success: In the decade after the dinner, Renaissance writers published more than 40 volumes of fiction, nonfiction and poetry, works that transformed the literary landscape of our nation. You can read about the dinner party (and the friendships, feuds and affairs that it launched) in this piece.

The Harlem Renaissance is not only a historical story. The 1920s were called the Jazz Age because the music, and the movements that it inspired, gave the decade a distinctly American groove, one that persists to this day. Imani Perry -- who recently won the National Book Award for her work, ''South to America: A Journey Below the Mason-Dixon to Understand the Soul of a Nation'' -- is also, as it turns out, a dance enthusiast. For our series, she interviewed three choreographers who are keeping the dance traditions of the Renaissance alive in their work. For days, the studios of The Times were filled with some of the finest dancers in the nation doing the lindy hop, swing and gravity-defying tap routines. You can see the results (and dance along) here, with stunning video and photography.

Harlem in the 1920s was a powerful space of sexual exploration and freedom. Many argue that the neighborhood was as important to the development of queer life in New York as the West Village was, in part because it offered queer men and women a chance to interact without the racial restrictions of the era. Working with The Times's graphics team, we created a map of queer Harlem, one that you could open on your phone for a self-guided tour. It features places like Hamilton Lodge, which held drag balls going back to the 19th century; clubs where entertainers like Ma Rainey, Gladys Bentley and Jimmie Daniels performed; and homes where Alain Locke, Ethel Waters, Langston Hughes and so many others lived, loved and made art.

Years ago, Ann Douglas, author of ''Terrible Honesty: Mongrel Manhattan in the 1920s,'' a seminal text on the subject of New York in the 1920s, told The Times: ''I have the unfashionable posture of loving my country. I don't mean in the sense of the Pledge of Allegiance, but in that I believe America was founded on complex social, religious and political ideas and feelings, and that it is still the most exciting culture, the one where there is the most hope for the most people.'' We invite you to read through these pieces, which represent a remarkable array of American ingenuity and creativity, a celebration of not only our past but all that is yet to come.

More from the series

During the Harlem Renaissance, some Black people hosted rent parties -- celebrations with an undercurrent of desperation in the face of racism and discrimination.

Gwendolyn Bennett was a talented young poet and artist who was central to a fledgling cultural movement, but her life was shrouded by tragedy.

The women who ran libraries during the Renaissance didn't just build collections. They built communities of writers and readers.

THE LATEST NEWS

2024 Election

President Biden promised to support and protect unions. Under Donald Trump, the approach is likely to change.

Immigration lawyers are preparing to battle Trump in court again.

Trump won't have Nikki Haley or Mike Pompeo in his new administration. In his appointments, he is navigating ideological differences within his party.

Europe lacks a strong leader to create a bulwark against Trumpism. The French and German governments are politically struggling at home.

Vice President Kamala Harris will leave office in January with no concrete plans about what to do next. Here are six options.

''Saturday Night Live'' joked about the election.

International

Amsterdam banned demonstrations under an emergency order and mobilized additional police officers after what city officials described as antisemitic attacks on Israeli soccer fans. Read about the attacks.

The Russian military has assembled 50,000 soldiers, including North Korean troops, to push back Ukrainian troops inside Russia.

Other Big Stories

Among the many things that Hurricane Helene swept away are hundreds of treasured family photographs. A detective is picking them out of the dirt, and helping return them.

She was a child Instagram influencer, known for snowboarding. Her fans were adult men.

THE SUNDAY DEBATE

Was it Harris's election to lose?

No. Harris's biggest problems were inflation and a global anti-incumbency bias. ''***Working-class*** Americans are clearly saying they don't think the current system works for them, and they're ready to try almost anything to change it,'' The Washington Post's Heather Long writes.

Yes. Instead of focusing on how she would govern, Harris propped herself as nothing more than a centrist alternative to Trump. ''You cannot win a hundred-day campaign simply by promising who you are not, whether that be Trump or President Joe Biden,'' Connor Foote writes for The Daily Tar Heel.

FROM OPINION

Photographers at Harris's watch party at Howard University in Washington, D.C., and Trump's in West Palm Beach, Fla., captured true believers.

Unwinnable wars now have liberal support -- and they will only get worse if those leaders do not acknowledge the costs, Ruben Andersson and David Keen write.

Democrats lost because Biden -- who selected Harris as his running mate and tied her to his own immigration failures -- set the party up to fail, Josh Barro argues.

Democrats are waking up and realizing ''woke is broke,'' Maureen Dowd writes.

Here's a column by Ross Douthat on how Democrats helped Trump and Nicholas Kristof on ***working-class*** pain.

MORNING READS

Country star: Shaboozey received six Grammy nominations, including song of the year. Read about his rise.

Sadness: Technology and loneliness are linked, scholars say.

Routine: How the choreographer of an Off Broadway drag show spends his Sundays.

Health: See eight factors that could raise your heart disease risk.

Vows: First they built a relationship. Then they built a real-estate brand.

Lives Lived: Bobby Allison was a NASCAR Hall of Fame driver who became one of stock-car racing's most popular figures. He died at 86.

BOOK OF THE WEEK

''Into the Uncut Grass,'' by Trevor Noah: ''If imagination is the rocket, then books are the rocket fuel. They supercharge the mind and help it see beyond what it can conceive on its own,'' Noah writes in the introduction to this soothing picture book for all ages. Accompanied by Calvin and Hobbes-esque illustrations from Sabina Hahn, we follow a boy and a teddy bear beyond the confines of a gated yard into the wider world. Adventure awaits, as do lessons on connection, compromise and making peace while remaining true to who we are. Noah's message couldn't be more timely.

THE INTERVIEW

This week's subject for The Interview is Representative Nancy Pelosi, the former House speaker, who was eager to move past the presidential election and dismissive of the idea that the result is a rebuke of the Democratic Party.

When you look at what happened on Tuesday, you can see it in two ways. You can see that the country embraced Trump or you can see that they rejected the Democratic Party more broadly and the Biden-Harris administration. How do you see it?

Well, I don't see the Democratic Party more broadly. We lost two seats in the House, and we expect to pick up some more to offset that. Right now, we're about even. So I don't think whatever you said, with all due respect, applies to the House Democrats.

House races are run very locally. They message specifically for their district. But the brand of the Democratic Party over all seems to have been hurt this election cycle.

Well, we lost the presidential election, [but] in many cases, our Democrats in the House ran ahead of the presidential ticket. So, your branding that we all got rejected, we didn't. We're still in the fight right now, and it's going to be a very close call. I don't see it as an outright rejection of the Democratic Party. Now, I do have a discomfort level with some of the Democrats right now who are saying, ''Oh, we abandoned the ***working class***.'' No, we didn't. That's who we are. We are the kitchen table, ***working-class*** party of America.

Read more of the interview here.

THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE

Click the cover image above to read this week's magazine.

THE MORNING RECOMMENDS ...

Try a beginner dumbbell workout.

Customize your Kindle for cozy reading sessions.

Invest in self-care.

MEAL PLAN

In this week's Five Weeknight Dishes newsletter, Emily Weinstein suggests two simple dishes from Eric Kim: salt-and-vinegar baked fish and chips, featuring frozen French fries; and peanut butter noodles, a bowl that fuses Parmesan and peanut butter for a salty and satisfying sauce for ramen or spaghetti.

NOW TIME TO PLAY

Here is today's Spelling Bee. Yesterday's pangrams were bogeying and obeying.

Can you put eight historical events -- including the building of the Colosseum, the Blitz, and creation of Sherlock Holmes -- in chronological order? Take this week's Flashback quiz.

And here are today's Mini Crossword, Wordle, Sudoku, Connections and Strands.

Thanks for spending part of your weekend with The Times.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/10/briefing/revisiting-the-harlem-renaissance.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/10/briefing/revisiting-the-harlem-renaissance.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Clockwise from top left: W. E. B. Du Bois in the office of The Crisis magazine

guests at a party for Langston Hughes (second from left) in Harlem in 1925

''Barbecue,'' a 1934 oil painting by Archibald J. Motley Jr.

Ma Rainey, the ''Mother of the Blues,'' and her Georgia Jazz Band in the 1920s. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

CHICAGO HISTORY MUSEUM / ESTATE OF ARCHIBALD JOHN MOTLEY JR., VIA BRIDGEMAN IMAGES

JP JAZZ ARCHIVES/REDFERNS) This article appeared in print on page A2.

**Load-Date:** November 15, 2024

**End of Document**



[***‘Better Man’ Review: The Boy in the Band; Critic’s pick***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DRC-P083-RRRX-M2GG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 25, 2024 Wednesday 13:20 EST

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**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 585 words

**Byline:** Jeannette Catsoulis

**Highlight:** The singer Robbie Williams’s caustic, often vulnerable narration is the melody that enriches this musical biopic’s otherwise familiar beats of pop stardom.

**Body**

The singer Robbie Williams’s caustic, often vulnerable narration is the melody that enriches this musical biopic’s otherwise familiar beats of pop stardom.

Whatever your opinion of the troubled British entertainer Robbie Williams, it’s unlikely to be more scathing than his own. And if there is one thing that distinguishes the electrifying musical biopic “Better Man” — aside from the fact that [*Williams is portrayed throughout as a computer-generated monkey*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/23/movies/robbie-williams-better-man.html) — it would be an unwavering commitment to its subject’s self-flagellating point of view.

Excerpted from 18 months of audio recordings obtained by the director, Michael Gracey, Williams’s caustic, often vulnerable narration is the melody that refreshes and enriches the movie’s otherwise familiar beats of pop-star meltdown and resurrection. Enumerating decades of suffered insults — “punchable” being one of the kindest — Williams describes a cocky, ***working-class*** kid who “came out of the womb with jazz hands” and a desperate need to please his fame-obsessed father (a moving Steve Pemberton). Those twin desires would drive him to teenage stardom in the early 1990s as a member of the boy band Take That, followed by a hypersonic solo career seemingly sustained as much by alcohol and cocaine as by talent.

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/23/movies/robbie-williams-better-man.html)]

There will be more than one crash and burn. Yet, remarkably, Williams never comes across as self-pitying. His consistently cheeky voice-over, along with the vivacity of Jonno Davies’s performance as his adult avatar (using the motion-capture wizardry perfected on the “Planet of the Apes” reboot), and the sheer verve of Gracey’s filmmaking ensure a tone that’s rarely less than exuberant. Smoothly combining comedy and tragedy, the movie sells its simian frontman with straight-faced sincerity. It’s astonishing how quickly and easily we embrace the gimmick, a brilliant visualization of how Williams at times saw himself, as someone with no more worth than a capering monkey whose preferred headgear reads “Northern Scum.”

Drawing on the work of Bob Fosse and Terry Gilliam, the director and his choreographer, Ashley Wallen, design dreamlike musical sequences that vault far beyond those in his [*polarizing debut feature, “The Greatest Showman”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/23/movies/robbie-williams-better-man.html) (2017): a flash mob erupting on London’s Regent Street to the sound of the Williams hit “Rock DJ,” stunningly captured by Erik Wilson’s soaring, snaking camera; a gorgeously romantic shipboard rendition of “She’s the One,” as Williams meets his future fiancée, the girl-band singer Nicole Appleton (Raechelle Banno), for the first time.

This fondness for spectacle can feel hucksterish, but “Better Man” is too tender and empathetic — especially in its surprisingly sweet finale — to settle for just the razzle-dazzle. Instead, Gracey paints a fabulously entertaining and touching picture of an insecure, complicated man hauling himself from a quicksand of grasping fans, greedy impresarios, unresolved addictions and father-son dysfunction. Neither hagiography nor hatchet job, the movie casts an understanding eye on a once-infamous musical artist who weathered dizzying highs and devastating lows. Think about it: Is there anything worse than losing your woman to a member of Oasis?

Better Man

Rated R for familiar vices and unfamiliar diphthongs. Running time: 2 hours 14 minutes. In theaters.

PHOTO: Jonno Davies, left, the adult avatar of Robbie Williams, and Damon Herriman in “Better Man.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY PARAMOUNT PICTURES) This article appeared in print on page C4.

**Load-Date:** December 28, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Stranger Things***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D8T-S731-DXY4-X2M5-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 27, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 20; FICTION

**Length:** 683 words

**Byline:** By Emily C. Hughes

**Body**

In the journalist Dan Kois's new book, ''Hampton Heights,'' a group of middle-school boys discover magic and frights in an unassuming Milwaukee enclave.

HAMPTON HEIGHTS: One Harrowing Night in the Most Haunted Neighborhood in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, by Dan Kois

In ''Hampton Heights,'' the journalist Dan Kois's second novel -- a comic, gently spooky '80s tale of boyhood, community and Burger King -- six middle-school paperboys venture out to sell newspaper subscriptions in a sleepy, ***working-class*** neighborhood of Milwaukee. In the process, they make some startling discoveries about their city and themselves.

The boys work in pairs. Enticed by the promise of fast food and pocket money, and insufficiently supervised by their distracted manager, they start knocking on doors around Hampton Heights and each stumble onto an unexpected or frightening scene. Sigmone, a thoughtful Black boy who goes to a predominantly white school, and Joel, a wealthy, obnoxious white kid, find Sigmone's missing grandfather, who introduces Sigmone to their peculiar shared heritage. Al, a poor kid with a hustler's mind-set, joins forces with Nishu, a nervous, nerdy child of immigrants, to confront a sewer troll who makes off with their memories (and Al's prized Playboy). And Ryan and Mark, who are more thinly sketched than the other boys, spend longer than they intend to with a pair of kindly women who feed them cookies and tell them a story that's equal parts fairy tale and prophecy.

Each pair of boys is allotted one chapter, their story unfolding in its entirety before we move on to the next pair. In a longer book, this might derail the narrative momentum, but there's not an ounce of fat on ''Hampton Heights,'' which is a slim 190 pages. Nor is the plot really the point here, as charming as it is. The joy of this book is in Kois's warm, thoughtful depictions of the boys and the neighborhood.

It's abundantly clear how much affection the author feels for his characters. He understands that 12-year-old boys are often annoying and gross, but he also displays deep empathy for adolescent awkwardness. Closely observed details, such as the bonding power of Weird Al Yankovic, Nishu's backpack (which he wears like armor) or Joel's fart tape, bring these boys to life.

Sigmone in particular is a standout. Kois shows exceptional sensitivity in depicting the experience of an adolescent Black kid who is forced to mature faster than, and face graver consequences than, his peers, and who is coming into his own awareness of how his skin affects others' perceptions: ''If he went around acting all boisterous like Joel, other kids -- hell, his teachers -- would be scared of him.'' It's particularly gratifying to watch his grandfather show him a new way to move through the world.

Similarly vibrant are the creatures who populate Hampton Heights. There are opinionated ghosts and lesbian witches, pro-union shape-shifters and opportunistic trolls. There's even a hodag, a local cryptid said to be animated by the spirits of oxen who'd been worked to death. These entities reflect the folklore of the German and Scandinavian immigrants who settled the neighborhood in the 1800s, and there's also a surprisingly rich narrative thread about the social activism of ***working-class*** communities. Hampton Heights is a healthy, if haunted, ecosystem, because its residents work hard to keep it that way.

It's not really a spoiler to say that ''Hampton Heights'' has a happy ending. Nothing truly bad was ever going to happen to these boys; it's not that kind of story. The stakes are life-size. It's a testament to Kois's sharp eye and warm heart -- and his well-honed balance of earnest emotional truths, frightening moments and judiciously deployed scatological jokes -- that the novel still feels fresh even in a post-''Stranger Things'' world. There's magic to be found everywhere, the book seems to say, especially where you least expect it.

HAMPTON HEIGHTS: One Harrowing Night in the Most Haunted Neighborhood in Milwaukee, Wisconsin | By Dan Kois | Harper Perennial | 190 pp. | Paperback, $16.99

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/15/books/review/hampton-heights-dan-kois.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/15/books/review/hampton-heights-dan-kois.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO This article appeared in print on page BR20.

**Load-Date:** October 27, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Can Wall Street Billionaires Deliver on Trump’s Blue-Collar Promise?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DH1-GW11-JBG3-60JM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 25, 2024 Monday 14:24 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1527 words

**Byline:** Alan Rappeport and Ana SwansonAlan Rappeport is an economic policy reporter, based in Washington. He covers the Treasury Department and writes about taxes, trade and fiscal matters.

**Highlight:** The president-elect has named wealthy financiers for key economic positions, raising questions about how much they will follow through on promises to help the ***working class***.

**Body**

The president-elect has named wealthy financiers for key economic positions, raising questions about how much they will follow through on promises to help the ***working class***.

When Donald J. Trump first ran for the White House in 2016, [*his closing campaign advertisement*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vST61W4bGm8) lamented the influence of Wall Street in Washington, flashing ominous images of big banks and the billionaire liberal philanthropist George Soros.

Now, as president-elect, Mr. Trump has tapped two denizens of Wall Street to run his economic agenda. [*Scott Bessent*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vST61W4bGm8), who invested money for Mr. Soros for more than a decade, [*is his pick for Treasury secretary*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vST61W4bGm8), and Howard Lutnick, the chief executive of Cantor Fitzgerald, will be nominated to [*lead the Commerce Department*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vST61W4bGm8). Mr. Trump’s choices to lead his economic team show the prominence of billionaire investors in setting an agenda that is supposed to fuel a “blue-collar boom” but that skeptics think will mostly benefit the rich.

As Mr. Trump prepares to assume the presidency in January, business owners and investors are closely attuned to which of his economic promises he will ultimately follow through on. He has promised to [*slash tax rates*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vST61W4bGm8), [*impose hefty tariffs*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vST61W4bGm8) on China and other countries, and [*deport millions of immigrants*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vST61W4bGm8) who work in American farms and businesses.

The selections of Mr. Bessent and Mr. Lutnick cement a hold by Wall Street executives over the two most important economic posts in any administration. The picks are drawing blowback from Democrats and left-leaning groups, who assailed Mr. Trump for giving top jobs to rich donors and suggested that they would soon be working to create new tax breaks for the rich, not those who are struggling.

“For all his talk of looking out for ***working-class*** Americans, President-elect Trump’s choice of a billionaire hedge fund manager to lead the Treasury Department shows he just wants to keep a rigged system that only works for big corporations and the very wealthy,” said Tony Carrk, the executive director of the government watchdog group Accountable.US.

Yet the decision to tap Mr. Bessent and Mr. Lutnick is raising speculation that Mr. Trump could take a more market-friendly approach to many of his economic policies than some had feared because of his professed love of tariffs, which had the potential for igniting a global trade war.

Mr. Trump’s promises to impose tariffs of 10 percent to 20 percent on goods from around the world, and tariffs of 60 percent or more on products from China, have [*worried business owners*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vST61W4bGm8). But many investors still seem to be betting that he will not fully pursue those plans.

Some economists are also more optimistic that the selection of nominees with deep market experience means that Mr. Trump may take a more measured approach to trade negotiations.

“It gives me a little bit of hope that we’re going to avoid the worst of the economic populism,” said [*Scott Lincicome*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vST61W4bGm8), a trade expert at the free-market-oriented Cato Institute. “One of the biggest checks on Trump’s populist impulses will be the markets.”

It remains to be seen how much that perspective will end up influencing Mr. Trump, who has a record of vacillating between market-pleasing measures like tax cuts and sweeping tariffs that businesses and investors typically dislike.

Both Mr. Bessent and Mr. Lutnick, who Mr. Trump said [*would oversee his administration’s trade and tariff policy*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vST61W4bGm8), have defended Mr. Trump’s plans for imposing tariffs on imports. But other statements have suggested that they prefer more targeted tariff policies and more open trade policies.

That is a sharp contrast to others in Mr. Trump’s circle. Trade advisers like [*Robert E. Lighthizer*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vST61W4bGm8) and Peter Navarro have argued that higher tariffs in themselves offer benefits for the U.S. economy, by blocking out unfairly made foreign products and offsetting undervalued currencies in other countries.

In [*an interview*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vST61W4bGm8) with CNBC’s “Squawk Box” in September, Mr. Lutnick promoted Mr. Trump’s tariff plans as a way to help American workers, but he said tariffs should not be placed on “stuff we don’t make.” He also described tariffs as a “bargaining chip” that would ultimately force other countries to lower their own tariffs and lead to freer markets.

“Everybody else is going to negotiate with us,” he said.

As the head of major financial companies, Mr. Lutnick has found his fortunes to some extent dependent on steady business with China, which Mr. Trump has singled out for another round of punishing levies. Like many investment firms, both Cantor Fitzgerald and BGC Group, of which he is also the chief executive, have investments in China.

Mr. Lutnick has said that he [*would step down*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vST61W4bGm8) from his positions in the companies if confirmed by the Senate for the Commerce role. He would also have [*to divest millions of dollars in stock*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vST61W4bGm8) under federal law, to avoid holding assets that could be affected by his work at the Commerce Department.

Mr. Bessent also proclaimed his support for tariffs in an opinion piece for Fox News in mid-November. “We should not be afraid to use the power of tariffs to improve the livelihoods of American families and businesses,” he wrote in the article.

[*In an interview*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vST61W4bGm8) with the journalist Mark Halperin in October, Mr. Bessent gave a much more free-market vision of Mr. Trump’s trade agenda.

“Donald Trump really is a free-trader,” he said, saying that Mr. Trump had offered to drop American tariffs if other countries dropped theirs. “I think a lot of what he’s doing is escalate to de-escalate. And my goal for his administration would be to save international trade, not end up looking like something with turn-of-the-century tariffs.”

Mr. Trump is not breaking the mold by choosing people with Wall Street ties to top posts. Eight years ago, he tapped Steven Mnuchin, a former Goldman Sachs partner, to be his Treasury secretary, and Wilbur Ross, a billionaire private equity executive, to head the Commerce Department. Both men were prominent donors and advisers to Mr. Trump’s first campaign, which won over voters with populist pledges to keep corporate influence out of politics.

One key question is whether Mr. Trump ultimately adds more protectionist-minded officials to his administration, as he did in his first term. The addition of those more hawkish voices, such as Mr. Lighthizer, helped push Mr. Trump to impose tariffs on foreign metals from allied nations, along with more than $300 billion of Chinese goods.

Mr. Lighthizer, who served as Mr. Trump’s U.S. trade representative and a key adviser, has so far not been selected for a position. Mr. Lighthizer’s preference this time around was not to be reappointed to his old post, people familiar with the situation said. Instead, he preferred another post that would have statutory power over tariffs and trade.

That would presumably mean leading the Treasury or Commerce Department. With those jobs already filled, it is unclear whether Mr. Lighthizer will be offered another economic post, or perhaps not take any position in the second administration. It also remains to be seen whether Mr. Navarro, an ardent China hawk, will be offered a key position.

The possibility that Mr. Lighthizer might not be offered a post has prompted concern among his supporters.

“Brash Wall Street/Finance guys are doing the hard sell for themselves,” Michael Stumo, the head of the Coalition for a Prosperous America, a group that supports higher tariffs, wrote in [*a social media post*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vST61W4bGm8) before Mr. Trump announced his selection of Mr. Bessent for Treasury secretary. “But the obvious choice as a knife fighter for Trump’s correct version American economic rebirth is Lighthizer, who apparently is not selling himself like a Wall Street guy or at all.”

Mr. Stumo added that a “massive battle” would be coming next year with the prospect of including across-the-board tariffs of up to 20 percent as part of the U.S. tax code, and that the Treasury Department would have to take the lead in pushing that through Congress.

Until Mr. Trump’s economic team is fully in place, it remains to be seen whether fault lines will form between those who hail from Wall Street and advisers with a more populist perspective.

But first Mr. Bessent and Mr. Lutnick might have to put any lingering differences aside following their competition to be named Treasury secretary. Although Mr. Bessent ultimately won the job, the battle devolved into an [*internal “knife fight*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vST61W4bGm8),” according to one person familiar with the process, with Mr. Lutnick as the primary aggressor.

It is also possible that Mr. Trump’s pro-tariff policies could still win out, even over the objections of his Wall Street advisers. In Mr. Trump’s first term, tariff skeptics like Mr. Mnuchin [*helped to postpone*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vST61W4bGm8) the imposition of any significant tariffs in his first year.

But in 2018, Mr. Trump’s second year in office, his pro-tariff instincts roared back, enabled by others in the administration who supported them. He ultimately imposed tariffs on hundreds of billions of dollars of imports.

PHOTO: Howard Lutnick of Cantor Fitzgerald is Donald J. Trump’s pick to lead the Commerce Department. (PHOTOGRAPH BY EVAN VUCCI/ASSOCIATED PRESS) (A15) This article appeared in print on page A1, A15.

**Load-Date:** November 27, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Harris to Deliver Speech Urging Young People to Stay Civically Engaged***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DMW-5Y11-JBG3-64DV-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 13, 2024 Friday 08:02 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 495 words

**Byline:** Erica L. GreenErica L. Green is a White House correspondent, covering President Biden and his administration.

**Highlight:** Vice President Kamala Harris, who has kept a relatively low profile since she lost the election, will speak in Maryland on Tuesday.

**Body**

Vice President Kamala Harris, who has kept a relatively low profile since she lost the election, will speak in Maryland on Tuesday.

Vice President Kamala Harris, who has kept a low profile since she lost the presidential election, will give a speech in Maryland next week urging young people to stay civically engaged, the White House announced on Friday.

The event will take place in Prince George’s County and will be Ms. Harris’s fourth visit to Maryland this year, the announcement said. She is expected to address an audience of high school and college students, recent graduates and apprentices who have been active in their communities, according to a White House official who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss the plans.

The official said Ms. Harris was not expected to focus on President-elect Donald J. Trump, and the announcement said her message would center on the “ongoing fight for the future.” The official said she would emphasize that young people’s leadership is more necessary than ever and remind them that young people have been at the forefront of pivotal moments of progress throughout American history.

Ms. Harris’s remarks are expected to echo the message she sent to young people last month in her concession speech at Howard University, when she encouraged them to not be discouraged by her defeat.

“Don’t ever stop trying to make the world a better place,” she said on Nov. 6. “You have power. You have power. And don’t you ever listen when anyone tells you something is impossible because it has never been done before.”

In the weeks since her defeat, Ms. Harris has not made many major appearances. After taking a brief vacation to Hawaii, she has [*dropped in to surprise Black legislators*](https://thegrio.com/2024/12/05/vp-harris-surprises-black-legislators-conference-hopeful-message-2025/amp/) at a conference, sworn in newly elected senators, signed legislation that instructed Congress to posthumously bestow Representative Shirley Chisholm with a Congressional Gold Medal and given brief remarks at the Tribal Nations Summit.

Her speech on Tuesday comes as the Biden administration tries to highlight its accomplishments in its final weeks. President Biden this week delivered an address highlighting his economic achievements in what the White House called a “legacy speech,” where he defended his proposals to [*reshape American manufacturing*](https://thegrio.com/2024/12/05/vp-harris-surprises-black-legislators-conference-hopeful-message-2025/amp/) and cautioned that Mr. Trump’s economic vision would hurt ***working-class*** Americans.

Throughout her tenure, Ms. Harris has led the administration’s outreach to young Americans, including a [*nationwide college tour*](https://thegrio.com/2024/12/05/vp-harris-surprises-black-legislators-conference-hopeful-message-2025/amp/) and meeting with young activists in the United States and overseas. On Tuesday, she is expected to share stories of some of the young leaders and entrepreneurs she has met who have worked on issues such as climate, gun violence prevention, reproductive freedom, voting rights and entrepreneurship.

PHOTO: Throughout her tenure, Vice President Kamala Harris has led the administration’s outreach to young people. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Bonnie Cash for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** December 17, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Billy Joel Is Selling the Mansion He First Saw While Dredging Oysters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D57-W8F1-JBG3-60DT-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 10, 2024 Thursday 14:07 EST

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**Section:** REALESTATE

**Length:** 1237 words

**Byline:** Rukmini Callimachi, Rukmini Callimachi is a three-time Pulitzer Prize finalist. Before joining The Times in 2014, she spent seven years as a correspondent and bureau chief reporting from Africa for The Associated Press.

**Highlight:** The celebrated musician has decided to part with the house of his wildest childhood dreams.

**Body**

A teenager, then known as William Martin Joel, lived in the ***working-class*** suburb of Hicksville — his family so limited that they didn’t own a TV. He took a tiring minimum wage job dredging oysters.

The dredge crisscrossed the waters of Long Island Sound, including a bay that curves like a comma and faces some of the most expensive real estate in the United States. From the boat, he could see a stately brick mansion.

“Rich bastards,” he thought to himself. “I’ll never live in a house like that.”

Several decades and dozens of Top 40 hits later, Billy Joel — the oysterman turned piano man — bought that very mansion on Centre Island in 2002.

Mr. Joel, 75, has told that story many times, right down to throwing in the vulgarity, maybe because it’s so unbelievable: “The word that applies is ‘absurd.’ I grew up in a quarter-acre lot house in Hicksville. And I would ride my bicycle up here and take a bike ride and look at all the rich people and cuss them out,” he says.

On Wednesday, a team of real estate agents and publicists working on his behalf held an open house to sell it. The listing price is $49.9 million.

The hourslong affair was by invitation only, and high-end real estate agents arrived by speedboat. Potential buyers are in the 0.1 percent — at least one billionaire and the representative of a Brussels-based hedge fund were expected to tour it. Among Mr. Joel’s former neighbors are Rupert Murdoch, Sean Hannity and one of the heirs to the Exxon Mobil fortune, say his staff.

It’s a crowd that is a world away from the one that Mr. Joel used to inhabit, his identity and music closely tied with Long Island’s ***working class***.

Hicksville, where he grew up in the 1950s and ’60s, is less than 15 miles away from his mansion. When President John F. Kennedy was assassinated, his mother sent him to a nearby store to rent a TV. He returned with the TV on a dolly, explained his biographer Fred Schruers.

Though his family didn’t have a television set, they did have a beat-up Lester upright piano, and his mother insisted he take lessons, Mr. Schruers said. Eager to go out and play with his friends, he resented practicing so he learned to imitate the style of Beethoven just well enough to make his mother think that he was following the sheet music, said Mr. Joel.

He tried to embed those modest musical roots into the property when he first bought it by naming it “MiddleSea” — a reference to its location in the middle of the sea, located on a spit that juts out with Oyster Bay on one side and Cold Spring Harbor on the other. But it’s also a double entendre referring to the note of middle C, the first key that beginning piano players learn.

“If it’s not for me being able to take piano lessons, I probably would never have been able to afford a high-flying property like this. So, I named it after the first note which I learned on the piano, which was C,” he explained.

The high-flying, 26-acre property has a main house, a beach house and two guesthouses, totaling 18 bedrooms, 16 bathrooms, as well as three swimming pools, a bowling alley and a helipad.

The expansiveness of the grounds is hard to put into words, so I walked from one end of the property line to the other. At a brisk pace, it took me 9 minutes and 3 seconds — about the time it takes me to walk seven city blocks in Manhattan.

Guests as well as Mr. Joel get around in golf carts — electric ones, his property manager is quick to note.

A sandy beach, stretching over 2,000 feet, graces the edge of the property.

On Long Island’s “Gold Coast,” as the area is known, “it’s rare to find a property with 200 feet of beach,” said Emmett Laffey, the chief executive of Berkshire Hathaway HomeServices, who is representing Mr. Joel in the sale.

The singer still owns other property on Long Island, including a home in Sag Harbor, but his base is now in Florida, where his two youngest daughters, ages 7 and 9, are enrolled in school. “Once they started going to school, you’re kind of locked in,” Mr. Joel said.

That’s one reason he’s selling. There’s also a more mundane concern: taxes.

At $567,686, the yearly taxes on the property are more than the median sale price of a single-family home in the United States. “It’s not cheap, let’s put it that way,” he said. “As successful, I’ve been financially, yeah, that’s, you know, that’s a lot.”

The home first went up for sale last year. A renovation that involved replacing all the bathroom fixtures, installing brand-new marble floors, revamping the kitchens and redoing the brick walkways and patios, was still underway — tarps covered certain rooms and it didn’t show well, said Mr. Laffey. It was taken off the market and re-listed last month after the renovations were completed, with a bump in the price tag to $49.9 million from $49 million.

To market a property at this price point, an “elevated open house” was apropos. Liveried waiters served shrimp and goat cheese hors d’oeuvres as classical music poured out from a property-wide speaker system.

The group of high-end agents who arrived by speedboat to tour the property were seeing it for the first time the way Mr. Joel first saw it — from the coast, except that he was on an oyster boat and the guests arrived clutching luxury purses.

One woman from the group took off her heels and ran back barefoot after realizing she had forgotten her Dior purse on the dock — the group had stopped to take photos against the shimmering water.

“This is so nice,” said one. “Gorgeous,” said another, as the mansion on the hill came into focus. “What a view,” said a third.

What they toured was actually a restoration. Mr. Joel’s property manager, Chad Nuzzi, discovered blueprints and plans, dated 1913 and signed by George Bullock, a railway magnate, in a tucked away closet. The property had been called “Yeadon,” thought by Mr. Joel and his staff to be a reference to Mr. Bullock’s ancestral village in England, and had been subdivided into four lots.

In the years that followed, Mr. Joel said, he worked to reconstitute the original estate — recreating a piece of land of Gatsbian proportions. (The trust that bought the original parcel in 2002 is listed as “F. Scott LLC,” a possible reference to F. Scott Fitzgerald.)

Mr. Joel has lived a life of luxury there. As fans of the ***working-class*** nostalgia embedded in his songs filled up Madison Square Garden again and again, Mr. Joel headed to the arena by helicopter — a 13-minute ride from tail up to tail down — from his helipad.

Not bad for a former oysterman.

“I love this property. I don’t think there’s a property as beautiful as this,” he said. “It’s got that Gatsby sense to it, which I dreamed about as a little boy. When I hand over the keys, there’ll be some regret.”

Kitty Bennett contributed research.

Kitty Bennett contributed research.

PHOTOS: Clockwise, from middle center left: real estate agents arriving by speedboat to tour the Joel waterfront estate; a foyer with marble stairs; the living room of the beach house, one of four homes on the property; agents and potential buyers mingling at the open house.; Left and below, the sprawling property that Billy Joel, its owner, below left, named MiddleSea. The home, on Centre Island on Long Island and a world away from his nearby ***working-class*** upbringing, is on the market for $49.9 million, helipad included. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ERIC STRIFFLER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; THEA TRAFF FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page RE8.

**Load-Date:** April 16, 2025

**End of Document**



[***In Nebraska, A Democrat Lifts Hopes***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D7R-2DN1-JBG3-64W3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 22, 2024 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 13

**Length:** 675 words

**Byline:** By Jazmine Ulloa

**Body**

Tony Vargas, a Democrat vying to become the state's first Latino representative, lost to Don Bacon, the Republican incumbent, in 2022. But the presidential election could help him in his rematch.

The crowd of 1,400 people gathered on Saturday at an outdoor amphitheater in Omaha was waiting for Tim Walz, the jocular Minnesota governor running for vice president. But it was another Democrat looking to make history who drew the first standing ovation of the evening.

''Tony, Tony, Tony,'' the audience erupted as Tony Vargas, a state senator, stood at the lectern.

''You really know how to make someone feel very, very welcome,'' he said.

Mr. Vargas, 40, is vying to become the first Latino to represent Nebraska in Congress, and he has become one of the most notable Democratic candidates on the rise as he competes in a heated House race at the center of national attention.

In 2022, when Mr. Vargas first challenged Representative Don Bacon, a Republican, he lost by less than three percentage points, not even 6,000 votes. Now, their rematch is taking place in the middle of a tightly contested presidential election, and Mr. Bacon's 2nd District appears to be swinging in Vice President Kamala Harris's direction, bringing tailwinds for Democratic candidates down the ballot like Mr. Vargas.

Nebraska is solidly Republican, but the 2nd District, which encompasses Omaha and is known as Nebraska's blue dot, is a swing region that voted for Barack Obama in 2008 and Joseph R. Biden Jr. in 2020. Biden won with 56.4 percent of the vote.

A coveted victory there could help sway control of Congress, as well as decide the next president. Nebraska is one of two states (along with Maine) that award an electoral vote to the winner of each congressional district. That vote could be of such national consequence this year that Republican allies of former President Donald J. Trump in the Nebraska Legislature have been unsuccessfully pushing to change how it is awarded.

Omaha Democrats have been showing their support for the Harris-Walz ticket with campaign signs in their yards emblazoned with a single blue dot.

As Mr. Vargas helped open for Mr. Walz on Saturday, two surrogates for Mr. Trump's campaign -- Robert F. Kennedy Jr., the onetime presidential candidate, and former Representative Tulsi Gabbard of Hawaii -- were making their own appearances at a downtown Omaha hotel.

Mr. Vargas, the son of Peruvian immigrants, has been drawing on his background to connect with ***working-class*** voters. He has been running on pledges to pass a middle-class tax cut and keep prescription costs low, and has sought to cast Mr. Bacon as too closely aligned to Mr. Trump and too far to the right on issues like abortion rights.

Mr. Bacon, a retired general, has been leaning on his foreign policy credentials and his record. In an interview, Mr. Bacon said most people in his district would find Mr. Vargas's attempts to characterize him as a Trump extremist as ''laughable.'' Mr. Bacon added that he disagreed with Mr. Trump on important issues such as the Jan. 6 attack on the U.S. Capitol and Mr. Trump's treatment of Vice President Mike Pence. He had also voted to certify the 2020 presidential election and in favor of bipartisan legislation, including President Biden's signature infrastructure bill, which Mr. Bacon said he helped shape in the House.

On Saturday, Mr. Vargas joined Mr. Walz onstage, casting Mr. Trump as a dangerous and divisive force in American politics and urging Democrats to head to the polls ''to rebuild democracy.''

In an interview earlier at the amphitheater, Mr. Vargas said his team had knocked on more doors than they had at the same point in the last election, and that his campaign was drawing energy from a broader array of voters, including independents and Republicans. He said his closing pitch was a call to boot out Mr. Trump's Republican ''extremists and enablers.''

''Congress can't get anything done,'' he said. ''We need a Congress that can actually focus on ***working-class***, middle-class issues.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/nebraska-walz-tony-vargas.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/20/us/politics/nebraska-walz-tony-vargas.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A13.

**Load-Date:** October 22, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Newly Published / Graphic Books***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DFF-NSV1-JBG3-63XW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 17, 2024 Sunday

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 374 words

**Body**

LEBANON IS BURNING AND OTHER DISPATCHES, by Yazan Al-Saadi. (Graphic Mundi, paperback, $21.95.) This lively collection of comics, written by Al-Saadi and illustrated by various Middle Eastern artists, revisits the legacy of the Arab Spring protests in Egypt, Lebanon, Sudan and Palestine during the 2010s.

DOG DAYS, by Keum Suk Gendry-Kim. Translated by Janet Hong. (Drawn & Quarterly, paperback, $24.95.) This searing novel about dogs and Korean society, rendered in Gendry-Kim's signature pen-and-ink drawings, follows a dog-owning couple from Seoul as they butt heads with their new rural neighbors.

WORLD WITHIN THE WORLD: Collected Minicomix & Short Works 2010-2022, by Julia Gfrörer. (Fantagraphics, $39.99.) The 30 stories in this witty collection dabble in gory, humorous and erotic circumstances that range from prehistoric debates over cave paintings to retellings of Edgar Allan Poe tales.

FREEDOM WAS IN SIGHT: A Graphic History of Reconstruction in the Washington, D.C., Region, by Kate Masur & Liz Clarke. (University of North Carolina Press, paperback, $24.) The experiences of Americans during the Reconstruction era are richly drawn in this informative and colorful account.

ONLY HERE, ONLY NOW, by Tom Newlands. (HarperVia, $28.99.) Newlands renders the indignities and hardships of ***working-class*** life in this visceral debut novel following a neurodivergent 14-year-old girl who loses her parents in 1990s Scotland.

GOLDEN YEARS: How Americans Invented and Reinvented Old Age, by James Chappel. (Basic, $32.) A historian surveys how the United States has imagined and revised the ideas of retirement and old age through the rise and fall of employer pensions, rising health care costs, increasing inequality and more.

DEADLY ANIMALS, by Marie Tierney. (Holt, $29.99.) Ava, a teenager and aspiring forensic pathologist, finds two bodies near the motorway where she studies roadkill. Her observations may prove crucial to cracking the murder case.

RESIST: How a Century of Young Black Activists Shaped America, by Rita Omokha. (St. Martin's, $29.) Omokha combines memoir and history in this account of civil rights activism, from Ella Baker and the Bates Seven to Darnella Frazier's documentation of George Floyd's killing.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/29/books/review/new-this-week.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/29/books/review/new-this-week.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS This article appeared in print on page BR4.

**Load-Date:** November 17, 2024

**End of Document**



[***How Can Democrats Win Back Latinos? Gallego Offers Answers.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DG4-9CD1-JBG3-61X7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 21, 2024 Thursday

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Copyright 2024 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 13

**Length:** 1489 words

**Byline:** By Kellen Browning and Jennifer Medina

**Body**

After a victorious Senate campaign, Ruben Gallego thinks others can follow his lead by signaling that they hear Latino voters' economic pain. But repeating his success might not be so easy.

The Friday before Election Day, Representative Ruben Gallego invited his supporters to Rancho Ochoa, a rodeo venue in southwestern Phoenix, where they listened to a brass band, cheered as bull riders strained to hold on and watched the dancing horses, a staple of Mexican rodeos.

It was the celebratory culmination of an extensive effort by Mr. Gallego, a Democrat, to target Latino voters as he vied for Arizona's open Senate seat -- an effort that appeared to pay dividends. Even as Latinos, and especially Latino men, shifted drastically away from Democrats this year, and President-elect Donald J. Trump beat Vice President Kamala Harris in Arizona by more than five percentage points, Mr. Gallego won his race by over two points. He seemed to outperform Ms. Harris with Latinos easily.

The shift toward Mr. Trump left Democrats, who have long operated with a belief that demographic change would equal a winning destiny, stunned and scrambling for answers. Some are looking to Mr. Gallego, a plain-talking military veteran and the son of Colombian and Mexican immigrants who has plenty of thoughts on how his party can win back ***working-class*** voters and avoid taking the Latino community for granted.

In an interview, Mr. Gallego said the Democratic Party had failed to address the deep-seated anxiety that Latino men felt over rising prices, which left them unable to provide for their families no matter how much harder they worked.

''Latino men feel like their job is to provide security for their family -- economic security and physical security,'' he said. ''And when that is compromised, they start looking around.''

Mr. Gallego devoted significant resources to courting Latino men in a way that many voters and strategists said felt authentic. And he was quicker than many Democrats to embrace tough stances on the migrant crisis and to speak directly to blue-collar workers' frustrations with high prices, even as traditional economic indicators were positive.

''I know how hard you're working, where your wages just haven't kept up with costs,'' he said in a television advertisement in April. ''And that's not your fault.''

Democrats and Arizona political strategists suggested that there were lessons the party could take from Mr. Gallego's campaign, but they cautioned that his victory was partly predicated on elements harder to replicate. Mr. Gallego was running against an especially unpopular Republican, Kari Lake, and he himself is a Latino man with a ***working-class*** background. At the same time, he harnessed his Harvard University pedigree and his young family to appeal to suburban white voters.

''You cannot count on his cultural signifiers to win with Latinos,'' said Regina Romero, the mayor of Tucson, Ariz. ''That is the icing on the cake, but the cake itself has to be built of substance. I believe that as Democrats, we need to double down on working families and fighting for workers.''

Ms. Romero said many of Mr. Gallego's tactics were also adopted by Ms. Harris, including her emphasis on growing up as the child of immigrants, and pointed out that the candidates whom Mr. Trump and Mr. Gallego defeated have one thing in common: They are women.

As a congressman representing a deep-blue part of Phoenix, Mr. Gallego was known for years as an outspoken progressive, and he and his allies worked from the left to push out Senator Kyrsten Sinema, a Democrat turned independent, after she sided with Republicans to block parts of President Biden's agenda. (She later announced she would not seek re-election.)

Mr. Gallego's campaign bet that it could better reach both ***working-class*** voters -- especially Latinos -- and highly educated white voters in the suburbs by focusing on a kind of everyman aesthetic that highlighted the candidate's humble beginnings and blue-collar background.

Mr. Gallego speaks often about being raised alongside his three sisters by his mother in Chicago, working at food stands and construction sites as a teenager to support them, and sometimes sleeping on the family's living room floor. He attended Harvard and fought in the Iraq war as a Marine, seeing combat in a unit that suffered heavy casualties.

As a Senate candidate, he took steps to make it clear that he understood the Latino community, creating niche groups like Jefas (female bosses) con Gallego and Compas (bros) con Gallego, which courted Latino men.

Ilse Rodriguez, Mr. Gallego's deputy political director who led his Latino outreach, said she worked to ensure that the campaign's efforts felt genuine. She vetoed a corrido -- a Mexican song that tells a story -- that out-of-state artists had created about Mr. Gallego because it felt ''more techno, Florida-esque, much more East Coast.'' She instead recruited a local band.

Ms. Rodriguez persuaded the campaign's consultants to green-light a flier that mimicked a lotería card -- used in a Mexican game similar to bingo -- featuring Mr. Gallego, and she planned events aimed at portraying him as a regular person. He got behind the grill at carne asada events, hung out at an auto shop and delivered breakfast tacos to construction workers during early-morning shifts.

Above all, he indicated that he had heard their economic pain.

Mr. Gallego said Democrats had failed to connect the dots on how esoteric pieces of policy, like the bipartisan infrastructure law, were improving people's lives.

''Until people actually feel something -- higher wages, lower costs, more security -- you're not going to get credit,'' he said.

He suggested that Democrats lacked a specific initiative that they could point to as helping people immediately, like the expanded child tax credit that gave monthly payments of up to $300 per child during the coronavirus pandemic but was short-lived. Without something like that to grasp onto, Mr. Gallego said, voters were deciding based on ''vibes.''

''If you rely on vibes, you better be vibing better than your opponent,'' he said. ''And guess what? No one vibes better than freaking Donald Trump.''

Mr. Gallego had a built-in advantage as he bro'd out with Latino men in an effort to win their votes: He actually had the beer-drinking, backslapping macho background to make his actions feel real.

Other candidates ''don't understand that part of the electorate because they're not a Marine combat veteran who grew up fighting and drinking, literally killing people in another country,'' said Chuck Rocha, a veteran Democratic consultant who is friends with Mr. Gallego and advised his campaign. ''People try to be Ruben Gallego -- not him, per se, but be a man's man and show 'I'm tough.' You can tell they're faking it.''

That could make it difficult for candidates without Mr. Gallego's life story and background to replicate his outreach.

Mr. Rocha, though, said it was possible to appeal to blue-collar voters without looking like them or sharing their life experience. Candidates, he said, simply needed to come across as authentic and lean into a message of economic populism.

Mr. Gallego was also quick to react on immigration. In Congress, he was a vocal critic of some of Mr. Trump's border-security proposals and signed onto a letter asking Mr. Biden's administration to end Title 42, a pandemic-era law that allowed for easier expulsion of migrants. But he also criticized the administration's lack of preparedness for the surge of migrants, talked tough on border security and spoke frequently with mayors and sheriffs in Arizona's border region, leading some to endorse him.

He suggested that politicians without a deep understanding of the Latino community continued to assume falsely that Latino voters who support a pathway to citizenship would not also welcome a crackdown at the border.

''They don't understand, 'Wait a minute, how can you want those people deported, but not those people deported?''' Mr. Gallego said. ''Well, it's very simple: We don't identify with those people that are coming over right now.''

Mr. Gallego has long warned against relying solely on identity politics to win over Latinos. In 2020, he admonished Democrats for using ''Latinx,'' a gender-neutral term pushed by liberal policymakers but derided by many Latinos, in part because it is difficult to say in Spanish.

He said that he, himself, had successfully employed identity politics in his campaign, with a focus on his background and that he was set to become Arizona's first Latino senator. But he also consistently hammered his desire to help families by lowering costs.

''You could use identity politics to connect, but you've got to deliver an economic message at the end,'' Mr. Gallego said. ''Right now, there's these two warring camps, and they're both wrong. You're going to have to do both.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/20/us/politics/ruben-gallego-arizona-latino-voters-democrats.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/20/us/politics/ruben-gallego-arizona-latino-voters-democrats.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Senator-elect Ruben Gallego, above, campaigning in Tolleson, Ariz., last month. After highlighting his humble beginnings and blue-collar background, Mr. Gallego easily outperformed his fellow Democrat Vice President Kamala Harris with Latino voters in the state. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CAITLIN O'HARA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

ASH PONDERS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A13.

**Load-Date:** November 21, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Bernie Sanders Says Democrats Have Lost Their Way***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DDW-1B11-JBG3-61TY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 15, 2024 Friday 08:28 EST

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**Section:** PODCASTS; the-daily

**Length:** 346 words

**Byline:** Michael Barbaro, Bernie Sanders, Jessica Cheung, Michael Simon Johnson, Nina Feldman, Paige Cowett, Lisa Chow, Patricia Willens, Michael Benoist, Marion Lozano, Pat McCusker and Chris Wood

**Highlight:** An interview with the Vermont senator on the fallout of the election defeat.

**Body**

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The Democratic Party is sifting through the rubble of its sweeping election loss and trying to work out what went wrong.

In an interview, Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont discusses his diagnosis and how to chart a path back to power.

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On today’s episode

* Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont

Background reading

* Democrats reeling from the election failure have begun [*playing the blame game*](https://itunes.apple.com/us/podcast/the-daily/id1200361736?mt=2).

1. Who are [*the next leaders of the Democratic Party*](https://itunes.apple.com/us/podcast/the-daily/id1200361736?mt=2)

There are a lot of ways to listen to The Daily. [*Here’s how.*](https://itunes.apple.com/us/podcast/the-daily/id1200361736?mt=2)

We aim to make transcripts available the next workday after an episode’s publication. You can find them at the top of the page.

The Daily is made by Rachel Quester, Lynsea Garrison, Clare Toeniskoetter, Paige Cowett, Michael Simon Johnson, Brad Fisher, Chris Wood, Jessica Cheung, Stella Tan, Alexandra Leigh Young, Lisa Chow, Eric Krupke, Marc Georges, Luke Vander Ploeg, M.J. Davis Lin, Dan Powell, Sydney Harper, Michael Benoist, Liz O. Baylen, Asthaa Chaturvedi, Rachelle Bonja, Diana Nguyen, Marion Lozano, Rob Szypko, Elisheba Ittoop, Mooj Zadie, Patricia Willens, Rowan Niemisto, Jody Becker, Rikki Novetsky, Nina Feldman, Will Reid, Carlos Prieto, Ben Calhoun, Susan Lee, Lexie Diao, Mary Wilson, Alex Stern, Sophia Lanman, Shannon Lin, Diane Wong, Devon Taylor, Alyssa Moxley, Olivia Natt, Daniel Ramirez and Brendan Klinkenberg, and Chris Haxel.

Our theme music is by Jim Brunberg and Ben Landsverk of Wonderly. Special thanks to Sam Dolnick, Paula Szuchman, Lisa Tobin, Larissa Anderson, Julia Simon, Sofia Milan, Mahima Chablani, Elizabeth Davis-Moorer, Jeffrey Miranda, Maddy Masiello, Isabella Anderson, Nina Lassam and Nick Pitman.

PHOTO: Senator Bernie Sanders has written on social media that the Democratic Party “has abandoned the ***working class***.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY Brandon Bell/Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 20, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Harris Fighting To Bring Back A Trusted Bloc***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D67-BK11-JBG3-63NS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 15, 2024 Tuesday

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1357 words

**Byline:** By Jennifer Medina, Katie Glueck and Ruth Igielnik

**Body**

Defections from Black and Latino voters are making Kamala Harris more dependent on white, suburban voters -- and complicating her path to victory.

In the final weeks of the presidential campaign, Vice President Kamala Harris is contending with erosion within the Democratic coalition that put Barack Obama and Joe Biden in the White House, and growing more dependent on white voters who historically aligned more with Republicans.

Black and Latino voters, two essential pillars of that coalition, have drifted away from Democrats in striking numbers, according to New York Times/Siena College polling.

The defections, if they hold to Election Day, would make Ms. Harris's path to victory far more difficult, complicating her efforts both in big cities like Philadelphia and Detroit and across Sun Belt battlegrounds such as Georgia and Arizona.

A Harris win would also be reliant on support and high turnout from college-educated white voters and suburbanites, including voters who traditionally leaned Republican until the Trump era.

''She's doing very well in suburban areas that went blue after Donald Trump came into office,'' Patrick Murray, director of the Monmouth University Polling Institute, said. ''That's what's keeping her in the race right now, while she's losing a point or two because of the less enthusiastic support among urban men.''

Ms. Harris's predicament is the clearest display yet of the ways former President Donald J. Trump is creating new political alliances that could fundamentally alter the makeup of the two major parties.

Since Mr. Trump's ascent nearly a decade ago, Republicans have made inroads with ***working-class*** voters across races and ethnicities while Democrats have increasingly become the party of college-educated, upper-income voters.

It's a potential realignment that many Democrats did not see coming. When Mr. Obama became the first Black president in 2009, his party embraced the assumption that a more diverse electorate would make the party dominant in presidential politics.

And many believed that the rise of Mr. Trump, who enthusiastically stokes racial grievances, would only hasten the arrival of a durable Democratic majority in the electoral college.

Instead, the opposite has happened. Capitalizing on disaffection with Democrats, Mr. Trump has drawn in Hispanic voters and significantly improved his standing among Black voters.

While a majority of Latino voters -- and a vast share of Black voters -- still say they support Ms. Harris, even modest erosion in their support could be consequential in a race that is effectively tied.

And such erosion is especially notable for Ms. Harris, who is running to be the nation's first Black female and first Asian American president in a party that has long argued that a more diverse slate of candidates will inspire loyalty and enthusiasm.

Some Democrats have questioned the recent polling and said that they expected many Black and Latino voters to ''come home'' to the party by Election Day.

The Times/Siena poll found that roughly one quarter of Black and Latino voters are undecided or not fully decided.

The Harris campaign insists that it is competing hard to engage and turn out those voters, and allies warn against ceding any ground to Mr. Trump.

''The Harris campaign has to fight for these votes,'' said Tory Gavito, the president of Way to Win, a liberal political group that has long warned that Democrats are not doing enough to address ***working-class*** voters' concerns. ''Particularly those who already have more economic precarity in their lives, they are frustrated.''

The majority of Black and Latino voters meet political pollsters' definition of ***working class*** because they do not have a college degree.

These voters are often acutely focused on the economy and their personal financial well-being, leaving Democrats vulnerable after years of inflation. Mr. Trump's strength on that issue is clear: Although a majority of Black and Latino voters favor Ms. Harris, large shares in both groups said that Mr. Trump would help them personally.

They are also distrustful and disappointed in politics generally: Hispanic voters are effectively split over whether Republicans or Democrats are better at keeping their promises, and large shares in both groups did not say that either party kept its promises.

The polling shows that the gender gap is especially pronounced -- with men of all races, ages and education levels far more likely to support Mr. Trump. But the Democratic erosion was not limited to men. Ms. Harris is also underperforming among Black women and Latina voters, especially those without a college degree.

Four years ago, Mr. Biden won 93 percent of Black women voters. Ms. Harris's support among Black women is at 83 percent, the Times/Siena poll found.

The Harris campaign on Sunday released a memo highlighting other polling that showed stronger numbers for Ms. Harris among Black and Latino voters. But it has also ramped up outreach. On Monday, the campaign released an agenda focused specifically on Black men. Later this week, Ms. Harris is scheduled for an interview with Charlamagne Tha God, a popular Black radio host who has roundly criticized both parties.

Yet, even as she tries to stem her losses with those groups, Democrats see opportunities to deepen their support among suburban and college-educated white voters, particularly women, who dislike Mr. Trump but have historically been skeptical of the other side.

In the final weeks, when many campaigns focus on turning out supporters, the Harris campaign also plans to keep trying to persuade traditionally right-leaning voters, with advertising tailored to their concerns and events aimed at Republicans.

''One of the most unique aspects of our coalition is that we have the opportunity to persuade conservative-leaning voters right up until the end,'' Lauren Hitt, a spokeswoman for Ms. Harris, said. ''Trump's softness with that group is extraordinary.''

Democrats did not win a majority of white voters overall or white women in the most recent presidential elections, and it is not clear how much room Ms. Harris has to grow. Still, college-educated voters tend to vote at high rates.

The Trump campaign is taking its own risky bet by counting on support from occasional and new voters, who are less reliable. Mr. Trump does better with Black and Latino voters who did not vote in 2020 than with frequent voters.

The Trump campaign has aggressively courted Black and Latino voters this campaign, in part by relying on hip-hop artists and influencers online.

Many Democratic officials have said that they are deeply concerned about how such frustration plays out at the ballot box next month. In swing states across the country, Democratic organizers say they are concerned that voters who have turned out for them in past elections will instead sit this year out.

Isaiah Thomas, a city councilman in Philadelphia who is leading an outreach effort to Black men in support of Ms. Harris, said he rarely finds Black voters planning to vote for Mr. Trump. His bigger concern, he said, was apathy.

''There are people who are thinking about not voting at all,'' he said. ''That's a real thing. And I think that's the biggest push that we have right now.''

In another example of upending assumptions of Democratic campaigns, young Black and Hispanic voters are more likely than older voters to support Mr. Trump, and represent the biggest source of growth for him. And while Ms. Harris has made up significant ground among young voters compared with Mr. Biden earlier this year, young voters alone are unlikely to be enough to make up for lost ground among other demographics.

Celinda Lake, a veteran Democratic pollster, said that compared with Mr. Biden's coalition, Ms. Harris's is ''a little younger and more female, more women, less men.''

''If you look at the Harris coalition, turnout is really, really important -- turnout is more of a problem,'' she said. ''I think there will be a secret surge vote for Trump. I think there will be a secret surge vote for Harris. And, which is going to be bigger?''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/14/us/politics/harris-democratic-coalition.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/14/us/politics/harris-democratic-coalition.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: From left: A Kamala Harris rally Greenville, N.C., on Sunday

a Donald J. Trump supporter in Prescott, Ariz., on Sunday. Republicans have made inroads with ***working-class*** voters across races while Democrats are increasingly the party of upper-income voters. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

ANNA WATTS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A11) This article appeared in print on page A1, A11.

**Load-Date:** October 15, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Latino Voters Feel Let Down By Government***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D6F-6B51-JBG3-64MR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 16, 2024 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Length:** 897 words

**Byline:** By Jennifer Medina

**Body**

Democrats have found their popularity with the Nevada electorate slipping. The fallout from the pandemic, including a struggling economy, has fostered mistrust in the government.

Las Vegas is best known for its glittering casinos along the Strip, but it is also a perennial political battleground. That is partly because it is a transient region inside a transient state -- a place where people move in and out with rapid speed, adding a new crop of voters with every election cycle.

Adding to that volatility is the fact that the state's demographics skew young, and that the number of new voter registrations keep growing. Much of that growth comes from Hispanic voters, who make up more than 20 percent of the Nevada electorate.

For nearly two decades, Nevada Democrats have eked out wins in the state, making it an essential part of the path to win the White House. But Democrats' popularity here has slipped recently. Latino voters frequently cite the economy and housing as their top concerns, and many say they are deeply frustrated with the party they once supported.

A Struggling Economy

No other issue is as important in Las Vegas as the economy: Spend a few minutes with any voter and they will tell you about the price of groceries or gas or rent or electricity -- or all of the above.

***Working-class*** voters are especially concerned about the cost of housing, with renters struggling to keep up with their monthly payments and increasingly seeing homeownership as out of reach.

Livier Maxwell, a 41-year-old stay-at-home mother, moved from San Diego to Las Vegas more than a decade ago largely because she believed that the economic opportunities would be better. Here, her family can comfortably live on her husband's salary alone.

Ms. Maxwell says she plans to enthusiastically vote for former President Donald J. Trump this year, because she believes he will help improve the economy.

''Things were better for me when he was in office, I had more money in the bank,'' she said.

The pandemic particularly ravaged Las Vegas, as casinos on the Strip shut down for months in 2020 and brought the economy, dependent on tourism, to a standstill. Though the situation has dramatically improved from four years ago, when roughly 90 percent of the members of the powerful Culinary Workers Union were out of work, many workers say they haven't recovered.

Suldenil Alvarez-Loriga, 45, emigrated from Cuba nearly a decade ago, coming to Las Vegas because she had seen the glittering Strip in TV shows. But in recent years, Ms. Alvarez-Loriga has been shocked to see she needs to hold down two or three jobs just to pay her bills.

''I have to work all the time, with no time to see my family,'' she said. ''But what other choice do I have?''

For weeks now, Ms. Alvarez-Loriga has joined other members of the Culinary Workers Union, including Joleen Reyes, who works at the Cosmopolitan hotel, knocking on doors to drum up support for Vice President Kamala Harris and other Democrats.

''I think she understands what we are going through, and will make it better for people like us,'' Ms. Reyes said.

Tension Over Immigration

About 14 percent of all eligible voters in Nevada are foreign-born and the economy relies on immigrant labor, making immigration a particularly salient and complicated issue in the state.

Marilyn Robeldo, 35, has always voted for Democrats for president and plans to do so again this year, in part because she is afraid Mr. Trump could try to round up and deport Mexican Americans, including her parents.

''I try to stay optimistic but fear creeps in,'' she said, while she waited for her eldest daughter to finish a dance class. ''I don't pay close attention to politics because so little good comes from it.''

But not all immigrants see themselves in the newest waves of arrivals.

JosÃ© Reanos, 70, arrived in Las Vegas from Honduras in the early 1980s and lived for years without legal documentation. He became a citizen under the amnesty program that President Ronald Reagan, a Republican, enacted in 1986. Ever since, he has voted for Republicans. And he has little sympathy for those who are now entering the country.

''There is no more room and we need to help ourselves first,'' he said, echoing a sentiment he had shared with his four children -- all of whom, he said, planned to vote for Mr. Trump this year.

An Erosion of Trust in Government

Democrats have seen their support among Hispanic voters erode in the last several years. And while Ms. Harris has shored up more support than President Biden had among Hispanics nationwide earlier this year, she is unlikely to receive the level of support that President Barack Obama enjoyed in the state. And the Trump campaign is aggressively courting Latino voters who are frustrated about the economy.

This election, Democrats are trying to guard against not only voters defecting to Republicans, but also voters who are likely to stay home. Many voters, particularly young men, said in interviews that they were just as likely to not vote as they were to support Ms. Harris.

Javier Martinez, 31, moved to Henderson, N.V., in part to escape high prices in California. But he has been disappointed to see that neither presidential candidate seems to prioritize the demands of ***working class*** men like him.

''We vote and nothing changes,'' he said, ''so why do we bother voting?''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/11/us/why-nevada-latinos-are-losing-faith-in-government.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/11/us/why-nevada-latinos-are-losing-faith-in-government.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: ETELVINA ZAMORA-ESQUIVEL, on the price of housing in Las Vegas.

SULDENIL ALVAREZ-LORIGA, below, who says she holds down two or three jobs to pay the bills.

LIVIER MAXWELL, above, on former President Donald J. Trump. (A18)

MARILYN ROBELDO, above, who said she plans to stick with Democrats in this year's election.

JAVIER MARTINEZ, right, who said the concerns of ***working-class*** men are being ignored in the campaign.

JOSÃ‰ REANOS, below, who supports Mr. Trump's immigration policies.

MARCO HERNANDEZ, vice president of his union. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ADAM PEREZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

JONATHAN OCAMPOS, who is worried about being able to afford a home. (A18-A19) This article appeared in print on page A18, A19.

**Load-Date:** October 16, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Harris’s Final Challenge: Restore a Splintering Democratic Coalition***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D61-M591-DXY4-X124-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 14, 2024 Monday 11:18 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1408 words

**Byline:** Jennifer Medina, Katie Glueck and Ruth IgielnikJennifer Medina is a Los Angeles-based political reporter for The Times, focused on political attitudes and demographic change.

**Highlight:** Defections from Black and Latino voters are making Kamala Harris more dependent on white, suburban voters — and complicating her path to victory.

**Body**

Defections from Black and Latino voters are making Kamala Harris more dependent on white, suburban voters — and complicating her path to victory.

In the final weeks of the presidential campaign, Vice President Kamala Harris is contending with erosion within the Democratic coalition that put Barack Obama and Joe Biden in the White House, and growing more dependent on white voters who historically aligned more with Republicans.

Black and Latino voters, two essential pillars of that coalition, have drifted away from Democrats in striking numbers, according to [*New York Times/Siena College*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/13/us/elections/times-siena-poll-hispanic-likely-electorate.html) [*polling*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/13/us/elections/times-siena-poll-hispanic-likely-electorate.html).

The defections, if they hold to Election Day, would make Ms. Harris’s path to victory far more difficult, complicating her efforts both in big cities like Philadelphia and Detroit and across Sun Belt battlegrounds such as Georgia and Arizona.

A Harris win would also be reliant on support and high turnout from college-educated white voters and suburbanites, including voters who traditionally leaned Republican until the Trump era.

“She’s doing very well in suburban areas that went blue after Donald Trump came into office,” Patrick Murray, director of the Monmouth University Polling Institute, said. “That’s what’s keeping her in the race right now, while she’s losing a point or two because of the less enthusiastic support among urban men.”

Ms. Harris’s predicament is the clearest display yet of the ways former President Donald J. Trump is creating new political alliances that could fundamentally alter the makeup of the two major parties.

Since Mr. Trump’s ascent nearly a decade ago, Republicans have made inroads with ***working-class*** voters across races and ethnicities while Democrats have increasingly become the party of college-educated, upper-income voters.

It’s a potential realignment that many Democrats did not see coming. When Mr. Obama became the first Black president in 2009, his party embraced the assumption that a more diverse electorate would make the party dominant in presidential politics.

And many believed that the rise of Mr. Trump, who enthusiastically stokes racial grievances, would only hasten the arrival of a durable Democratic majority in the electoral college.

Instead, the opposite has happened. Capitalizing on disaffection with Democrats, Mr. Trump has drawn in Hispanic voters and significantly improved his standing among Black voters.

While a majority of Latino voters — and a vast share of Black voters — still say they support Ms. Harris, even modest erosion in their support could be consequential in a race that is effectively tied.

And such erosion is especially notable for Ms. Harris, who is running to be the nation’s first Black female and first Asian American president in a party that has long argued that a more diverse slate of candidates will inspire loyalty and enthusiasm.

Some Democrats have questioned the recent polling and said that they expected many Black and Latino voters to “come home” to the party by Election Day.

The Times/Siena poll found that roughly one quarter of Black and Latino voters are undecided or not fully decided.

The Harris campaign insists that it is competing hard to engage and turn out those voters, and allies warn against ceding any ground to Mr. Trump.

“The Harris campaign has to fight for these votes,” said Tory Gavito, the president of Way to Win, a liberal political group that has long warned that Democrats are not doing enough to address ***working-class*** voters’ concerns. “Particularly those who already have more economic precarity in their lives, they are frustrated.”

The majority of Black and Latino voters meet political pollsters’ definition of ***working class*** because they do not have a college degree.

These voters are often acutely focused on the economy and their personal financial well-being, leaving Democrats vulnerable after years of inflation. Mr. Trump’s strength on that issue is clear: Although a majority of Black and Latino voters favor Ms. Harris, large shares in both groups said that Mr. Trump would help them personally.

They are also distrustful and disappointed in politics generally: Hispanic voters are effectively split over whether Republicans or Democrats are better at keeping their promises, and large shares in both groups did not say that either party kept its promises.

The polling shows that the gender gap is especially pronounced — with men of all races, ages and education levels far more likely to support Mr. Trump. But the Democratic erosion was not limited to men. Ms. Harris is also underperforming among Black women and Latina voters, especially those without a college degree.

Four years ago, Mr. Biden won 93 percent of Black women voters. Ms. Harris’s support among Black women is at 83 percent, the Times/Siena poll found.

The Harris campaign on Sunday released a memo highlighting [*other polling that showed stronger numbers*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/13/us/elections/times-siena-poll-hispanic-likely-electorate.html) for Ms. Harris among Black and Latino voters. But it has also ramped up outreach. On Monday, the campaign released an agenda focused specifically on Black men. Later this week, Ms. Harris is scheduled for an interview [*with Charlamagne Tha God*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/13/us/elections/times-siena-poll-hispanic-likely-electorate.html), a popular Black radio host who has roundly criticized both parties.

Yet, even as she tries to stem her losses with those groups, Democrats see opportunities to deepen their support among suburban and college-educated white voters, particularly women, who dislike Mr. Trump but have historically been skeptical of the other side.

In the final weeks, when many campaigns focus on turning out supporters, the Harris campaign also plans to keep trying to persuade traditionally right-leaning voters, with [*advertising*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/13/us/elections/times-siena-poll-hispanic-likely-electorate.html) tailored to their concerns and events aimed at Republicans.

“One of the most unique aspects of our coalition is that we have the opportunity to persuade conservative-leaning voters right up until the end,” Lauren Hitt, a spokeswoman for Ms. Harris, said. “Trump’s softness with that group is extraordinary.”

Democrats did not win a majority of white voters overall or white women in the most recent presidential elections, and it is not clear how much room Ms. Harris has to grow. Still, college-educated voters tend to vote at high rates.

The Trump campaign is taking its own risky bet by counting on support from occasional and new voters, who are less reliable. Mr. Trump does better with Black and Latino voters who did not vote in 2020 than with frequent voters.

The Trump campaign has aggressively courted Black and Latino voters this campaign, in part by relying [*on hip-hop artists and influencers online*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/13/us/elections/times-siena-poll-hispanic-likely-electorate.html).

Many Democratic officials have said that they are deeply concerned about how such frustration plays out at the ballot box next month. In swing states across the country, Democratic organizers say they are concerned that voters who have turned out for them in past elections will instead sit this year out.

Isaiah Thomas, a city councilman in Philadelphia who is leading an outreach effort to Black men in support of Ms. Harris, said he rarely finds Black voters planning to vote for Mr. Trump. His bigger concern, he said, was apathy.

“There are people who are thinking about not voting at all,” he said. “That’s a real thing. And I think that’s the biggest push that we have right now.”

In another example of upending assumptions of Democratic campaigns, young Black and Hispanic voters are more likely than older voters to support Mr. Trump, and represent the biggest source of growth for him. And while Ms. Harris has made up significant ground among young voters compared with Mr. Biden earlier this year, young voters alone are unlikely to be enough to make up for lost ground among other demographics.

Celinda Lake, a veteran Democratic pollster, said that compared with Mr. Biden’s coalition, Ms. Harris’s is “a little younger and more female, more women, less men.”

“If you look at the Harris coalition, turnout is really, really important — turnout is more of a problem,” she said. “I think there will be a secret surge vote for Trump. I think there will be a secret surge vote for Harris. And, which is going to be bigger?”

PHOTOS: From left: A Kamala Harris rally Greenville, N.C., on Sunday; a Donald J. Trump supporter in Prescott, Ariz., on Sunday. Republicans have made inroads with ***working-class*** voters across races while Democrats are increasingly the party of upper-income voters. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES; ANNA WATTS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A11) This article appeared in print on page A1, A11.

**Load-Date:** October 15, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Why Are Latinos Fleeing Democrats? Arizona’s New Senator Offers Answers.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DFX-PK81-JBG3-61D8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1539 words

**Byline:** Kellen Browning and Jennifer MedinaKellen Browning is a Times reporter covering the 2024 election, with a focus on the swing states of Nevada and Arizona.

**Highlight:** After a victorious Senate campaign, Ruben Gallego thinks others can follow his lead by signaling that they hear Latino voters’ economic pain. But repeating his success might not be so easy.

**Body**

After a victorious Senate campaign, Ruben Gallego thinks others can follow his lead by signaling that they hear Latino voters’ economic pain. But repeating his success might not be so easy.

The Friday before Election Day, Representative Ruben Gallego invited his supporters to Rancho Ochoa, a rodeo venue in southwestern Phoenix, where they listened to a brass band, cheered as bull riders strained to hold on and watched the dancing horses, a staple of Mexican rodeos.

It was the celebratory culmination of an extensive effort by Mr. Gallego, a Democrat, to target Latino voters as he vied for Arizona’s open Senate seat — an effort that appeared to pay dividends. Even as Latinos, and especially Latino men, shifted drastically away from Democrats this year, and President-elect Donald J. Trump beat Vice President Kamala Harris in Arizona by more than five percentage points, Mr. Gallego won his race by over two points. He seemed to outperform Ms. Harris with Latinos easily.

The shift toward Mr. Trump left Democrats, who have long operated with a belief that demographic change would equal a winning destiny, stunned and scrambling for answers. Some are looking to Mr. Gallego, a plain-talking military veteran and the son of Colombian and Mexican immigrants who has plenty of thoughts on how his party can win back ***working-class*** voters and avoid taking the Latino community for granted.

In an interview, Mr. Gallego said the Democratic Party had failed to address the deep-seated anxiety that Latino men felt over rising prices, which left them unable to provide for their families no matter how much harder they worked.

“Latino men feel like their job is to provide security for their family — economic security and physical security,” he said. “And when that is compromised, they start looking around.”

Mr. Gallego devoted significant resources to courting Latino men in a way that many voters and strategists said felt authentic. And he was quicker than many Democrats to embrace tough stances on the migrant crisis and to speak directly to blue-collar workers’ frustrations with high prices, even as traditional economic indicators were positive.

“I know how hard you’re working, where your wages just haven’t kept up with costs,” he said in [*a television advertisement*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nu0TKNu9J1w) in April. “And that’s not your fault.”

Democrats and Arizona political strategists suggested that there were lessons the party could take from Mr. Gallego’s campaign, but they cautioned that his victory was partly predicated on elements harder to replicate. Mr. Gallego was running against an especially unpopular Republican, Kari Lake, and he himself is a Latino man with a ***working-class*** background. At the same time, he harnessed his Harvard University pedigree and his young family to appeal to suburban white voters.

“You cannot count on his cultural signifiers to win with Latinos,” said Regina Romero, the mayor of Tucson, Ariz. “That is the icing on the cake, but the cake itself has to be built of substance. I believe that as Democrats, we need to double down on working families and fighting for workers.”

Ms. Romero said many of Mr. Gallego’s tactics were also adopted by Ms. Harris, including her emphasis on growing up as the child of immigrants, and pointed out that the candidates whom Mr. Trump and Mr. Gallego defeated have one thing in common: They are women.

As a congressman representing a deep-blue part of Phoenix, Mr. Gallego was known for years as an outspoken progressive, and he and his allies worked from the left to push out Senator Kyrsten Sinema, a Democrat turned independent, after she sided with Republicans to block parts of President Biden’s agenda. (She later announced she would not seek re-election.)

Mr. Gallego’s campaign bet that it could better reach both ***working-class*** voters — especially Latinos — and highly educated white voters in the suburbs by focusing on a kind of everyman aesthetic that highlighted the candidate’s humble beginnings and blue-collar background.

Mr. Gallego speaks often about being raised alongside his three sisters by his mother in Chicago, working at food stands and construction sites as a teenager to support them, and sometimes sleeping on the family’s living room floor. He attended Harvard and fought in the Iraq war as a Marine, seeing combat in a unit that suffered heavy casualties.

As a Senate candidate, he took steps to make it clear that he understood the Latino community, creating niche groups like Jefas (female bosses) con Gallego and Compas (bros) con Gallego, which courted Latino men.

Ilse Rodriguez, Mr. Gallego’s deputy political director who led his Latino outreach, said she worked to ensure that the campaign’s efforts felt genuine. She vetoed a corrido — a Mexican song that tells a story — that out-of-state artists had created about Mr. Gallego because it felt “more techno, Florida-esque, much more East Coast.” She instead recruited a local band.

Ms. Rodriguez persuaded the campaign’s consultants to green-light a flier that mimicked a lotería card — used in a Mexican game similar to bingo — featuring Mr. Gallego, and she planned events aimed at portraying him as a regular person. He got behind the grill at carne asada events, hung out at an auto shop and delivered breakfast tacos to construction workers during early-morning shifts.

Above all, he indicated that he had heard their economic pain.

Mr. Gallego said Democrats had failed to connect the dots on how esoteric pieces of policy, like the bipartisan infrastructure law, were improving people’s lives.

“Until people actually feel something — higher wages, lower costs, more security — you’re not going to get credit,” he said.

He suggested that Democrats lacked a specific initiative that they could point to as helping people immediately, like [*the expanded child tax credit*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nu0TKNu9J1w) that gave monthly payments of up to $300 per child during the coronavirus pandemic but was short-lived. Without something like that to grasp onto, Mr. Gallego said, voters were deciding based on “vibes.”

“If you rely on vibes, you better be vibing better than your opponent,” he said. “And guess what? No one vibes better than freaking Donald Trump.”

Mr. Gallego had a built-in advantage as he bro’d out with Latino men in an effort to win their votes: He actually had the beer-drinking, backslapping macho background to make his actions feel real.

Other candidates “don’t understand that part of the electorate because they’re not a Marine combat veteran who grew up fighting and drinking, literally killing people in another country,” said Chuck Rocha, a veteran Democratic consultant who is friends with Mr. Gallego and advised his campaign. “People try to be Ruben Gallego — not him, per se, but be a man’s man and show ‘I’m tough.’ You can tell they’re faking it.”

That could make it difficult for candidates without Mr. Gallego’s life story and background to replicate his outreach.

Mr. Rocha, though, said it was possible to appeal to blue-collar voters without looking like them or sharing their life experience. Candidates, he said, simply needed to come across as authentic and lean into a message of economic populism.

Mr. Gallego was also quick to react on immigration. In Congress, he was a [*vocal critic*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nu0TKNu9J1w) of some of Mr. Trump’s border-security proposals and signed onto a letter asking Mr. Biden’s administration to end Title 42, a pandemic-era law that allowed for easier expulsion of migrants. But [*he also criticized*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nu0TKNu9J1w) the administration’s lack of preparedness for the surge of migrants, talked tough on border security and spoke frequently with mayors and sheriffs in Arizona’s border region, leading some to endorse him.

He suggested that politicians without a deep understanding of the Latino community continued to assume falsely that Latino voters who support a pathway to citizenship would not also welcome a crackdown at the border.

“They don’t understand, ‘Wait a minute, how can you want those people deported, but not those people deported?’” Mr. Gallego said. “Well, it’s very simple: We don’t identify with those people that are coming over right now.”

Mr. Gallego has long warned against relying solely on identity politics to win over Latinos. In 2020, he [*admonished Democrats*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nu0TKNu9J1w) for using “Latinx,” a gender-neutral term pushed by liberal policymakers but [*derided by many Latinos, in part because it is difficult to say in Spanish*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nu0TKNu9J1w).

He said that he, himself, had successfully employed identity politics in his campaign, with a focus on his background and that he was set to become Arizona’s first Latino senator. But he also consistently hammered his desire to help families by lowering costs.

“You could use identity politics to connect, but you’ve got to deliver an economic message at the end,” Mr. Gallego said. “Right now, there’s these two warring camps, and they’re both wrong. You’re going to have to do both.”

PHOTOS: Senator-elect Ruben Gallego, above, campaigning in Tolleson, Ariz., last month. After highlighting his humble beginnings and blue-collar background, Mr. Gallego easily outperformed his fellow Democrat Vice President Kamala Harris with Latino voters in the state. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CAITLIN O&#39;HARA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; ASH PONDERS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A13.

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[***Trump Still Longs for Oligarchs' Approval***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CRW-TG11-DXY4-X054-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 18, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 3; MICHELLE GOLDBERG

**Length:** 1014 words

**Byline:** By Michelle Goldberg

**Body**

The most consequential moment from Donald Trump's glitchy interview with Elon Musk on Monday came during a discussion of government cost-cutting. ''Well, you, you're the greatest cutter,'' Trump told Musk, before launching, apropos of nothing, into a reverie about how Musk dominates his employees. ''They go on strike,'' said Trump. ''I won't mention the name of the company, but they go on strike and you say, 'That's OK. You're all gone. You're all gone. So every one of you is gone,' and you are the greatest.''

Trump's sympathy with plutocrats over unions is not a surprise, given both his record in office and his desperate desire for the approval and admiration of other billionaires. Though the ex-president made successful electoral appeals to the ***working class*** -- particularly the white ***working class*** -- his record on labor was that of a standard conservative Republican.

He appointed union busters to the National Labor Relations Board, the federal agency that enforces labor law. His Department of Labor reversed the ''persuader'' rule, which had forced transparency on companies waging anti-union propaganda campaigns. His Supreme Court appointees dealt a severe blow to public sector unions in the Janus decision, an outcome Trump celebrated. His signature policy accomplishment was a tax cut that disproportionately benefited the rich.

Nevertheless, Trump's jocular delight in a centibillionaire's war on labor shocked some of his populist sympathizers. Sean O'Brien, who last month was the first Teamsters president to speak at a Republican National Convention, told Politico, ''Firing workers for organizing, striking and exercising their rights as Americans is economic terrorism.'' The conservative writer and editor Sohrab Ahmari, one of the rare figures in the new right to take organized labor seriously, wrote, ''By cheering Musk's brutal treatment of his workers, the Trump campaign has sadly vindicated those who saw its pro-worker rhetoric as a mere facade.''

It's easy to roll one's eyes at anyone gullible enough to imagine that Trump was ever serious about curbing the influence of concentrated wealth. This is a man, after all, who consistently stiffed his own workers, and who ran a fake university that scammed his economically vulnerable fans. But if Trump's oligarchic orientation hasn't changed, the way he talks about the economy has. ''Why has Trump stopped attacking big business?'' asked a recent essay by Matt Stoller, a progressive writer and activist who's been willing to make common cause with right-wing populists like Senator Josh Hawley of Missouri in the name of fighting corporate power.

Stoller compared the language Trump used in his first presidential campaign, when he regularly attacked Wall Street and corporate America, to his more recent speeches. ''In terms of what he promises, he's mostly stopped challenging big corporations, except in cultural terms acceptable to Wall Street,'' wrote Stoller. You could see this in the meandering speech about economics that Trump delivered on Wednesday afternoon. At one point, he invited the Wall Street investor Scott Bessent -- who, as it happens, is the former chief investment officer of George Soros's Soros Fund Management -- to the podium, calling him ''one of the greatest on all of Wall Street respected by everybody.'' He said next to nothing about corporate greed, workers' rights, or breaking up Big Tech.

Aside from his plan to levy heavy tariffs on imported goods, Trump often sounded like an ordinary Republican promising fiscal austerity. ''We will stop wasteful spending and big government special-interest giveaways and finally stand up for the American taxpayer,'' he said. Ahmari lamented, ''He's running a conventional G.O.P. message but meaner.''

The reason for the ex-president's change in tone seems obvious. Trump might once have shared ***working-class*** resentments against elites in business and finance, but only because he felt disrespected by them. The antimonopoly cases brought by his administration often seemed intended to punish his adversaries rather than promote competitive markets. When Trump tried to stop AT&T from acquiring Time Warner, wrote The New Yorker's Jane Mayer, ''many people suspected that his objection was a matter of petty retaliation against CNN,'' a Time Warner subsidiary. His administration launched antitrust cases against tech companies that he accused of censoring conservative viewpoints.

But since then, the politics of Big Tech have changed, with many Silicon Valley titans, Musk chief among them, lining up behind Trump. So have many figures on Wall Street, who've been angered by Joe Biden's policies increasing protections for workers and consumers. These multimillionaires and billionaires are the people whose approbation Trump has always wanted, and whose financial support he needs, particularly since he could go to prison if he loses this campaign.

And so he's come out for many things he once opposed, including cryptocurrency, TikTok and, in least in theory, electric cars, though he's still against Biden's pro-electric vehicle policies. ''Trump Keeps Flip-Flopping His Policy Positions After Meeting With Rich People,'' said a Politico headline.

After Trump's election in 2016, there was a long and often frustrating debate about whether he owed his gains with the ***working class*** to his break with conservative economic orthodoxy or to his indulgence of cultural grievance. It will be interesting, then, to see if his warm embrace of America's economic overlords costs him ***working-class*** support.

He clearly doesn't think it will. ''Today we are going to talk about one subject,'' he said near the start of his speech on economics. ''They say it's the most important subject. I'm not sure it is.''

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/16/opinion/trump-labor-****working-class****.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/16/opinion/trump-labor-working-class.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page SR3.

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[***Revisiting the Harlem Renaissance***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCT-G711-DXY4-X28R-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 10, 2024 Sunday 01:44 EST

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1850 words

**Byline:** Veronica ChambersVeronica Chambers is the editor of Narrative Projects, a team dedicated to starting up multi-layered series and packages at The Times.

**Highlight:** Why the era still resonates a century later.

**Body**

Why the era still resonates a century later.

I’m a Brooklyn girl, but I’m low-key obsessed with the Harlem Renaissance. I’ve written a book about the era and taught its literature at universities. I can, and often do, spend whole weekends rereading Langston Hughes and Zora Neale Hurston, listening to Louis Armstrong and Duke Ellington, thumbing through books featuring artwork by Aaron Douglas and Augusta Savage.

But what brings me back to the Renaissance again and again is the way it changed this country. When the movement started a century ago, the United States was finally creating our own distinctly original culture — songs and dances, paintings and novels. We were looking less to Europe as a model of creativity. And in this moment — the 1920s, in New York City, both uptown and downtown — we become more wholly American.

This year, a team of Times journalists marked the 100th anniversary of the Harlem Renaissance with [*a series examining its vibrant history*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html).

We began with a little-known dinner party that took place on March 21, 1924, an unprecedented interracial gathering that included such luminaries as W.E.B. Du Bois, Carl Van Doren and Alain Locke, as well as up-and-coming writers like Gwendolyn Bennett and Countee Cullen.

Even today, in New York, this kind of gathering is rare. The purpose of the dinner was to marry talent to opportunity, connecting writers with editors and critics, and it was a wild success: In the decade after the dinner, Renaissance writers published more than 40 volumes of fiction, nonfiction and poetry, works that transformed the literary landscape of our nation. You can read about the dinner party (and the friendships, feuds and affairs that it launched) in [*this piece*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html).

The Harlem Renaissance is not only a historical story. The 1920s were called the Jazz Age because the music, and the movements that it inspired, gave the decade a distinctly American groove, one that persists to this day. Imani Perry — who recently won the National Book Award for her work, “South to America: A Journey Below the Mason-Dixon to Understand the Soul of a Nation” — is also, as it turns out, a dance enthusiast. For our series, she interviewed three choreographers who are keeping the dance traditions of the Renaissance alive in their work. For days, the studios of The Times were filled with some of the finest dancers in the nation doing the lindy hop, swing and gravity-defying tap routines. You can [*see the results (and dance along) here, with stunning video and photography*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html).

Harlem in the 1920s was a powerful space of sexual exploration and freedom. Many argue that the neighborhood was as important to the development of queer life in New York as the West Village was, in part because it offered queer men and women a chance to interact without the racial restrictions of the era. Working with The Times’s graphics team, we created [*a map of queer Harlem*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html), one that you could open on your phone for a self-guided tour. It features places like Hamilton Lodge, which held drag balls going back to the 19th century; clubs where entertainers like Ma Rainey, Gladys Bentley and Jimmie Daniels performed; and homes where Alain Locke, Ethel Waters, Langston Hughes and so many others lived, loved and made art.

Years ago, Ann Douglas, author of “Terrible Honesty: Mongrel Manhattan in the 1920s,” a seminal text on the subject of New York in the 1920s, told The Times: “I have the unfashionable posture of loving my country. I don’t mean in the sense of the Pledge of Allegiance, but in that I believe America was founded on complex social, religious and political ideas and feelings, and that it is still the most exciting culture, the one where there is the most hope for the most people.” We invite you to read through these pieces, which represent a remarkable array of American ingenuity and creativity, a celebration of not only our past but all that is yet to come.

More from the series

* During the Harlem Renaissance, some Black people hosted rent parties — [*celebrations with an undercurrent of desperation*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html) in the face of racism and discrimination.

1. Gwendolyn Bennett was a talented young poet and artist who was central to a fledgling cultural movement, but [*her life was shrouded by tragedy*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html).
2. The women who ran libraries during the Renaissance didn’t just build collections. They built [*communities of writers and readers*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html).

THE LATEST NEWS

2024 Election

* President Biden promised to support and protect unions. Under Donald Trump, [*the approach is likely to change*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html).

1. Immigration lawyers are [*preparing to battle Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html) in court again.
2. Trump [*won’t have Nikki Haley or Mike Pompeo*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html) in his new administration. In his appointments, he is navigating ideological differences within his party.
3. Europe [*lacks a strong leader*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html) to create a bulwark against Trumpism. The French and German governments are politically struggling at home.
4. Vice President Kamala Harris will leave office in January with no concrete plans about what to do next. [*Here are six options*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html).

* “Saturday Night Live” [*joked about the election*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html).

International

* Amsterdam [*banned demonstrations*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html) under an emergency order and mobilized additional police officers after what city officials described as antisemitic attacks on Israeli soccer fans. [*Read about the attacks*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html).
* The Russian military has assembled 50,000 soldiers, including North Korean troops, to [*push back Ukrainian troops inside Russia*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html).

Other Big Stories

* Among the many things that Hurricane Helene swept away are hundreds of treasured family photographs. A detective is picking them out of the dirt, [*and helping return them*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html).

1. She was a child Instagram influencer, known for snowboarding. [*Her fans were adult men*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html).

THE SUNDAY DEBATE

Was it Harris’s election to lose?

No. Harris’s biggest problems were inflation and a global anti-incumbency bias. “***Working-class*** Americans are clearly saying they don’t think the current system works for them, and they’re ready to try almost anything to change it,” [*The Washington Post’s Heather Long writes*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html).

Yes. Instead of focusing on how she would govern, Harris propped herself as nothing more than a centrist alternative to Trump. “You cannot win a hundred-day campaign simply by promising who you are not, whether that be Trump or President Joe Biden,” [*Connor Foote writes for The Daily Tar Heel*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html).

FROM OPINION

Photographers at Harris’s watch party at Howard University in Washington, D.C., and Trump’s in West Palm Beach, Fla., [*captured true believers*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html).

Unwinnable wars now [*have liberal support*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html) — and they will only get worse if those leaders do not acknowledge the costs, Ruben Andersson and David Keen write.

Democrats lost because Biden — who selected Harris as his running mate and tied her to his own immigration failures — [*set the party up to fail*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html), Josh Barro argues.

Democrats are [*waking up and realizing “woke is broke,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html) Maureen Dowd writes.

Here’s a column by Ross Douthat on [*how Democrats helped Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html) and Nicholas Kristof on [***working-class*** *pain*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html).

MORNING READS

Country star: Shaboozey received six Grammy nominations, including song of the year. [*Read about his rise*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html).

Sadness: [*Technology and loneliness are linked*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html), scholars say.

Routine: How the choreographer of an Off Broadway drag show [*spends his Sundays*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html).

Health: See eight factors that [*could raise your heart disease risk*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html).

Vows: First they built a relationship. [*Then they built a real-estate brand*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html).

Lives Lived: Bobby Allison was a NASCAR Hall of Fame driver who became one of stock-car racing’s most popular figures. [*He died at 86*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html).

BOOK OF THE WEEK

“Into the Uncut Grass,” by Trevor Noah: “If imagination is the rocket, then books are the rocket fuel. They supercharge the mind and help it see beyond what it can conceive on its own,” Noah writes in the introduction to this soothing picture book for all ages. Accompanied by Calvin and Hobbes-esque illustrations from Sabina Hahn, we follow a boy and a teddy bear beyond the confines of a gated yard into the wider world. Adventure awaits, as do lessons on connection, compromise and making peace while remaining true to who we are. Noah’s message couldn’t be more timely.

THE INTERVIEW

This week’s subject for The Interview is Representative Nancy Pelosi, the former House speaker, who was eager to move past the presidential election and dismissive of the idea that the result is a rebuke of the Democratic Party.

When you look at what happened on Tuesday, you can see it in two ways. You can see that the country embraced Trump or you can see that they rejected the Democratic Party more broadly and the Biden-Harris administration. How do you see it?

Well, I don’t see the Democratic Party more broadly. We lost two seats in the House, and we expect to pick up some more to offset that. Right now, we’re about even. So I don’t think whatever you said, with all due respect, applies to the House Democrats.

House races are run very locally. They message specifically for their district. But the brand of the Democratic Party over all seems to have been hurt this election cycle.

Well, we lost the presidential election, [but] in many cases, our Democrats in the House ran ahead of the presidential ticket. So, your branding that we all got rejected, we didn’t. We’re still in the fight right now, and it’s going to be a very close call. I don’t see it as an outright rejection of the Democratic Party. Now, I do have a discomfort level with some of the Democrats right now who are saying, “Oh, we abandoned the ***working class***.” No, we didn’t. That’s who we are. We are the kitchen table, ***working-class*** party of America.

[*Read more of the interview here*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html).

THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE

Click the cover image above to read this week’s magazine.

THE MORNING RECOMMENDS …

Try a [*beginner dumbbell workout*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html).

Customize your Kindle [*for cozy reading sessions*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html).

Invest in [*self-care*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html).

MEAL PLAN

In this week’s [*Five Weeknight Dishes newsletter*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html), Emily Weinstein suggests two simple dishes from Eric Kim: salt-and-vinegar baked fish and chips, featuring frozen French fries; and peanut butter noodles, a bowl that fuses Parmesan and peanut butter for a salty and satisfying sauce for ramen or spaghetti.

NOW TIME TO PLAY

Here is [*today’s Spelling Bee*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html). Yesterday’s pangrams were bogeying and obeying.

Can you put eight historical events — including the building of the Colosseum, the Blitz, and creation of Sherlock Holmes — in chronological order? [*Take this week’s Flashback quiz*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html).

And here are [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html), [*Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html), [*Sudoku*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html), [*Connections*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html) and [*Strands*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html).

Thanks for spending part of your weekend with The Times.

[*Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html). Reach our team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/arts/harlem-renaissance-100-anniversary.html).

PHOTOS: Clockwise from top left: W. E. B. Du Bois in the office of The Crisis magazine; guests at a party for Langston Hughes (second from left) in Harlem in 1925; “Barbecue,” a 1934 oil painting by Archibald J. Motley Jr.; Ma Rainey, the “Mother of the Blues,” and her Georgia Jazz Band in the 1920s. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY; SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY; CHICAGO HISTORY MUSEUM / ESTATE OF ARCHIBALD JOHN MOTLEY JR., VIA BRIDGEMAN IMAGES; JP JAZZ ARCHIVES/REDFERNS) This article appeared in print on page A2.

**Load-Date:** November 15, 2024

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[***In Pennsylvania, Casey Concedes to His Challenger In a Tight Senate Election***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DGB-8KR1-DXY4-X0X2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 22, 2024 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 16

**Length:** 1016 words

**Byline:** By Katie Glueck

**Body**

Mr. McCormick, a Republican former hedge-fund executive, toppled Mr. Casey, a three-term Democrat, in one of the nation's top Senate races and biggest 2024 upsets.

Senator Bob Casey, a three-term Democrat from Pennsylvania long seen as an institution in state politics, was defeated on Thursday by his Republican challenger, the former hedge-fund executive David McCormick, in a stunning upset in one of the nation's top Senate races.

Mr. Casey conceded on Thursday shortly before The New York Times called the race for Mr. McCormick, whose lead of less than half a percentage point had triggered a recount. As Republicans looked to add Pennsylvania to their win column after seizing control of the Senate, the post-election period set off a legal battle between the two sides.

''This race was one of the closest in our commonwealth's history,'' Mr. Casey said in a statement. ''I am grateful to the thousands of people who worked to make sure every eligible vote cast could be counted.''

In his second time running for Senate in Pennsylvania, Mr. McCormick channeled the sour national mood into a victory over a well-established incumbent in a top battleground state. Republicans will now hold a 53-to-47 advantage in the Senate in addition to narrowly controlling the House, giving President-elect Donald J. Trump more flexibility to pursue his agenda.

Perhaps no electoral outcome this year better illustrates the Democratic Party's challenges with white ***working-class*** voters than Mr. Casey's defeat.

Mr. Casey, a mild-mannered Scranton native and longtime close ally of President Biden's -- as well as an early supporter of former President Barack Obama's -- is the son of a popular former governor of Pennsylvania. His family name has long been synonymous with conservative Democrats even as those voters have shifted hard against the party in the Trump era.

Mr. Casey's loss was all the more surprising because he had been seen as one of his party's strongest incumbents, and Democrats in several other tough races -- in Michigan, Wisconsin and Nevada -- managed to prevail.

He ran as a populist, lashing big corporations for what he called ''greedflation'' and promising to fight for middle- and ***working-class*** Americans.

But he faced gale-force headwinds as the presidential race reached its conclusion, and Pennsylvania proved especially difficult for the Democratic Party in federal races this year. Mr. Trump won the state, and Republicans flipped two House seats.

Mr. McCormick, a West Point graduate who lost the G.O.P. Senate primary race in 2022, found his footing in seeking to tie Mr. Casey to Vice President Kamala Harris. He zeroed in on her past support for banning fracking, even though she no longer holds that view and Mr. Casey opposes fracking bans.

Mr. McCormick, whose wife, Dina Powell McCormick, served in Mr. Trump's administration, did not shy away from appearing with the former president. But he also held events with more traditional Republicans, like Nikki Haley, the former South Carolina governor and presidential candidate. And he tried to make inroads in the moderate Philadelphia suburbs that have recoiled from the Trump-led Republican Party.

In a statement on Thursday, Mr. McCormick said Mr. Casey had ''dedicated his career to bettering our commonwealth,'' and he thanked the Casey family before sounding a triumphant note.

''I am so honored to represent every single citizen in Pennsylvania in the United States Senate and will fight for you every day,'' he said.

Gov. Josh Shapiro of Pennsylvania, a Democrat, congratulated Mr. McCormick in a statement on Thursday night, expressing optimism about ''partnering with him to get stuff done for our great commonwealth.'' He also thanked Mr. Casey for his decades in public life.

''His partnership and spirit of service has inspired me and has led to meaningful progress here in Pennsylvania,'' Mr. Shapiro said.

Mr. Casey is beloved among many Pennsylvania Democrats, and he won his previous Senate bids by significant margins: 13 percentage points in 2018, nine points in 2012 and 17 percentage points in 2006. That year he ousted Senator Rick Santorum, a Republican, running at the time as a socially conservative Democrat, though he later moderated those views.

''It feels like an end of an era,'' said former Representative Patrick Murphy, a Pennsylvania Democrat. ''He's been an incredible champion for working families, so it's definitely a solemn moment.''

Throughout this year's race, Democrats believed Mr. McCormick had significant political liabilities.

They used conservative positions that he had taken during his 2022 primary against him, especially on abortion rights, an issue he tried to mitigate by emphasizing his opposition to a national abortion ban.

Democrats also cast him as a rich man who was out of touch with the needs of working people. He faced scrutiny of his business record and questions about his residency: The Associated Press reported in 2023 that while he owned a home in Pittsburgh, public records showed that he still lived in and rented a $16 million mansion in Westport, Conn.

And while Mr. McCormick had repeatedly claimed that he grew up on a family farm, The Times reported that he had given a misleading impression about key aspects of his upbringing.

But Mr. McCormick, portraying Mr. Casey as an ineffectual career politician who had been in Washington too long, was able to tap into deep frustration with the Democratic White House and Senate to claim the mantle of change.

''I want to thank the people of Pennsylvania for granting me the privilege of serving them for 28 consecutive years in public office,'' Mr. Casey said in his statement, invoking his long career in public life. ''Thank you for the trust you have placed in me for all these years.''

Senator John Fetterman, the Democrat who holds Pennsylvania's other Senate seat, released a notably raw statement.

''This hits me,'' he said. ''Bob Casey was, is and always will be Pennsylvania's best senator.''

Billy Witz contributed reporting.Billy Witz contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/21/us/politics/bob-casey-david-mccormick-pennsylvania-senate.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/21/us/politics/bob-casey-david-mccormick-pennsylvania-senate.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: ''This race was one of the closest in our commonwealth's history,'' Senator Bob Casey said. (PHOTOGRAPH BY RUTH FREMSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A16.

**Load-Date:** November 22, 2024

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[***Why Isn't Harris Running Away With This?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D6W-4HM1-DXY4-X3Y9-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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Copyright 2024 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 21; DAVID BROOKS

**Length:** 1627 words

**Byline:** By David Brooks

**Body**

Two big things baffle me about this election. The first is: Why are the polls so immobile? In mid-June the race between President Biden and Donald Trump was neck and neck. Since then, we've had a blizzard of big events, and still the race is basically where it was in June. It started out tied and has only gotten closer.

We supposedly live in a country in which a plurality of voters are independents. You'd think they'd behave, well, independently and get swayed by events. But no. In our era the polling numbers barely move.

The second thing that baffles me is: Why has politics been 50-50 for over a decade? We've had big shifts in the electorate, college-educated voters going left and non-college-educated voters going right. But still, the two parties are almost exactly evenly matched.

This is not historically normal. Usually we have one majority party that has a big vision for the country, and then we have a minority party that tries to poke holes in that vision. (In the 1930s the Democrats dominated with the New Deal, and the Republicans complained. In the 1980s the Reagan revolution dominated, and the Democrats tried to adjust.)

But today neither party has been able to expand its support to create that kind of majority coalition. As the American Enterprise Institute scholars Ruy Teixeira and Yuval Levin note in a new study, ''Politics Without Winners,'' we have two parties playing the role of minority party: ''Each party runs campaigns focused almost entirely on the faults of the other, with no serious strategy for significantly broadening its electoral reach.''

Teixeira and Levin observe that both parties are content to live with deadlock. The parties, they write, ''have prioritized the wishes of their most intensely devoted voters -- who would never vote for the other party -- over the priorities of winnable voters who could go either way.'' Both parties ''treat narrow victories like landslides and wave away narrow defeats, somehow seeing both as confirmation of their existing strategies.''

Trump has spent the past nine years not even trying to expand his base but just playing to the same MAGA grievances over and over again. Kamala Harris refuses to break with Biden on any significant issue and is running as a paint-by-numbers orthodox Democrat. Neither party tolerates much ideological diversity. Neither party has a plausible strategy to build a durable majority coalition. Why?

I think the reason for all this is that political parties no longer serve the function they used to. In days gone by, parties were political organizations designed to win elections and gain power. Party leaders would expand their coalitions toward that end. Today, on the other hand, in an increasingly secular age, political parties are better seen as religious organizations that exist to provide believers with meaning, membership and moral sanctification. If that's your purpose, of course you have to stick to the existing gospel. You have to focus your attention on affirming the creed of the current true believers. You get so buried within the walls of your own catechism, you can't even imagine what it would be like to think outside it.

When parties were primarily political organizations, they were led by elected officials and party bosses. Now that parties are more like quasi-religions, power lies with priesthood -- the dispersed array of media figures, podcast hosts and activists who run the conversation, define party orthodoxy and determine the boundaries of acceptable belief.

Let's look at the Democratic Party. The Democrats have huge advantages in America today. Unlike their opponents, they are not a threat to democracy. Voters trust them on issues like health care and are swinging their way on issues like abortion. They have a great base from which to potentially expand their coalition and build their majority. All they have to do is address their weaknesses, the places where they are out of step with most Americans.

The problem is that where you find their weaknesses, there you find the priesthood. The public conversation on the Democratic side of things is dominated by highly educated urban progressives who work in academia, the media, the activist groups and so on. These folks have a highly developed and self-confident worldview -- a comprehensive critique of American society. The only problem is that this worldview is rejected by most Americans, who don't share the critique. The more the Democrats embrace the priesthood's orthodoxy, the more it loses ***working-class*** voters, including Hispanic and Black ***working-class*** voters.

For example, the progressive priesthood, quite admirably, is committed to fighting racial oppression. Its members believe that the way to do that is to be hyperaware of racial categories -- in the diversity, equity and inclusion way -- in order to rearrange preferences to support historically oppressed groups.

Most Americans also seek to fight racism, but they seek to do it in a different way. Their goal is to reduce the salience of racial categories so that people's talents and initiative determine their life outcomes. According to a 2022 University of Southern California survey of Americans, 92 percent of respondents agreed with this statement: ''Our goal as a society should be to treat all people the same without regard to the color of their skin.'' Which is why only a third of Americans in a recent Pew Research Center survey said they supported using race as a factor in college admissions.

Or take energy. Most members of the Democratic clerisy are properly alarmed by climate change and believe we should rapidly shift from fossil fuels. Liberal white college graduates favor eliminating fossil fuels by two to one. It's no skin off their teeth; they work on laptops.

But if you live in Oklahoma or work in an industry that runs on oil, coal or natural gas, this idea seems like an assault on your way of life, which, of course, it is. An overwhelming 72 percent of Americans favor an all-of-the-above approach, relying on both renewables and traditional energy sources.

Or take immigration. Highly educated white progressives tend to see the immigration and asylum issue through the lens of oppressor and oppressed: The people coming across our border are fleeing horror in their home countries. But most Americans see immigration through a law-and-order lens: We need to control our boundaries, preserve social order and take care of our own. In a June CBS survey 62 percent of Americans, including 53 percent of Hispanics, said they supported a program to deport undocumented immigrants -- the most extreme version of this approach.

On these, as on so many other issues, the position that is held by a vast majority of Americans is unsayable in highly educated progressive circles. The priesthood has established official doctrine, and woe to anyone who contradicts it.

The Republicans have exactly the same dynamic, except their priesthood is dominated by shock jocks, tech bros and Christian nationalists, some of whom are literally members of the priesthood.

Harris clearly understands the problem. She has tried to run her campaign to show she is in tune with majority opinions. In a classic 2018 More in Common report, only 45 percent of the most liberal group in the survey said they were proud to be American. But Harris festooned her convention with patriotic symbols to the rafters. She's now explicitly running on the theme: country before party.

But in just the few months she has had to campaign, Harris can't turn around the Democratic Party's entire identity. Plus, her gestures have all been stylistic; she hasn't challenged Democratic orthodoxy on any substantive issue. Finally, candidates no longer have the ultimate power over what the party stands for. The priesthood -- the people who dominate the national conversation -- has the power.

The result is that each party has its own metaphysics. Each party is no longer just a political organism; it is a political-cultural-religious-class entity that organizes the social, moral and psychological lives of its believers.

Each party's metaphysic seems to grow more rigid and impermeable as time goes by. Sometimes it seems that Harris is running not to be president of the United States but to be president of a theme park called Democratic Magic Mountain, while Trump is running to be president of Republican Fantasy Island. Each party has become too narcissistic to get outside its own head and try to build a coalition with people outside the camp of true believers.

The political problem for Harris is that there are a lot more Americans without a college degree than with one. Class is growing more salient in American life, with Hispanic and Black ***working-class*** voters shifting steadily over to the ***working-class*** party, the G.O.P.

The problem for Trump is that he is even better at repelling potential converts than the Democrats. He'd be winning landslides if he had tried to wedge MAGA Republicans into a coalition with Bush-McCain Republicans, but he's incapable of that.

The problem for the rest of us is that we're locked into this perpetual state of suspended animation in which the two parties are deadlocked and nothing ever changes. I keep running into people who are rooting for divided government for the next four years. It will mean that America will be able to do little to solve its problems. They see this as the least bad option.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/17/opinion/harris-trump-close-race.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/17/opinion/harris-trump-close-race.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY IOULEX FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A21.

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[***Newsom to Visit California’s Trump Country: ‘Message Received’***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DG5-B3G1-DXY4-X01G-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US

**Length:** 1062 words

**Byline:** Shawn HublerShawn Hubler is based in Sacramento and covers California news, policy trends and personalities. She has been a journalist for more than four decades.

**Highlight:** Gov. Gavin Newsom acknowledged that residents were frustrated by economic problems and said that Democrats needed to address their concerns.

**Body**

Gov. Gavin Newsom acknowledged that residents were frustrated by economic problems and said that Democrats needed to address their concerns.

On Thursday, Gov. Gavin Newsom made the first of three post-election visits to California counties that Donald J. Trump won in the presidential race, reaching out to ***working-class*** voters in the Central Valley who remain frustrated by economic woes.

The appearance in Fresno, to unveil a new economic development system, came as [*interviews and polls*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/harris-voters-democracy.html) have shown that [*economic and class divisions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/harris-voters-democracy.html) were key to Mr. Trump’s return to power.

With Democrats still mulling over their presidential and congressional losses, Mr. Newsom told a gathering at an apprenticeship program that it was clear that Americans felt “on edge, unmoored, uneasy.”

“You know, some people talk about this economy is booming, inflation is cooling, lowest unemployment in our lifetimes,” he said. “But people don’t feel that way. They feel like the economy is not supportive. They feel like the economy is not nourishing.”

In an earlier interview, the governor said that his party needed to learn from the recent election and to address the struggles of American workers.

“A lot of people feel like they’re losing their identity or losing their future,” Mr. Newsom said. “Message received.”

A leading Democrat who has been viewed as a potential 2028 presidential contender, California’s governor has long been a pointed critic of Mr. Trump. Over the past two and a half weeks, he has indicated that he expects his state and the Trump administration to [*repeat the pitched battle*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/harris-voters-democracy.html) they waged during Mr. Trump’s first term, when California sued the federal government more than 120 times.

The governor’s immediate response after the Nov. 5 election was to call his state’s Democrat-dominated legislature into an emergency special session that would start in December. Mr. Newsom urged Democrats to “stand firm” against expected efforts by Mr. Trump to deport immigrants, further limit reproductive rights and weaken environmental regulation.

[*In a video address*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/harris-voters-democracy.html) shortly after the election, however, Mr. Newsom said that “my job is not to wake up every single day and get a crowbar and try to put it in the spokes of the wheel of the Trump administration.”

On Wednesday, the governor said he felt it was critical to counter Republican claims that Democrats had failed ***working-class*** residents. During the campaign, he said, he sensed that his defense of President Biden’s economic record “wasn’t landing.”

“People are being left behind, their regions are being left behind,” the governor said. “We as a party will be history if we don’t heed the call to address the economy.”

Though dominated by Democrats, California has a conservative streak that runs from the rural far north, down through the Central Valley and into inland Southern California suburbs. Mr. Newsom has two years left before term limits require him to leave office, during which he will have to work with the Trump administration.

Fresno County had voted for Democrats in four consecutive presidential elections dating back to President Obama’s first win in 2008. But this year, voters went for Mr. Trump. Mr. Newsom also soon plans to head to Kern and Colusa counties, which have been Republican strongholds.

Ashley Swearengin, a former Republican mayor of Fresno who has since registered as an independent voter, said that California leaders have historically taken economic growth for granted and argued that state programs were not needed to advance the economy.

For much of the state, that was true, she said, but not for the Central Valley: “We were all like, Cool to be you, but sucks to be us.”

She said the day before the election, she saw the longest convoy of Trump supporters she had ever seen at a stoplight in North Fresno.

“It had to have been at least 50 vehicles,” she said. “Just truck after truck after truck after truck after truck.”

Since his 2018 election, Mr. Newsom has intentionally frequented parts of the state that don’t support him. Driven by a California Highway Patrol security detail, he travels by car, wending his way down rural highways still dotted with signs demanding his recall.

“It has served no political benefit,” he said, laughing off suggestions that the trips might also road-test his presidential prospects. “But I want everyone to know I hear them, and I see them.”

Democrats in California have long succeeded by making Mr. Trump a foil in their messaging because the former Republican president has been unpopular among voters in the state. But in Mr. Trump’s second term, leaders like Mr. Newsom may find the same line of attack to be less effective.

“He may want to be the hero of the Trump resistance,” said Dan Schnur, a political analyst who teaches at the University of Southern California, Pepperdine University and the University of California, Berkeley. “But while fighting with Trump is part of his path forward, it can’t be the only thing he does.”

Mr. Newsom’s economic development overhaul has been underway since before the pandemic but will formally take effect early next year, said Dee Dee Myers, director of the Governor’s Office of Business and Economic Development. Drafted by more than 10,000 representatives of labor, business, schools, tribal councils and other community interests, the plan will focus on creating jobs and distributing state economic funds through a regional approach that goes beyond power centers like Los Angeles and the Silicon Valley.

The Central Valley, for instance, is an agricultural engine with more than five million people, but unemployment there tends to be higher and median incomes lower than in most of California. In the four-county region around Fresno that presented Mr. Newsom with its plan on Thursday, roughly one in five residents live in poverty and one in seven has less than a high school education, according to census data.

That disparity has increasingly come with a political cost: Although final vote tallies are still pending, more than 57 percent of the region’s presidential ballots so far have been cast for Mr. Trump.

PHOTO: Gov. Gavin Newsom acknowledged that people in California were frustrated by economic problems, and said that Democrats needed to address their concerns. “Message received,” Mr. Newsom said. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIC THAYER/ASSOCIATED PRESS) This article appeared in print on page A17.

**Load-Date:** November 21, 2024

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[***David McCormick Defeats Senator Bob Casey in Pennsylvania***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DG6-VKM1-JBG3-62XS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1034 words

**Byline:** Katie GlueckKatie Glueck covers American politics with a focus on the Democratic Party.

**Highlight:** Mr. McCormick, a Republican former hedge-fund executive, toppled Mr. Casey, a three-term Democrat, in one of the nation’s top Senate races and biggest 2024 upsets.

**Body**

Mr. McCormick, a Republican former hedge-fund executive, toppled Mr. Casey, a three-term Democrat, in one of the nation’s top Senate races and biggest 2024 upsets.

Senator Bob Casey, a three-term Democrat from Pennsylvania long seen as an institution in state politics, was defeated on Thursday by his Republican challenger, the former hedge-fund executive [*David McCormick*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/18/us/politics/david-mccormick-pennsylvania-senate.html), in a stunning upset in one of the nation’s top Senate races.

Mr. Casey conceded on Thursday shortly before The New York Times called the race for Mr. McCormick, whose lead of less than half a percentage point had triggered a recount. As Republicans looked to add Pennsylvania to their win column after [*seizing control of the Senate*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/18/us/politics/david-mccormick-pennsylvania-senate.html), the post-election period [*set off a legal battle*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/18/us/politics/david-mccormick-pennsylvania-senate.html) between the two sides.

“This race was one of the closest in our commonwealth’s history,” Mr. Casey said in a statement. “I am grateful to the thousands of people who worked to make sure every eligible vote cast could be counted.”

In his second time running for Senate in Pennsylvania, Mr. McCormick channeled the sour national mood into a victory over a well-established incumbent in a top battleground state. Republicans will now hold a 53-to-47 advantage in the Senate in addition to narrowly controlling the House, giving President-elect Donald J. Trump more flexibility to pursue his agenda.

Perhaps no electoral outcome this year better illustrates the [*Democratic Party’s challenges with white* ***working-class*** *voters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/18/us/politics/david-mccormick-pennsylvania-senate.html) than Mr. Casey’s defeat.

Mr. Casey, a mild-mannered Scranton native and longtime [*close ally of President Biden’s*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/18/us/politics/david-mccormick-pennsylvania-senate.html) — as well as an [*early supporter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/18/us/politics/david-mccormick-pennsylvania-senate.html) of former President Barack Obama’s — is the son of a [*popular former governor*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/18/us/politics/david-mccormick-pennsylvania-senate.html) of Pennsylvania. His family name has long been synonymous with conservative Democrats even as those voters have [*shifted hard against the party*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/18/us/politics/david-mccormick-pennsylvania-senate.html) in the Trump era.

Mr. Casey’s loss was all the more surprising because he had been seen as one of his party’s strongest incumbents, and Democrats in several other tough races — in [*Michigan*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/18/us/politics/david-mccormick-pennsylvania-senate.html), [*Wisconsin*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/18/us/politics/david-mccormick-pennsylvania-senate.html) and [*Nevada*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/18/us/politics/david-mccormick-pennsylvania-senate.html) — managed to prevail.

He ran as a populist, lashing big corporations for what he called “[*greedflation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/18/us/politics/david-mccormick-pennsylvania-senate.html)” and promising to fight for middle- and ***working-class*** Americans.

But he faced gale-force headwinds as the presidential race reached its conclusion, and Pennsylvania proved especially difficult for the Democratic Party in federal races this year. Mr. Trump won the state, and Republicans flipped two House seats.

Mr. McCormick, a West Point graduate who lost the G.O.P. Senate primary race in 2022, found his footing in seeking to tie Mr. Casey to Vice President Kamala Harris. [*He zeroed in*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/18/us/politics/david-mccormick-pennsylvania-senate.html) on her past support for banning fracking, even though she [*no longer holds that view*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/18/us/politics/david-mccormick-pennsylvania-senate.html) and Mr. Casey [*opposes fracking bans*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/18/us/politics/david-mccormick-pennsylvania-senate.html).

Mr. McCormick, whose wife, Dina Powell McCormick, served in Mr. Trump’s administration, did not shy away from appearing with the former president. But he also [*held events*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/18/us/politics/david-mccormick-pennsylvania-senate.html) with more traditional Republicans, like Nikki Haley, the former South Carolina governor and presidential candidate. And he tried to make inroads in the moderate Philadelphia suburbs that have recoiled from the Trump-led Republican Party.

In a statement on Thursday, Mr. McCormick said Mr. Casey had “dedicated his career to bettering our commonwealth,” and he thanked the Casey family before sounding a triumphant note.

“I am so honored to represent every single citizen in Pennsylvania in the United States Senate and will fight for you every day,” he said.

Gov. Josh Shapiro of Pennsylvania, a Democrat, congratulated Mr. McCormick in a statement on Thursday night, [*expressing optimism*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/18/us/politics/david-mccormick-pennsylvania-senate.html) about “partnering with him to get stuff done for our great commonwealth.” He also thanked Mr. Casey for his decades in public life.

“His partnership and spirit of service has inspired me and has led to meaningful progress here in Pennsylvania,” Mr. Shapiro said.

Mr. Casey is beloved among many Pennsylvania Democrats, and he won his previous Senate bids by significant margins: 13 percentage points in 2018, nine points in 2012 and 17 percentage points in 2006. That year [*he ousted Senator Rick Santorum*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/18/us/politics/david-mccormick-pennsylvania-senate.html), a Republican, running at the time as a socially conservative Democrat, though he later moderated those views.

“It feels like an end of an era,” said former Representative Patrick Murphy, a Pennsylvania Democrat. “He’s been an incredible champion for working families, so it’s definitely a solemn moment.”

Throughout this year’s race, Democrats believed Mr. McCormick had significant political liabilities.

[*They used*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/18/us/politics/david-mccormick-pennsylvania-senate.html) conservative positions that he had taken during his 2022 primary against him, especially on abortion rights, an issue he tried to mitigate by emphasizing his opposition to a national abortion ban.

Democrats also cast him as a rich man who was out of touch with the needs of working people. He faced [*scrutiny of his business record*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/18/us/politics/david-mccormick-pennsylvania-senate.html) and questions about his residency: [*The Associated Press reported in 2023*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/18/us/politics/david-mccormick-pennsylvania-senate.html) that while he owned a home in Pittsburgh, public records showed that he still lived in and rented a $16 million mansion in Westport, Conn.

And while Mr. McCormick had repeatedly claimed that he grew up on a family farm, [*The Times reported*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/18/us/politics/david-mccormick-pennsylvania-senate.html) that he had given a misleading impression about key aspects of his upbringing.

But Mr. McCormick, portraying Mr. Casey as an ineffectual career politician who had been in Washington too long, was able to tap into deep frustration with the Democratic White House and Senate to claim the mantle of change.

“I want to thank the people of Pennsylvania for granting me the privilege of serving them for 28 consecutive years in public office,” Mr. Casey said in his statement, invoking his long career in public life. “Thank you for the trust you have placed in me for all these years.”

Senator John Fetterman, the Democrat who holds Pennsylvania’s other Senate seat, released a notably raw statement.

“This hits me,” he said. “Bob Casey was, is and always will be Pennsylvania’s best senator.”

Billy Witz contributed reporting.

Billy Witz contributed reporting.

PHOTO: “This race was one of the closest in our commonwealth’s history,” Senator Bob Casey said. (PHOTOGRAPH BY RUTH FREMSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A16.

**Load-Date:** November 22, 2024

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[***A Political Misdiagnosis***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D61-W1K1-DXY4-X12J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1955 words

**Byline:** David LeonhardtDavid Leonhardt runs , The Times&amp;#8217;s flagship daily newsletter. Since joining The Times in 1999, he has been an economics columnist, opinion columnist, head of the Washington bureau and founding editor of the Upshot section.&amp;#160;He is the author of &amp;#8220;Ours Was the Shining Future: The Story of the American Dream.&#34;

**Highlight:** Democrats imagined that they would become the majority party as America became more racially diverse. It’s not working out that way.

**Body**

Democrats imagined that they would become the majority party as America became more racially diverse. It’s not working out that way.

The Democratic Party has spent years hoping that demography would equal destiny. As the country became more racially diverse, Democrats imagined that they would become the majority party thanks to support from Asian, Black and Hispanic voters. The politics of America, according to this vision, would start to resemble the liberal politics of California.

It’s not working out that way. Instead, Americans of color have moved to the right over the past decade.

The latest New York Times/Siena College poll offers detailed evidence. The poll reached almost 1,500 Black and Hispanic Americans, far more than most surveys do. (Our poll didn’t focus on Asian voters, but [*they have shifted, too*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html).)

A key fact is that the rightward drift is concentrated among ***working-class*** voters, defined as those without a four-year college degree:

I know that many Democrats find this pattern to be maddening. They wonder how voters of color could have moved right during the era of Donald Trump, a man with a long history of racism. But the chart above points to a partial explanation: For most Americans, race is a less significant political force than many progressives believe it is — and economic class is more significant.

Most isn’t enough

The past four years have highlighted the ways that Democrats exaggerate the political importance of racial identity. Joe Biden, after all, promised to nominate the first Black female Supreme Court justice (which he did) and chose Kamala Harris as the first Black vice president — who has now succeeded him as the Democratic nominee. Yet Harris has less support from Black voters than Hillary Clinton did in 2016.

Biden also adopted the sort of welcoming immigration policies that Democrats have long believed Hispanic voters support. He [*loosened border rules*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html) early in his term, which helped millions of people enter the country. In spite of that change — or maybe partly because of it — Democrats have also lost Hispanic support.

Harris is still winning most voters of color. But the Democratic Party typically needs landslide margins among these groups to win elections. Today, a significant share of them view the Democratic Party with deep skepticism — roughly one in five Black voters, two in five Hispanic voters and one in three Asian voters, polls suggest.

Elite vibes

Their skepticism is linked to class in two main ways. First, most ***working-class*** voters are frustrated with the economy, having experienced sluggish income growth for decades. ([*Black men have especially struggled*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html), Charles Coleman Jr. wrote in a Times Opinion essay, and Black men have shifted right more than Black women.)

The years just before the Covid pandemic — the end of Barack Obama’s presidency and the first three years of Trump’s — were a happy exception, when wages rose broadly. But the inflation during Biden’s presidency further angered many people. In our poll, only 21 percent of Hispanic ***working-class*** voters said that Biden’s policies helped them personally, compared with 38 percent who said Trump’s policies did.

More generally, many voters have come to see the Democratic Party as the party of the establishment. That may sound vague and vibesy, but it’s real. Trump’s disdain for the establishment appeals to dissatisfied voters of all races. [*As my colleague Nate Cohn*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html) points out, a sizable minority of Black and Hispanic voters think “people who are offended by Donald Trump take his words too seriously.”

The Democrats’ second big problem is that they have wrongly imagined voters of colors to be classic progressives. In reality, the most left-wing segment of the population is [*heavily white*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html), the Pew Research Center has found. While white Democrats have become even more liberal in recent decades, many ***working-class*** voters of color remain moderate to conservative.

These voters say crime is a major problem, for instance. They are uncomfortable with the speed of change on gender issues (which helps explain why Trump is [*running so many ads*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html) that mention high school trans athletes). On foreign policy, Black and Hispanic voters have isolationist instincts, with the Times poll showing that most believe the U.S. “should pay less attention to problems overseas and concentrate on problems here at home.”

Immigration may be the clearest example. Many voters of color are unhappy about the high immigration of the last few years. They worry about the impact on their communities and worry that new arrivals are unfairly skipping the line. In our poll, more than 40 percent of Black and Hispanic voters support “deporting immigrants living in the United States illegally back to their home countries.” Support for a border wall was similar:

Multiracial similarities

The bad news for Democrats is that they adopted the wrong diagnosis of the American electorate. It is not divided neatly by race, in which people of color are overwhelmingly similar to one another and liberal. That misdiagnosis has been a gift to Republicans.

The good news for Democrats is that some of their weaknesses — with white, Hispanic, Black and Asian voters alike — overlap. If the party can find a way to stem its losses with voters of color, it may also win back a slice of white ***working-class*** voters. Remember: Americans without a bachelor’s degree still make up about 65 percent of U.S. adults. The share is even higher in swing states like Arizona, Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin.

Related: Democrats’ challenges with Black and Hispanic voters have left the party more reliant on [*college-educated white voters and suburbanites*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html), write my colleagues Jennifer Medina, Katie Glueck and Ruth Igielnik.

More on the campaign

* The main union for Border Patrol agents [*endorsed Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html) during a rally in Arizona. At the event, Trump pledged to hire 10,000 new agents and to ask Congress to give them all a 10 percent raise.

1. Trump has endorsed violence and proposed using the government to attack his enemies. [*Many of his supporters assume it’s an act*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html), Shawn McCreesh writes.
2. Abortion bans have led some longtime Republican women in Arizona to support Harris. [*See a video*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html).
3. The Harris campaign, in an attempt to cut into Trump’s polling lead on the economy, has courted business leaders. Their feedback has [*subtly shaped her economic agenda*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html).
4. Over the weekend, Tim Walz returned to Minnesota to hunt pheasants and watch a high-school football game. His recent appearances are [*aimed at men*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html), The Washington Post reports.

THE LATEST NEWS

Middle East

* [*Fire engulfed a tent encampment*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html)at a hospital compound in central Gaza after an Israeli airstrike there. At least four people were killed, according to a Palestinian news agency. Israel said it was targeting Hamas militants at the hospital.

1. A Hezbollah drone attack [*hit a military base*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html) in northern Israel, killing four soldiers. The Israeli military is investigating how the drone reached the base without warning.
2. The U.S. is sending [*an advanced missile defense system*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html) to Israel, along with around 100 troops to operate it.
3. Israel’s army has regularly forced captured Palestinians to [*undertake life-threatening missions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html), including scouting Hamas tunnels, a Times investigation found.

War in Ukraine

* Russia [*is counterattacking*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html) in its Kursk region, where Ukraine seized territory months ago, but soldiers and analysts say the Ukrainians are largely holding their ground.

1. Most of Russia’s seaborne oil exports [*are evading Western restrictions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html), a report found.
2. In Ukraine, [*a new generation of comedians*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html) are trying to make people laugh — and raise money for the war effort.

More International News

* A pro-Russian disinformation operation is targeting [*U.S.-funded anti-malaria programs in Africa*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html), part of an effort to spread mistrust of the West.

1. China began [*military drills around Taiwan*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html) after accusing the island’s president of promoting independence.

Weather

* Hurricanes Helene and Milton have exposed the risks climate change poses to the millions of Americans [*who live in mobile homes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html).

1. Meteorologists have reported [*facing increased harassment*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html) as disinformation spread about the hurricanes.
2. During a visit to Florida, President Biden [*announced $612 million*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html) to improve the electric grid in areas affected by Helene and Milton.

Other Big Stories

* The Nobel Memorial Prize in Economics was awarded to Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson and James Robinson [*for their research on global inequality*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html).

1. NASA’s [*first mission to Jupiter in over a decade*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html) is scheduled to launch today. It will study whether Europa, one of the planet’s moons, is habitable.
2. Fisher-Price has recalled [*more than two million “Snuga Swings”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html) after five babies died while sleeping in them.

Opinions

The U.S. needs [*a national shield law to protect journalists*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html) from having to expose their sources to the government, The Times Editorial Board writes.

Jean Guerrero froze her eggs so that she could enjoy her youth before meeting a partner. The expensive procedure [*should be available to all*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html), she writes.

Gail Collins and Bret Stephens discuss Harris and [*the Senate*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html).

Here’s a column by David French on [*abortion in Florida*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html).

MORNING READS

San Quentin: The California prison once housed violent criminals. It’s now known for creative pursuits, [*including a film festival*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html).

Long Island: Billy Joel will sell the house he first saw [*while dredging oysters as a teenager*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html).

Dining: See a list of the [*25 best restaurants in Portland, Ore.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html)

Health: How do food, sleep and exercise affect blood sugar? [*Read what to know*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html).

Metropolitan Diary: [*Next time, piña coladas*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html).

Lives Lived: Abdul Salaam was an unassuming but important member of the Jets’ ferocious 1980s defensive line, known as the New York Sack Exchange. He [*died at 71*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html).

SPORTS

M.L.B.: During their 9-0 blowout win against the Mets [*in Game 1 of the N.L.C.S.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html), the Los Angeles Dodgers tied a postseason record: 33 consecutive innings without allowing a run.

N.F.L.: The Cincinnati Bengals outlasted the New York Giants in a 17-7 win. The Bengals quarterback Joe Burrow [*called the game ugly*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html).

W.N.B.A.: Breanna Stewart’s 21 points led the Liberty to a 80-66 win in Game 2 of the finals, tying the series at 1-1. It was her defense, our columnist writes, [*that drove the win*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html).

ARTS AND IDEAS

Millennials and Gen Z place a high value on happiness, which helps explain why they spend more money than older generations on hobbies and quirky purchases. Examples include paragliding lessons and a [*palm-sized hedgehog called Goober*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html).

More on culture

* Leopard print has an enduring popularity in women’s fashion. A reader asks The Times’s fashion critic: [*Will it ever go out of style?*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html)

1. New York State is enticing Californian movie and TV productions with tax incentives. It saves money, but [*adds creative challenges*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html).
2. “Suffs,” a Hillary Clinton-backed musical about women’s suffrage, [*will close in January*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html). It won two Tony Awards, but struggled to sell tickets.

THE MORNING RECOMMENDS …

Bake tender and addictive [*sugar cookies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html).

Go behind the scenes at “S.N.L.” [*with these memoirs*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html).

Stay dry and stylish [*with these rain boots*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html).

Drink from a [*good mug*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html).

Take [*our news quiz*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html).

GAMES

Here is [*today’s Spelling Bee*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html). Yesterday’s pangram was folktale.

And here are [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html), [*Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html), [*Sudoku*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html), [*Connections*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html) and [*Strands*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html).

Thanks for spending part of your morning with The Times. See you tomorrow. —David

P.S. Ian Prasad Philbrick, a writer for this newsletter, [*cataloged thousands of books*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html) for a story about Jimmy Carter, the president who has written the most Times best sellers and had the fewest written about him.

[*Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html). Reach our team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/06/briefing/asian-americans-conservative-republican.html).

PHOTO: Donald Trump supporters in the South Bronx, New York. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Hiroko Masuike/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 14, 2024

**End of Document**



[***A Swing District in Red Nebraska Hosts a Hotly Contested House Race***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D7C-B1V1-JBG3-63T5-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 20, 2024 Sunday 23:38 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 675 words

**Byline:** Jazmine UlloaJazmine Ulloa is a national politics reporter for The Times, covering the 2024 presidential campaign. She is based in Washington.

**Highlight:** Tony Vargas, a Democrat vying to become the state’s first Latino representative, lost to Don Bacon, the Republican incumbent, in 2022. But the presidential election could help him in his rematch.

**Body**

Tony Vargas, a Democrat vying to become the state’s first Latino representative, lost to Don Bacon, the Republican incumbent, in 2022. But the presidential election could help him in his rematch.

The crowd of 1,400 people gathered on Saturday at an outdoor amphitheater in Omaha was waiting for Tim Walz, the jocular Minnesota governor running for vice president. But it was another Democrat looking to make history who drew the first standing ovation of the evening.

“Tony, Tony, Tony,” the audience erupted as Tony Vargas, a state senator, stood at the lectern.

“You really know how to make someone feel very, very welcome,” he said.

Mr. Vargas, 40, is vying to become the first Latino to represent Nebraska in Congress, and he has become one of the most notable Democratic candidates on the rise as he competes in a heated House race at the center of national attention.

In 2022, when Mr. Vargas first challenged [*Representative Don Bacon*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/14/us/politics/republican-don-bacon-wins-in-biden-district.html), a Republican, he lost by less than three percentage points, not even 6,000 votes. Now, their rematch is taking place in the middle of a tightly contested presidential election, and Mr. Bacon’s 2nd District appears to be swinging in Vice President Kamala [*Harris’s direction*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/14/us/politics/republican-don-bacon-wins-in-biden-district.html), bringing tailwinds for Democratic candidates down the ballot like Mr. Vargas.

Nebraska is solidly Republican, but the 2nd District, which encompasses Omaha and is known as Nebraska’s blue dot, is a swing region that voted for Barack Obama in 2008 and Joseph R. Biden Jr. in 2020. Biden won with 56.4 percent of the vote.

A coveted victory there could help sway control of Congress, as well as decide [*the next president.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/14/us/politics/republican-don-bacon-wins-in-biden-district.html) Nebraska is one of two states (along with Maine) that award an electoral vote to the winner of each congressional district. That vote could be of such national consequence this year that Republican allies of former President Donald J. Trump in the Nebraska Legislature have been unsuccessfully pushing to change [*how it is awarded*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/14/us/politics/republican-don-bacon-wins-in-biden-district.html).

Omaha Democrats have been showing their support for the Harris-Walz ticket with campaign signs in their yards emblazoned with a single blue dot.

As Mr. Vargas helped open for Mr. Walz on Saturday, two surrogates for Mr. Trump’s campaign — Robert F. Kennedy Jr., the onetime presidential candidate, and former Representative Tulsi Gabbard of Hawaii — were making their own appearances at a downtown Omaha hotel.

Mr. Vargas, the son of Peruvian immigrants, has been drawing on his background to connect with ***working-class*** voters. He has been running on pledges to pass a middle-class tax cut and keep prescription costs low, and has sought to cast Mr. Bacon as too closely aligned to Mr. Trump and too far to the right on issues like abortion rights.

Mr. Bacon, a retired general, has been leaning on his foreign policy credentials and his record. In an interview, Mr. Bacon said most people in his district would find Mr. Vargas’s attempts to characterize him as a Trump extremist as “laughable.” Mr. Bacon added that he disagreed with Mr. Trump on important issues such as the Jan. 6 attack on the U.S. Capitol and Mr. Trump’s treatment of Vice President Mike Pence. He had also voted to certify the 2020 presidential election and in favor of bipartisan legislation, including President Biden’s signature infrastructure bill, which Mr. Bacon said he helped shape in the House.

On Saturday, Mr. Vargas joined Mr. Walz onstage, casting Mr. Trump as a dangerous and divisive force in American politics and urging Democrats to head to the polls “to rebuild democracy.”

In an interview earlier at the amphitheater, Mr. Vargas said his team had knocked on more doors than they had at the same point in the last election, and that his campaign was drawing energy from a broader array of voters, including independents and Republicans. He said his closing pitch was a call to boot out Mr. Trump’s Republican “extremists and enablers.”

“Congress can’t get anything done,” he said. “We need a Congress that can actually focus on ***working-class***, middle-class issues.”

This article appeared in print on page A13.

**Load-Date:** October 21, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Bruce Springsteen Endorses Kamala Harris for President***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D3R-XDT1-JBG3-62J8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 3, 2024 Thursday 19:30 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 979 words

**Highlight:** The rock star has long aligned himself with Democrats and been critical of former President Donald J. Trump.

**Body**

The rock star has long aligned himself with Democrats and been critical of former President Donald J. Trump.

Bruce Springsteen, the rock star and longtime critic of former President Donald J. Trump, endorsed Vice President Kamala Harris on Thursday, praising the Democratic nominee for appealing to a more unified America and decrying Mr. Trump as the “most dangerous candidate for president in my lifetime.”

In a [*three-minute video published*](https://www.instagram.com/p/DArLPGnIJD3/) on social media, Mr. Springsteen, 75, called upon the themes that have defined his career for more than half a century — battling divisions, giving voice to ***working-class*** values and fighting for freedom and equality — as he declared Ms. Harris and her running mate, Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, to be the stewards of that vision.

Mr. Springsteen, who wore a plaid jacket and sat at the diner bar of Roberto’s Freehold Grill in Freehold, N.J., in the endorsement video, contrasted Mr. Trump with Ms. Harris, saying that she had a “vision of this country that respects and includes everyone — regardless of class, religion, race, your political point of view or sexual identity.”

He added that he believed that her platform centered on growing the economy for everyone, and that her approach aligned with “the vision of America I have been consistently writing about for 55 years.”

As he lauded the Democratic ticket for representing ***working-class*** America, Mr. Springsteen had pointed words for Mr. Trump. He said that the former president “doesn’t understand the meaning of this country” and has displayed a “disdain” for America’s democratic system.

His endorsement of Ms. Harris was anticipated, given Mr. Springsteen’s alliance with Democratic candidates in the past. But the announcement came as a welcome surprise to the Harris campaign looking to make inroads with ***working-class*** voters, especially as some major unions have declined to offer endorsements in the election. And while it is difficult to measure the impact of endorsements, stars have shown an ability to increase civic activity. Taylor Swift’s [*endorsement of Ms. Harris last month*](https://www.instagram.com/p/DArLPGnIJD3/) led to 405,999 visits to Vote.gov — a site where citizens can register to vote or find out election information — through the link on Ms. Swift’s Instagram story in the 24 hours it was live.

Mr. Springsteen’s emergence as a political voice can be traced back 40 years to Ronald Reagan’s re-election campaign. Though he had long given voice to the downtrodden, and performed at the 1979 “No Nukes” concert organized by Jackson Browne, Graham Nash, Bonnie Raitt and other artists, it was Mr. Reagan’s attempt to co-opt Mr. Springsteen’s blue-collar appeal that caught the rock star’s attention.

Speaking at a rally in New Jersey, Mr. Reagan said: “America’s future rests in a thousand dreams inside your hearts. It rests in the message of hope in songs of a man so many young Americans admire — New Jersey’s own Bruce Springsteen.”

It took just days for Mr. Springsteen to respond. At a concert in Pittsburgh, Mr. Springsteen joked that he did not think Mr. Reagan must have listened to his recent records, and issued a warning.

“There’s something really dangerous happening to us out there now,” Mr. Springsteen said at the time. “We’re slowly getting split up into two different Americas. There’s a promise getting broken.”

It was a message he echoed in his video statement on Thursday. “Perhaps not since the Civil War has this great country felt as politically, spiritually and emotionally divided as it does than at this moment,” he said. “It doesn’t have to be this way.”

Since then, Mr. Springsteen has been an outspoken political activist, often siding with Democratic candidates and values, as well as labor. In 1986, when a local 3M factory in his hometown was set to be shuttered, Mr. Springsteen joined the union workers for a surprise benefit show at the Stone Pony in Asbury Park, N.J.

He has joined Democratic presidential candidates on the campaign trail, including John Kerry, Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton. Mr. Springsteen eventually formed a close friendship with Mr. Obama, and the two produced a podcast and a book titled “Renegades” together.

His songs have had a regular presence on the campaign trail. Mr. Kerry adopted “No Surrender” as an anthem for his bid for the White House; President Biden regularly played “We Take Care of Our Own” on the campaign trail, including as the walk-up music for his acceptance speech in 2020.

Mr. Springsteen has been harshly critical of Mr. Trump. He first made his views known early on, calling Mr. Trump a “moron” in an interview with Rolling Stone in 2016.

In 2020, he [*warned that*](https://www.instagram.com/p/DArLPGnIJD3/) “I don’t know if our democracy could stand another four years” under Mr. Trump’s leadership.

In his video message on Thursday, Mr. Springsteen said Mr. Trump’s efforts to hang on to power after losing the 2020 presidential election “should disqualify him” from returning to the presidency.

Mr. Trump has made clear that there is no love lost.

“I’m not a huge fan,” [*he said of Mr. Springsteen*](https://www.instagram.com/p/DArLPGnIJD3/) in August. “I have a bad trait. I only like people that like me.”

Mr. Springsteen’s endorsement of the Harris-Walz ticket is likely to please Mr. Walz especially; the governor of Minnesota [*once authorized a proclamation*](https://www.instagram.com/p/DArLPGnIJD3/) in his home state declaring March 5 to be Bruce Springsteen Day there.

Mr. Springsteen tempered his endorsement by emphasizing that his opinion was “no more or less important than those of any of my fellow citizens,” but he nonetheless issued a clear message on civic engagement. “I’ve only got one vote,” he said. “And it’s one of the most precious possessions that I have.”

PHOTO: Bruce Springsteen said former President Donald J. Trump’s efforts to hang on to power after losing the 2020 presidential election “should disqualify him” from returning to the presidency. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Nina Westervelt for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 3, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Democrats Seize on Trump’s ‘You’re Rich as Hell’ Remarks to Donors; the ad campaign***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D56-TBS1-DXY4-X1MS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 10, 2024 Thursday 14:18 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 594 words

**Highlight:** An ad from the main super PAC backing Kamala Harris casts Donald Trump as a tycoon who will give handouts to the rich, and the vice president as the candidate of working people.

**Body**

An ad from the main super PAC backing Kamala Harris casts Donald Trump as a tycoon who will give handouts to the rich, and the vice president as the candidate of working people.

Future Forward, the main super PAC backing Kamala Harris’s presidential campaign, is running [*this 30-second ad*](https://host2.adimpact.com/admo/viewer/ff564f2b-30d2-4bdc-87cb-ae9b64f8e20e) on television in states including Arizona and North Carolina this week at a cost of roughly $18 million, according to AdImpact.

Here’s a look at the ad, its accuracy and its major takeaway.

On the Screen

The ad begins with an image of former President Donald J. Trump, slightly distorted by shadows, [*appearing to speak*](https://host2.adimpact.com/admo/viewer/ff564f2b-30d2-4bdc-87cb-ae9b64f8e20e) to wealthy supporters.

“I know about 20 of you and you’re rich as hell,” he says, according to subtitles that flash across the screen. The camera then cuts to a Black man watching Mr. Trump’s remarks on an iPad-like device and shaking his head.

After another image of Mr. Trump promising tax cuts flashes onscreen, the man introduces himself as “Buddy M.” from Allentown, Pa.

Buddy, pointedly declaring that he is “not rich as hell,” quickly establishes himself as a working- or middle-class American. The spot cuts between images of him — sitting in a wood-paneled living room, filling up a car at a gas station — and of fancily dressed people including Mr. Trump and [*his ally Elon Musk*](https://host2.adimpact.com/admo/viewer/ff564f2b-30d2-4bdc-87cb-ae9b64f8e20e), the world’s richest man, who are separately hobnobbing in tuxedos.

As music soars, the spot cuts to images of Ms. Harris walking purposefully before American flags and greeting men wearing hard hats.

The Script

“I know about 20 of you and you’re rich as hell … We’re going to give you tax cuts …”

“I’m not rich as hell. I’m the one that really needs the break, not the people that are already rich and have the money. The 1 percent don’t serve anybody but themselves, so for them to get a tax break? No, that’s not cool.

“Kamala Harris is going to make billionaires pay their fair share, and she’s going to cut taxes for working people, like me.

“I’m Buddy, and I’m not rich as hell, and I’m voting for Kamala Harris.”

Accuracy

Buddy makes several references to economic policy from both candidates.

When he mentions tax breaks for the “1 percent,” it may be a nod to Mr. Trump’s position of [*extending*](https://host2.adimpact.com/admo/viewer/ff564f2b-30d2-4bdc-87cb-ae9b64f8e20e) the 2017 tax cuts, which included [*tax benefits for the ultrarich*](https://host2.adimpact.com/admo/viewer/ff564f2b-30d2-4bdc-87cb-ae9b64f8e20e), alongside other proposed tax cuts.

[*Ms. Harris supports*](https://host2.adimpact.com/admo/viewer/ff564f2b-30d2-4bdc-87cb-ae9b64f8e20e) raising taxes on the wealthiest Americans. She has also proposed an expanded child tax credit and tax cuts meant to spur home construction, [*along with*](https://host2.adimpact.com/admo/viewer/ff564f2b-30d2-4bdc-87cb-ae9b64f8e20e) a first-time home-buyer credit.

The Takeaway

The ad is an appeal to two groups of voters whose support Ms. Harris needs to shore up: [*Black men*](https://host2.adimpact.com/admo/viewer/ff564f2b-30d2-4bdc-87cb-ae9b64f8e20e) and ***working-class*** Americans of all races.

A national [*New York Times/Siena College poll*](https://host2.adimpact.com/admo/viewer/ff564f2b-30d2-4bdc-87cb-ae9b64f8e20e) of likely voters released last month found Ms. Harris winning 79 percent of Black voters, below the typical Democratic presidential performance of securing closer to 90 percent of Black voters, according to exit polls.

Ms. Harris has faced particular challenges with Black men. Buddy comes across as relatable — a regular working person rather than a celebrity — which may give him more authority to connect with voters of similar backgrounds.

Democrats have also struggled with white ***working-class*** voters. Buddy’s message — that Mr. Trump is out for himself and his rich friends, rather than for working people — and the images of Ms. Harris meeting with workers, many of whom appeared to be white, both seemed intended to engage those voters.

Linda Qiu contributed reporting.

Linda Qiu contributed reporting.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Ruth Fremson/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 12, 2024

**End of Document**



[***How Home to Musk's Starbase Voted Trump After Blue Streak***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DJH-0FY1-JBG3-600N-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 2, 2024 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1834 words

**Byline:** By Jazmine Ulloa and Callaghan O'Hare

**Body**

The story of the political transformation of Cameron County, a majority-Hispanic border community at the southernmost tip of Texas, began with the arrival of a billionaire.

His name wasn't Donald J. Trump. It was Elon Musk.

More than a decade ago, Mr. Musk brought his private space company, SpaceX, to Cameron County, where the blasts from his rocket testing and launching site on Boca Chica Beach rattle homes for miles. His mark is now everywhere. And his face, too.

Downtown, in the county seat of Brownsville, the old culture -- part Mexican, part American, part Tejano -- clashes with the new: Images of space, astronauts and Mr. Musk adorn buildings that date to the early 1900s, blocks from the southern border. Along the Gulf Coast marshes on the road to his Starbase launch site, a giant bust of Mr. Musk keeps watch over Cameron County's nearly 430,000 residents and the occasional wayward hog, the world's richest man honored like a king in one of the poorest counties in America.

Such a tribute would be a mere curiosity were it not for what happened here on Nov. 5.

Mr. Trump did something no Republican has done in 20 years: He flipped Cameron County. Mr. Trump won the county with 53 percent of the vote, the first time a Republican presidential candidate claimed victory here since George W. Bush, the former Texas governor and then the president, in 2004. It was one of a string of largely blue-collar Hispanic Democratic strongholds across South Texas where Mr. Trump made major inroads.

Mr. Trump didn't have to campaign very hard in Cameron County. Mr. Musk did the hard work for him, by slowly and subtly changing the culture, the landscape, the economy and, finally, the politics of Cameron County over the span of years.

Interviews with more than two dozen voters, local leaders and elected officials from both parties and regional experts show that Mr. Trump's top surrogate brought jobs, tourism and a hard-line ''America First'' opposition to illegal immigration to Cameron County, all of which played a role in turning it from blue to red. Mr. Musk opened a door Mr. Trump walked through on Election Day.

''Elon has pretty much dictated all that happens out here,'' said Deborah Bell, who is the chairwoman of the Cameron County Republican Party and has watched Mr. Musk develop a region her family has been farming for more than a century. She added, ''It still is a love-hate relationship with those of us that live out here.''

There were many factors behind Mr. Trump's success in the region, and the voters and officials said no one person was responsible for the Trump wave in the county. But the interviews showed how Mr. Musk's influence was far-reaching and amorphous, turning him from a tech entrepreneur with a local connection into a harbinger of Trumpism in a ***working-class*** and Latino community.

Mr. Musk's imprint on the county is a jumble of contradictions.

Many oil and gas workers in the region oppose the electric car industry, but they adore Mr. Musk and his Teslas. Mr. Musk, an immigrant from South Africa, publicly bashes illegal immigration, a message that resonated in a place where many families can trace their immigrant roots going back generations. His ventures helped stimulate jobs and tourism, but also widened the region's income inequality and feelings of disenfranchisement, fueling the ***working-class*** anger that made Mr. Trump so appealing to some. His no-holds-barred macho persona reminded some Hispanic voters of the type of Latin American strongman known as a caudillo, an image that inspired not disdain but confidence.

Mr. Musk, who has bought several mansions in Austin, Texas, has said his primary home is a small three-bedroom property in Cameron County on Weems Street, which he said he officially changed to Memes Street in March (county property records appear to confirm this). On Election Day, he showed up at a polling site at a social services center in Brownsville, where he said he cast his ballot.

Poll workers did more than simply notice him. They posed for a picture with him that he posted on X.

Bust in the brush

On a recent Saturday afternoon, the road to Starbase felt more earthly than interstellar.

In the wetlands several miles outside Brownsville, the Musk bust attracted onlookers, as it usually does. When the nearly nine-foot-tall sculpture by a Parisian artist first arrived, it was hauled, naturally, by a black Tesla Cybertruck. As Musk tributes go, this one is a homage of a homage, the misshapen head and eyes sculpted to resemble a piece of fan art that had gone viral.

On this Saturday, Czech tourists paused to gaze at it. A friendly little hog approached the visitors, sniffing them and wagging its tail. Nearby, Mr. Musk's face could be seen in murals of the same fan art on cinder-block walls.

Closer to Starbase, the road to the facility was bustling as employees and contractors left their afternoon shifts and towed cargo in and out. Tech bros and tourists sped by rows of housing on scooters. Workers in highlighter-bright construction vests took breaks, gathering around taco trucks and picnic tables on bright green AstroTurf.

The scene around Starbase was rugged, hipster, surreally futuristic -- ''The Jetsons'' in the Texas brush, oil boomtown meets South by Southwest by the border. At a restaurant playing indie and electronica tracks, a sign above the bar read ''Occupy Mars'' in neon red lights. A few local businessmen in cowboy hats and boots walked in, with some apprehension; the restaurant is open only to SpaceX employees.

Near a large white neon SpaceX sign, five women tried to take a group selfie as a coyote scrambled past in the distance. The friends live in the area and had reunited at a funeral earlier that day after not seeing one another in years. On a whim, they decided to check out the place transforming their region.

All the women had been raised in Democratic families. But all except one said they had voted for Mr. Trump, citing their concerns about the economy and the migrants who crossed into their county in record numbers last year.

''Recently, they have been going a little bit in too many directions that are away from these values,'' Yolanda Perales, 64, a retired nurse, said of Democrats. She said she believed Republicans were more focused on lowering the costs of living and health care.

Sonia Rodriguez, 71, a retired law office administrator, was the lone Democrat among the friends. She had voted for Vice President Kamala Harris, she said, because she was outraged by Mr. Trump's meanspirited rhetoric and persona. But even she expressed doubts about her allegiance to the party and was open to the changes that might come in a second Trump term.

''We hope that what he'll bring to the table is to help the economy and help people that are really struggling down here,'' Ms. Rodriguez said.

When the region was competing with Florida and Puerto Rico to lure SpaceX in 2012, Gilberto Salinas, then executive vice president of the Brownsville Economic Development Council, called it ''money from the heavens.''

City and state officials promoted the project as an imminent job creator for border families. School leaders and teachers believed it would fit their efforts to expand science, technology and math courses at public schools. The county's poverty rate of 22.6 percent exceeds the rate of numerous counties in America, according to census figures, including Atlanta's Fulton County (12.7), Los Angeles (13.9) and Miami-Dade (14.5).

Business leaders and local officials now say Mr. Musk's ventures have been part of a rush of economic development that has generated millions of dollars in sales and tourism for the county, as people from all over the globe descend upon a region known as the Rio Grande Valley for SpaceX launches. Even Mr. Trump attended one recently.

More than 3,400 full-time employee and contractor jobs are directly tied to Starbase, and more than 21,400 other jobs are indirectly connected to the facility, according to a report from Cameron County's top elected official, Eddie Treviño Jr., the county judge. Many of those positions, including listings for pipe fitters and welders, do not require a college degree yet still offer higher wages than many other jobs in the area, workers and community leaders said. But a few also offered anecdotal stories about the high turnover rate because of what they said were long hours and hard working conditions.

That fast growth has helped propel rent and housing prices for longtime residents, even as the county's median income has not kept up the pace. The economic transformation helped alter the politics of the Rio Grande Valley, regional experts said: As some ***working-class*** Hispanic families moved into the middle class, they became more protective of their financial interests and started voting Republican.

''There is this aspiration, this idea that he is going to Mars and taking Cameron County, one of the poorest in the United States, with him,'' said Guadalupe Correa-Cabrera, a political science professor at George Mason University who has studied the border region.

'Avatar of everything'

Several leaders and voters from both parties here agree on one thing: The political swings could be more temporary than permanent.

''I think it's a one-time thing,'' said Juanita Castillo, 63, an independent who leans Democratic and who retired early as a federal immigration official because she could not endure the chaos of the first Trump administration.

Jared Hockema, who has served as chairman of the county Democratic Party since 2018, took solace in the past. After Republicans won the county with Mr. Bush at the top of the ticket back in 2004, Mr. Hockema pointed out, they lost it four years later to Barack Obama. Senator Ted Cruz, a Republican, may have defeated Representative Colin Allred and won re-election on Nov. 5, but Mr. Allred, a Democrat, outperformed Mr. Cruz in Cameron County, as well as in nearby Hidalgo County.

Mr. Hockema said Mr. Musk could not be credited for all of the county's economic growth, as much as he could not be blamed for all of its pitfalls. But he said he saw Mr. Musk as an ''avatar of everything that is right and wrong in our society.''

Chuck Vieh, a Republican who won a down-ballot race in the county for justice of the peace, said he worked hard during the campaign to meet people where they were, shaking hands at restaurants and outfitting his truck with flags and campaign signs. But he also said he tried to disassociate himself from Mr. Trump and stick to local issues while talking up Democrats' failures after years in leadership.

''I'm running for justice of the peace,'' he said he would tell voters. ''I can marry you or I can bury you.'' Many of those conversations veered back to the same complaints, however: how hard it was to survive on minimum wage, how hungry they were for change.

Alain Delaquérière contributed research.Alain Delaquérière contributed research.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/01/us/politics/elon-musk-cameron-county.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/01/us/politics/elon-musk-cameron-county.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Near the SpaceX launch site, Starbase, in Boca Chica, Texas. (A1)

A bust of Elon Musk along the road to SpaceX's Starbase in Boca Chica, Texas, keeping watch over nearly 430,000 residents.

Starbase in Cameron County, which had lured SpaceX in 2012.

Nearly 25,000 jobs are directly or indirectly tied to Starbase.

''It still is a love-hate relationship'' for some, said Deborah Bell. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CALLAGHAN O'HARE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A15) This article appeared in print on page A1, A15.

**Load-Date:** December 2, 2024

**End of Document**



[***How the Border County Where Elon Musk Is a Local Flipped for Trump***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DJ8-CHD1-JBG3-6001-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 1, 2024 Sunday 10:17 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1900 words

**Byline:** Jazmine Ulloa and Callaghan O’HareJazmine Ulloa is a national politics reporter for The Times, covering the 2024 presidential campaign. She is based in Washington.

**Highlight:** Mr. Musk’s rockets and presence have helped shape, and reshape, the culture and politics of Cameron County in South Texas.

**Body**

The story of the political transformation of Cameron County, a majority-Hispanic border community at the southernmost tip of Texas, began with the arrival of a billionaire.

His name wasn’t Donald J. Trump. It was Elon Musk.

More than a decade ago, Mr. Musk brought his private space company, SpaceX, to Cameron County, where the blasts from his rocket testing and launching site on Boca Chica Beach rattle homes for miles. His mark is now everywhere. And his face, too.

Downtown, in the county seat of Brownsville, the old culture — part Mexican, part American, part Tejano — clashes with the new: Images of space, astronauts and Mr. Musk adorn buildings that date to the early 1900s, blocks from the southern border. Along the Gulf Coast marshes on the road to his Starbase launch site, a giant bust of Mr. Musk keeps watch over Cameron County’s nearly 430,000 residents and the occasional wayward hog, the world’s richest man honored like a king in one of the poorest counties in America.

Such a tribute would be a mere curiosity were it not for what happened here on Nov. 5.

Mr. Trump did something no Republican has done in 20 years: He flipped Cameron County. Mr. Trump won the county with 53 percent of the vote, the first time a Republican presidential candidate claimed victory here since George W. Bush, the former Texas governor and then the president, in 2004. It was one of a string of largely blue-collar Hispanic Democratic strongholds across South Texas where [*Mr. Trump made major inroads*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/08/us/texas-border-latinos-election.html).

Mr. Trump didn’t have to campaign very hard in Cameron County. Mr. Musk did the hard work for him, by slowly and subtly changing the culture, the landscape, the economy and, finally, the politics of Cameron County over the span of years.

Interviews with more than two dozen voters, local leaders and elected officials from both parties and regional experts show that Mr. Trump’s top surrogate brought jobs, tourism and a hard-line “America First” opposition to illegal immigration to Cameron County, all of which played a role in turning it from blue to red. Mr. Musk opened a door Mr. Trump walked through on Election Day.

“Elon has pretty much dictated all that happens out here,” said Deborah Bell, who is the chairwoman of the Cameron County Republican Party and has watched Mr. Musk develop a region her family has been farming for more than a century. She added, “It still is a love-hate relationship with those of us that live out here.”

There were many factors behind Mr. Trump’s success in the region, and the voters and officials said no one person was responsible for the Trump wave in the county. But the interviews showed how Mr. Musk’s influence was far-reaching and amorphous, turning him from a tech entrepreneur with a local connection into a harbinger of Trumpism in a ***working-class*** and Latino community.

Mr. Musk’s imprint on the county is a jumble of contradictions.

Many oil and gas workers in the region oppose the electric car industry, but they adore Mr. Musk and his Teslas. Mr. Musk, an immigrant from South Africa, publicly bashes illegal immigration, a message that resonated in a place where many families can trace their immigrant roots going back generations. His ventures helped stimulate jobs and tourism, but also widened the region’s income inequality and feelings of disenfranchisement, fueling the ***working-class*** anger that made Mr. Trump so appealing to some. His no-holds-barred macho persona reminded some Hispanic voters of the type of Latin American strongman known as a caudillo, an image that inspired not disdain but confidence.

Mr. Musk, who has bought [*several mansions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/08/us/texas-border-latinos-election.html) in Austin, Texas, has said his primary home is a small [*three-bedroom property*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/08/us/texas-border-latinos-election.html) in Cameron County on Weems Street, which he said he officially changed to Memes Street in March (county property records appear to confirm this). On Election Day, he showed up at a polling site at a social services center in Brownsville, where he said he cast his ballot.

Poll workers did more than simply notice him. They posed for a picture with him that [*he posted on X*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/08/us/texas-border-latinos-election.html).

Bust in the brush

On a recent Saturday afternoon, the road to Starbase felt more earthly than interstellar.

In the wetlands several miles outside Brownsville, the Musk bust attracted onlookers, as it usually does. When the nearly nine-foot-tall sculpture by a Parisian artist first arrived, it was hauled, naturally, by a black Tesla Cybertruck. As Musk tributes go, this one is a homage of a homage, the misshapen head and eyes sculpted to resemble a piece of fan art that had gone viral.

On this Saturday, Czech tourists paused to gaze at it. A friendly little hog approached the visitors, sniffing them and wagging its tail. Nearby, Mr. Musk’s face could be seen in murals of the same fan art on cinder-block walls.

Closer to Starbase, the road to the facility was bustling as employees and contractors left their afternoon shifts and towed cargo in and out. Tech bros and tourists sped by rows of housing on scooters. Workers in highlighter-bright construction vests took breaks, gathering around taco trucks and picnic tables on bright green AstroTurf.

The scene around Starbase was rugged, hipster, surreally futuristic — “The Jetsons” in the Texas brush, oil boomtown meets South by Southwest by the border. At a restaurant playing indie and electronica tracks, a sign above the bar read “Occupy Mars” in neon red lights. A few local businessmen in cowboy hats and boots walked in, with some apprehension; the restaurant is open only to SpaceX employees.

Near a large white neon SpaceX sign, five women tried to take a group selfie as a coyote scrambled past in the distance. The friends live in the area and had reunited at a funeral earlier that day after not seeing one another in years. On a whim, they decided to check out the place transforming their region.

All the women had been raised in Democratic families. But all except one said they had voted for Mr. Trump, citing their concerns about the economy and the migrants who crossed into their county in record numbers last year.

“Recently, they have been going a little bit in too many directions that are away from these values,” Yolanda Perales, 64, a retired nurse, said of Democrats. She said she believed Republicans were more focused on lowering the costs of living and health care.

Sonia Rodriguez, 71, a retired law office administrator, was the lone Democrat among the friends. She had voted for Vice President Kamala Harris, she said, because she was outraged by Mr. Trump’s meanspirited rhetoric and persona. But even she expressed doubts about her allegiance to the party and was open to the changes that might come in a second Trump term.

“We hope that what he’ll bring to the table is to help the economy and help people that are really struggling down here,” Ms. Rodriguez said.

When the region was competing with Florida and Puerto Rico to lure SpaceX in 2012, Gilberto Salinas, then executive vice president of the Brownsville Economic Development Council, called it “money from the heavens.”

City and state officials promoted the project as an imminent job creator for border families. School leaders and teachers believed it would fit their efforts to expand science, technology and math courses at public schools. The county’s poverty rate of 22.6 percent exceeds the rate of numerous counties in America, according to census figures, including Atlanta’s Fulton County (12.7), Los Angeles (13.9) and Miami-Dade (14.5).

Business leaders and local officials now say Mr. Musk’s ventures have been part of a rush of economic development that has generated millions of dollars in sales and tourism for the county, as people from all over the globe descend upon a region known as the Rio Grande Valley for SpaceX launches. Even Mr. Trump attended one recently.

More than 3,400 full-time employee and contractor jobs are directly tied to Starbase, and more than 21,400 other jobs are indirectly connected to the facility, according to a report from Cameron County’s top elected official, Eddie Treviño Jr., the county judge. Many of those positions, including listings for pipe fitters and welders, do not require a college degree yet still offer higher wages than many other jobs in the area, workers and community leaders said. But a few also offered anecdotal stories about the high turnover rate because of what they said were long hours and hard working conditions.

That fast growth has helped propel rent and housing prices for longtime residents, even as the county’s median income has not kept up the pace. The economic transformation helped alter the politics of the Rio Grande Valley, regional experts said: As some ***working-class*** Hispanic families moved into the middle class, they became more protective of their financial interests and started voting Republican.

“There is this aspiration, this idea that he is going to Mars and taking Cameron County, one of the poorest in the United States, with him,” said Guadalupe Correa-Cabrera, a political science professor at George Mason University who has studied the border region.

‘Avatar of everything’

Several leaders and voters from both parties here agree on one thing: The political swings could be more temporary than permanent.

“I think it’s a one-time thing,” said Juanita Castillo, 63, an independent who leans Democratic and who retired early as a federal immigration official because she could not endure the chaos of the first Trump administration.

Jared Hockema, who has served as chairman of the county Democratic Party since 2018, took solace in the past. After Republicans won the county with Mr. Bush at the top of the ticket back in 2004, Mr. Hockema pointed out, they lost it four years later to Barack Obama. Senator Ted Cruz, a Republican, may have defeated Representative Colin Allred and won re-election on Nov. 5, but Mr. Allred, a Democrat, outperformed Mr. Cruz in Cameron County, as well as in nearby Hidalgo County.

Mr. Hockema said Mr. Musk could not be credited for all of the county’s economic growth, as much as he could not be blamed for all of its pitfalls. But he said he saw Mr. Musk as an “avatar of everything that is right and wrong in our society.”

Chuck Vieh, a Republican who won a down-ballot race in the county for justice of the peace, said he worked hard during the campaign to meet people where they were, shaking hands at restaurants and outfitting his truck with flags and campaign signs. But he also said he tried to disassociate himself from Mr. Trump and stick to local issues while talking up Democrats’ failures after years in leadership.

“I’m running for justice of the peace,” he said he would tell voters. “I can marry you or I can bury you.” Many of those conversations veered back to the same complaints, however: how hard it was to survive on minimum wage, how hungry they were for change.

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PHOTOS: Near the SpaceX launch site, Starbase, in Boca Chica, Texas. (A1); A bust of Elon Musk along the road to SpaceX’s Starbase in Boca Chica, Texas, keeping watch over nearly 430,000 residents.; Starbase in Cameron County, which had lured SpaceX in 2012.; Nearly 25,000 jobs are directly or indirectly tied to Starbase.; “It still is a love-hate relationship” for some, said Deborah Bell. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CALLAGHAN O’HARE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A15) This article appeared in print on page A1, A15.

**Load-Date:** December 2, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Unions Girding For Blowback Of Harris Loss***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DD0-MRC1-JBG3-63TG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 11, 2024 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1658 words

**Byline:** By Jonathan Weisman and Benjamin Oreskes

**Body**

Government unions, service worker unions and industrial unions all face possible repercussions from Donald Trump's victory, but not necessarily all the same kind.

Besides the Harris campaign and its affiliated political action committees, few economic or political sectors placed larger bets than organized labor on Vice President Kamala Harris's winning the presidency.

And few might reap more consequences from the incoming Trump administration. For public-sector unions that represent government workers, the threat is institutional and existential: Top advisers to President-elect Donald J. Trump want to eliminate them outright.

For service industry unions that represent hotel and restaurant workers, the threats may be to the members themselves: vulnerable and low-paid workers, often immigrants, who could be swept up in Mr. Trump's promised mass deportations.

And for the leadership of the old-line industrial unions, the threat is from their members, many of whom ignored the pleadings of their leadership and voted for Mr. Trump.

''We do understand we have issues that are confronting us, major issues,'' said Lee Saunders, chairman of the A.F.L.-C.I.O.'s political committee and president of the 1.6-million-strong American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. ''This is going to impact the entire labor movement.''

Unions poured nearly $43 million into the Harris campaign, according to Open Secrets, but that understates the resources they put into phone banks, canvassing operations, education and persuasion efforts with their members and outreach to nonunion ***working-class*** households.

Union leaders insisted in the wake of Mr. Trump's victory that they had done their job: Initial exit polls showed that Ms. Harris had won union households by 55 percent to Mr. Trump's 43 percent, about the same as President Biden's margin in 2020. In narrow Democratic Senate victories in Michigan, Wisconsin and Nevada, and in the still-uncalled Senate race in Arizona, union households might prove to be the difference makers.

But with unions representing less than 10 percent of the private-sector work force, their true failure was their inability to extend their influence on Ms. Harris's behalf beyond their memberships to the far larger numbers of ***working-class*** Americans who do not belong to any union at all, who came out in force and voted overwhelmingly for the former president.

''Working Americans elected President Trump because they trust him,'' said Karoline Leavitt, a Trump-Vance transition spokeswoman.

Randi Weingarten, president of the American Federation of Teachers, said voters who felt they had control over their lives -- through higher education or union representation -- had sided with Democrats.

But, she said, ''people who felt like there's too much change, in the pace of technology, in the cost of living, in the fear of a country being different than they thought it was -- they wanted a strongman to fix it,'' and that man was Mr. Trump.

The explanations for Ms. Harris's defeat are myriad, but union leaders have been among the most outspoken in saying she and other Democrats have failed to center the struggles of workers. Jimmy Williams Jr., president of the International Union of Painters and Allied Trades, a strong Harris ally, complained on social media that Ms. Harris had failed to make a strong case for ''what immigrant workers bring to our country,'' including immigrant workers in his union.

Democrats were too slow to acknowledge the pain of inflation, he said. At the same time, they were ineffective in communicating what the Biden administration had accomplished, in infrastructure jobs, manufacturing and bringing back semiconductor production from offshore -- all accomplishments that are now likely to redound to Mr. Trump's benefit as those projects build out.

''The party did not make a positive case for why workers should vote for them, only that they were not Donald Trump,'' Mr. Williams said of the Democrats. ''That's not good enough anymore.''

In Mr. Trump's first term, he appointed union foes to the National Labor Relations Board who clamped down on organizing and strongly opposed union-backed rules to make it easier for workers to vote for collective bargaining. His secretaries of labor were no more pro-union.

But in his campaign this time around, he openly courted union workers, if not their bosses. He made expensive promises to end income taxation on tips and overtime. More important, though, were his larger promises that by imposing tariffs on almost all imported goods, he would bring manufacturing jobs back from overseas; that by deporting millions of undocumented immigrants, he would free up work for citizens; and that by ending environmental regulations intended to push the U.S. economy toward electric cars and renewable energy, he would bring back a golden age of muscle cars and oil derricks.

It did not help that a scattering of prominent unions declined to endorse Ms. Harris, in large part because their rank and file backed Mr. Trump. Most prominent were the Teamsters, whose president, Sean O'Brien, addressed the Republican convention and wanted to preserve a place at Mr. Trump's table if he won. But he was not alone.

The International Association of Fire Fighters, the International Longshoremen's Association and the United Mine Workers all sat out the election -- and if union leadership's education efforts really did help swing most union households to Ms. Harris, those unions' decision not to endorse might well have helped Mr. Trump.

Now, with Mr. Trump victorious, leaders like Mr. O'Brien have chits to call in.

''The Teamsters look forward to working with President-elect Donald Trump, and to sharing with his transition team our priorities for how he can best support working Americans and the future of labor,'' said Kara Deniz, a Teamsters spokeswoman. ''The Republicans, under the leadership of Donald Trump, indicated throughout the campaign that they want to be the party of working people. The campaign is over. It's time for Republicans to show up.''

Leaders like Shawn Fain, president of the United Automobile Workers, who became outspoken surrogates for Ms. Harris, may face the consequences of their decisions.

A defiant Mr. Fain said in a statement: ''It's time for Washington, D.C., to put up or shut up, no matter the party, no matter the candidate. Will our government stand with the ***working class***, or keep doing the bidding of the billionaires?''

While leaders like Mr. Fain brace for Mr. Trump's famous penchant for retribution, service workers unions are bracing for Mr. Trump's policy promises. In Nevada, the organizing power of unions like the Culinary Workers had propelled Democratic presidential candidates to success in every election since 2004 -- until this one.

Union leaders might say they succeeded in significantly helping Ms. Harris's support among their members; in Nevada, they didn't. Recent polling of Nevadans who are registered voters found that Ms. Harris performed only a single point better among union members than Mr. Trump, 48 percent to 47 percent. The same poll in 2020 found President Biden beating Mr. Trump by 22 percentage points among union members in Nevada.

Now, Ted Pappageorge, the head of the immigrant-heavy Culinary Workers Local 226, said he was worried about Mr. Trump's draconian promises to deport undocumented immigrants en masse and slam closed the U.S.-Mexican border.

Ms. Harris's ''messaging was on point,'' he said. But what Mr. Trump was doing was tantamount to the efforts of a manager to undermine an organizing drive, he suggested, and he had significantly more time to do it.

''She had a couple of months to do that, and Trump has been banging away doing what we call 'a boss campaign' for years, introducing a massive amount of fear and division,'' Mr. Pappageorge said.

For unions representing government employees, the threat is to the unions themselves. Project 2025, the blueprint for a new Trump administration drawn up by several Trump advisers, suggested eliminating such unions altogether.

''Congress should consider whether public-sector unions are appropriate in the first place,'' the document stated.

Vivek Ramaswamy, the Ohio entrepreneur now frequently mentioned as a potential official in the incoming administration, made eliminating teachers unions a priority of his campaign for president last year. He said Friday that what he had meant was eliminating collective bargaining protections for public schoolteachers when their contracts come up for renewal.

''It is about the latitude of how employment contracts are written,'' he said.

Some Trump advisers, including Mr. Ramaswamy, have also pushed for the elimination of the federal Department of Education, though campaign aides said Friday that Mr. Trump had not taken a position on public-sector unions.

''There's no doubt it's an existential threat,'' Ms. Weingarten said. ''Am I worried? I'm Jewish. I worry about everything.''

The workers themselves may be far less concerned. Brian Ursua, a member of Teamsters Local 631 and a Trump supporter in North Las Vegas, said overtime pay on weekend shifts setting up trade shows was critical to him, and Mr. Trump has promised to end taxation of overtime pay.

''I felt that Donald better understood the middle-class citizens,'' he said.

Union leaders are not so sanguine. The Biden administration recently finalized regulations that would expand mandatory overtime pay to workers earning the equivalent of $58,656 a year, beginning Jan. 1, up from $43,888. Advisers to the Trump campaign have proposed rolling the rule back.

Ms. Leavitt said the president-elect had taken no position on the issue.

''President Trump will keep his promise to the hardworking men and women of America,'' she said. ''He will bring jobs back home, restore American manufacturing, slash inflation and cut taxes.''

**Graphic**

Shawn Fain, the president of the United Automobile Workers and an outspoken surrogate for Vice President Kamala Harris, may face fallout. BRITTANY GREESON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES This article appeared in print on page A1, A17.

**Load-Date:** November 12, 2024

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[***Get Used to Seismic Political Shifts***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DMK-PCP1-DXY4-X2VW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 12, 2024 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section F; Column 0; SpecialSections; Pg. 6

**Length:** 1444 words

**Byline:** By Alina Tugend

**Body**

A lively DealBook Summit task force agreed on little except that the electorate is restless.

This article is part of our special section on the DealBook Summit that included business and policy leaders from around the world.

The 2024 presidential election isn't over.

While the vote count is official and President-elect Donald J. Trump will be the next occupant of the Oval Office, just about everything else, including how much of a mandate he has, why the Democrats lost and what the future of the two political parties -- and the country -- will look like, is still the subject of fierce debate.

That came through strongly during a discussion on Dec. 4 at the DealBook Summit in New York City about the election and its aftermath. The 10-member election task force, one of four held away from the main stage, included those involved in politics, the media and advocacy.

Early on, the lines were set: Jason Miller, a senior adviser to Mr. Trump, thanked other task force members for joining him in ''celebrating President Trump's victory.'' Shortly afterward, Sarah Longwell, an outspoken Republican against Mr. Trump and publisher of the website The Bulwark, described Mr. Trump as ''the most dangerous criminal human being that America has ever elected.''

And, she said, gesturing at Kevin McCarthy, former speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives and another task force member, ''you're the one who went down and resurrected him,'' referring to Mr. McCarthy's visit to Mar-a-Lago shortly after the Jan. 6 insurrection.

To which Mr. McCarthy replied, ''You're welcome.''

Not all exchanges were testy, but that did not mean there was a meeting of minds. Democrats on the panel rejected Republicans' assertion that the victory was a sweep.

Kellyanne Conway, the campaign manager for the 2016 Trump campaign and former senior counselor, declared the election ''a rejection of wokeness,'' while Alexis McGill Johnson, chief executive and president of Planned Parenthood, called it ''a rollback on 50 to 100 years of progress that we have been making among communities of color, among gender, among people who just want to live their lives.''

Most agreed that the Democrats' loss hinged on a variety of factors: inflation, immigration, anti-incumbency and a false sense of hope created after the 2022 midterms, where a predicted red wave never appeared.

The anger many felt after the Supreme Court decision to overturn Roe v. Wade, less than five months before the midterms, carried through that election, but ''also kept Kamala Harris competitive because she stepped into that role and for two years has been an incredible surrogate and messenger'' for abortion rights, Ms. Johnson said.

But more emphasis was needed on the economic woes of voters, ''the daily decisions that they were making from buying a box of cereal to when and how their families would survive,'' she added.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

More broadly, panel members of all persuasions pointed to an overall failure of the Democratic Party to understand what disillusioned and divided voters were looking for.

''Something that we as a party will have to face up to is that we have absolutely lost our credibility with people who are at the lower end of the economic scale,'' said Anita Dunn, former senior adviser to President Biden. She added that, ''If you were to say to me, what is the Democratic Party's biggest problem right now? It's that the people we think we're representing don't think we are representing them when it comes to the core issue.''

Van Jones, a CNN political commentator and chief executive of the nonprofit Dream Machine, also pointed to the failure of Democrats to attract young men.

''There was a huge disconnect from what the campaign thought was going to work and what was actually resonating with young men,'' he said. ''I'm going to tell you, young men of color are up for grabs. They don't like Republicans, they don't like Democrats, and they don't like their circumstances.''

In fact, one thing most could agree on was that all sorts of voters are now up for grabs in what Ms. Longwell called a major political realignment.

''The Democratic Party is now populated by a lot more of these college-educated voters, and there aren't enough of them,'' Ms. Longwell said. ''The Republican Party has built a multiracial, multiethnic ***working-class*** coalition for a variety of reasons, much of which is part of negative polarization -- a rejection of something else, as opposed to an affirmative.''

While the election feels unprecedented, that is not the case; Major Garret, chief Washington correspondent at CBS News, said the only other time a president was re-elected to a nonconsecutive second term was also during a time economic and cultural disruption: Grover Cleveland who was elected in 1885 and then again in 1893.

Just like now, he said, during the Gilded Age ''there was massive dislocation, massive convulsions, people feeling as if the world they knew is not only changing but may never be there again.''

These ongoing political shifts also raise the question of what the Republican Party will look like after 2028: Mr. McCarthy acknowledged that, ''Republicans have problems too. We didn't win; Donald Trump won.''

Yet, for the most part, the Republicans on the panel saw bright days ahead.

''When you look at where he is now in 2024 versus 2016, this is an entirely different level of organization and preparedness for a new administration,'' Mr. Miller said. ''I would make the case that we've never seen an administration ever come into Day 1 ready to go like President Trump is, quite frankly because he's done it before.''

Mr. Miller brushed off questions about Mr. Trump's vow of retribution against those he considered disloyal, including the media, once he is sworn in.

''The president said very clearly his only retribution or revenge will be success, and that's what it's going to be,'' he said.

Some weren't satisfied with that answer.

''You said he said retribution will be his success, but he also talked about putting Liz Cheney in front of a firing squad,'' said Margaret Hoover, host of ''Firing Line with Margaret Hoover'' on PBS. ''He talked about hanging Mark Milley,'' a former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

She then read several names from a list of 60 people who appear in the book ''Government Gangsters: The Deep State, the Truth and the Battle for Our Democracy,'' written by Kash Patel, Mr. Trump's nominee for F.B.I. director. That compilation has been referred to as an enemies list of people he hopes to prosecute.

''Is prosecuting people who held those positions of power in the previous administration, his own administration, the proper way to go?'' Ms. Hoover asked Ms. Conway.

''I think what's going to happen is he'll be asked about all of that in his confirmation hearings, and we should welcome those questions,'' Ms. Conway said about Mr. Patel. ''He's a big boy. He can answer those questions.''

The meeting ended with no conclusions, just a general agreement that the way blue and red politics have traditionally played out in this country is undergoing a major upheaval.

''In 2020 people voted for change, because they were sick of Trump,'' Mr. Jones said. ''In 2024, they voted for change. They're probably going to vote for change a bunch more times because something is off. There's something really going wrong for real, everyday working folks in this country, and I'm not sure either party has an answer yet.''

Takeaways

A month after the 2024 election, profound disagreement remains about what the results actually mean.

Democrats have to acknowledge, and understand why, they have lost credibility with ***working***- ***class*** voters and other parts of their traditional base.

The new administration is prepared to take charge Day 1, but Republicans need to look at a future beyond Trump.

Moderator: Maggie Haberman, senior political correspondent, The New York Times

Participants: Kellyanne Conway, campaign manager, Trump-Pence 2016, and former senior counselor to President Donald J. Trump; Anita Dunn, former senior adviser to President Biden; Major Garrett, chief Washington correspondent, CBS News; Margaret Hoover, host, ''Firing Line With Margaret Hoover,'' PBS; Alexis McGill Johnson, president and chief executive, Planned Parenthood; Van Jones, chief executive, Dream Machine, and CNN political commentator; Jonathan Karl, chief Washington correspondent, ABC News; Sarah Longwell, publisher, The Bulwark, and host, ''The Focus Group'' podcast; Kevin McCarthy, former speaker, U.S. House of Representatives; and Jason Miller, senior adviser to Mr. Trump.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/11/business/dealbook/election-task-force.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/11/business/dealbook/election-task-force.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Experts in politics, the media and advocacy shared their views in a post-election panel at the DealBook Summit. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JOSÉ A. ALVARADO JR. FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Athletes and media personalities gathered at a panel discussion on branding and sports during the DealBook Summit. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KLAWE RZECZY) This article appeared in print on page F6.

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[***Unions Bet Big on Harris. Now They’re Bracing for Consequences.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCT-0NB1-DXY4-X28C-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1646 words

**Byline:** Jonathan Weisman and Benjamin OreskesJonathan Weisman is a politics writer, covering campaigns with an emphasis on economic and labor policy. He is based in Chicago.

**Highlight:** Government unions, service worker unions and industrial unions all face possible repercussions from Donald Trump’s victory, but not necessarily all the same kind.

**Body**

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Besides the Harris campaign and its affiliated political action committees, few economic or political sectors placed larger bets than organized labor on Vice President Kamala Harris’s winning the presidency.

And few might reap more consequences from the incoming Trump administration. For public-sector unions that represent government workers, the threat is institutional and existential: Top advisers to President-elect Donald J. Trump want to eliminate them outright.

For service industry unions that represent hotel and restaurant workers, the threats may be to the members themselves: vulnerable and low-paid workers, often immigrants, who could be swept up in Mr. Trump’s promised mass deportations.

And for the leadership of the old-line industrial unions, the threat is from their members, many of whom ignored the pleadings of their leadership and voted for Mr. Trump.

“We do understand we have issues that are confronting us, major issues,” said [*Lee Saunders, chairman of the A.F.L.-C.I.O.’s political committee*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/22/us/politics/lee-saunders-afscme-democratic-convention.html) and president of the 1.6-million-strong American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. “This is going to impact the entire labor movement.”

Unions poured nearly $43 million into the Harris campaign, [*according to Open Secrets*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/22/us/politics/lee-saunders-afscme-democratic-convention.html), but that understates the resources they put into phone banks, canvassing operations, education and persuasion efforts with their members and outreach to nonunion ***working-class*** households.

Union leaders insisted in the wake of Mr. Trump’s victory that they had done their job: Initial exit polls showed that Ms. Harris had won union households by 55 percent to Mr. Trump’s 43 percent, about the same as President Biden’s margin in 2020. In narrow Democratic Senate victories in Michigan, Wisconsin and Nevada, and in the still-uncalled Senate race in Arizona, union households might prove to be the difference makers.

But with unions representing less than 10 percent of the private-sector work force, their true failure was their inability to extend their influence on Ms. Harris’s behalf beyond their memberships to the far larger numbers of ***working-class*** Americans who do not belong to any union at all, who came out in force and voted overwhelmingly for the former president.

“Working Americans elected President Trump because they trust him,” said Karoline Leavitt, a Trump-Vance transition spokeswoman.

Randi Weingarten, president of the American Federation of Teachers, said voters who felt they had control over their lives — through higher education or union representation — had sided with Democrats.

But, she said, “people who felt like there’s too much change, in the pace of technology, in the cost of living, in the fear of a country being different than they thought it was — they wanted a strongman to fix it,” and that man was Mr. Trump.

The explanations for Ms. Harris’s defeat are myriad, but union leaders have been among the most outspoken in saying she and other Democrats have failed to center the struggles of workers. Jimmy Williams Jr., president of the International Union of Painters and Allied Trades, a strong Harris ally, complained on social media that Ms. Harris had failed to make a strong case for “what immigrant workers bring to our country,” including immigrant workers in his union.

Democrats were too slow to acknowledge the pain of inflation, he said. At the same time, they were ineffective in communicating what the Biden administration had accomplished, in infrastructure jobs, manufacturing and bringing back semiconductor production from offshore — all accomplishments that are now likely to redound to Mr. Trump’s benefit as those projects build out.

“The party did not make a positive case for why workers should vote for them, only that they were not Donald Trump,” Mr. Williams said of the Democrats. “That’s not good enough anymore.”

In Mr. Trump’s first term, he appointed union foes to the National Labor Relations Board who clamped down on organizing and strongly opposed union-backed rules to make it easier for workers to vote for collective bargaining. His secretaries of labor were no more pro-union.

But in his campaign this time around, he openly courted union workers, if not their bosses. He made expensive promises to end income taxation on tips and overtime. More important, though, were his larger promises that by imposing tariffs on almost all imported goods, he would bring manufacturing jobs back from overseas; that by deporting millions of undocumented immigrants, he would free up work for citizens; and that by ending environmental regulations intended to push the U.S. economy toward electric cars and renewable energy, he would bring back a golden age of muscle cars and oil derricks.

It did not help that a scattering of prominent unions declined to endorse Ms. Harris, in large part because their rank and file backed Mr. Trump. Most prominent were the Teamsters, whose president, [*Sean O’Brien, addressed the Republican convention*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/22/us/politics/lee-saunders-afscme-democratic-convention.html) and wanted to preserve a place at Mr. Trump’s table if he won. But he was not alone.

The International Association of Fire Fighters, the International Longshoremen’s Association and the United Mine Workers all sat out the election — and if union leadership’s education efforts really did help swing most union households to Ms. Harris, those unions’ decision not to endorse might well have helped Mr. Trump.

Now, with Mr. Trump victorious, leaders like Mr. O’Brien have chits to call in.

“The Teamsters look forward to working with President-elect Donald Trump, and to sharing with his transition team our priorities for how he can best support working Americans and the future of labor,” said Kara Deniz, a Teamsters spokeswoman. “The Republicans, under the leadership of Donald Trump, indicated throughout the campaign that they want to be the party of working people. The campaign is over. It’s time for Republicans to show up.”

Leaders like Shawn Fain, president of the United Automobile Workers, who became outspoken surrogates for Ms. Harris, may face the consequences of their decisions.

A defiant Mr. Fain said in a statement: “It’s time for Washington, D.C., to put up or shut up, no matter the party, no matter the candidate. Will our government stand with the ***working class***, or keep doing the bidding of the billionaires?”

While leaders like Mr. Fain brace for Mr. Trump’s famous penchant for retribution, service workers unions are bracing for Mr. Trump’s policy promises. In Nevada, the organizing power of unions like the Culinary Workers had propelled Democratic presidential candidates to success in every election since 2004 — until this one.

Union leaders might say they succeeded in significantly helping Ms. Harris’s support among their members; in Nevada, they didn’t. Recent polling of Nevadans who are [*registered*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/22/us/politics/lee-saunders-afscme-democratic-convention.html) voters found that Ms. Harris performed only a single point better among union members than Mr. Trump, 48 percent to 47 percent. The same poll in 2020 [*found*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/22/us/politics/lee-saunders-afscme-democratic-convention.html) President Biden beating Mr. Trump by 22 percentage points among union members in Nevada.

Now, Ted Pappageorge, the head of the immigrant-heavy Culinary Workers Local 226, said he was worried about Mr. Trump’s draconian promises to deport undocumented immigrants en masse and slam closed the U.S.-Mexican border.

Ms. Harris’s “messaging was on point,” he said. But what Mr. Trump was doing was tantamount to the efforts of a manager to undermine an organizing drive, he suggested, and he had significantly more time to do it.

“She had a couple of months to do that, and Trump has been banging away doing what we call ‘a boss campaign’ for years, introducing a massive amount of fear and division,” Mr. Pappageorge said.

For unions representing government employees, the threat is to the unions themselves. Project 2025, the blueprint for a new Trump administration drawn up by several Trump advisers, suggested eliminating such unions altogether.

“Congress should consider whether public-sector unions are appropriate in the first place,” the document stated.

Vivek Ramaswamy, the Ohio entrepreneur now frequently mentioned as a potential official in the incoming administration, made eliminating teachers unions a priority of his campaign for president last year. He said Friday that what he had meant was eliminating collective bargaining protections for public schoolteachers when their contracts come up for renewal.

“It is about the latitude of how employment contracts are written,” he said.

Some Trump advisers, including Mr. Ramaswamy, have also pushed for the elimination of the federal Department of Education, though campaign aides said Friday that Mr. Trump had not taken a position on public-sector unions.

“There’s no doubt it’s an existential threat,” Ms. Weingarten said. “Am I worried? I’m Jewish. I worry about everything.”

The workers themselves may be far less concerned. Brian Ursua, a member of Teamsters Local 631 and a Trump supporter in North Las Vegas, said overtime pay on weekend shifts setting up trade shows was critical to him, and Mr. Trump has promised to end taxation of overtime pay.

“I felt that Donald better understood the middle-class citizens,” he said.

Union leaders are not so sanguine. The Biden administration recently finalized regulations that would [*expand mandatory overtime pay to workers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/22/us/politics/lee-saunders-afscme-democratic-convention.html) earning the equivalent of $58,656 a year, beginning Jan. 1, up from $43,888. Advisers to the Trump campaign have proposed rolling the rule back.

Ms. Leavitt said the president-elect had taken no position on the issue.

“President Trump will keep his promise to the hardworking men and women of America,” she said. “He will bring jobs back home, restore American manufacturing, slash inflation and cut taxes.”

This article appeared in print on page A1, A17.

**Load-Date:** November 11, 2024

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[***Begich Defeats Peltola in Alaska, Flipping House Seat for Republicans***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DG3-F801-JBG3-61SD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 20, 2024 Wednesday 08:00 EST

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**Section:** US; elections

**Length:** 429 words

**Byline:** Maya C. MillerMaya C. Miller covers Congress and is a , a program for journalists early in their careers. She is based in Washington.

**Highlight:** The G.O.P. united behind Nick Begich III, the conservative son of a prominent liberal Alaska political family, to beat Representative Mary Peltola, a Democrat.

**Body**

The G.O.P. united behind Nick Begich III, the conservative son of a prominent liberal Alaska political family, to beat Representative Mary Peltola, a Democrat.

Nick Begich III, the Republican son of a prominent liberal political family in Alaska, has defeated Representative Mary Peltola to win the state’s sole House seat, according to The Associated Press, ousting one of the nation’s most vulnerable Democrats and adding to Republicans’ [*slim House majority*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/elections/republican-house-trifecta.html).

The victory, announced on Wednesday, more than two weeks after Election Day, was a comeback of sorts for Mr. Begich, an Anchorage native and businessman who was endorsed by the right-wing House Freedom Caucus and who had challenged Ms. Peltola in 2022 but fell short. Back then, Republicans split their votes between him and former Gov. Sarah Palin, allowing the Democrat to prevail in Alaska’s unusual ranked-choice voting system. This time, Mr. Begich benefited from a G.O.P. that united behind him.

Ms. Peltola, the first Alaska Native elected to Congress, staked her campaign on her ***working-class*** appeal and presented herself as a solutions-focused pragmatist fighting for the state’s future. She first won the seat in a special election after the [*death in 2022 of Representative Don Young, the longest-serving Republican in the House*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/elections/republican-house-trifecta.html). Before Ms. Peltola, the last Democrat to represent Alaska in the House was Nick Begich Sr., Mr. Begich’s grandfather.

During his first run for Congress, the younger Mr. Begich, who once worked for Mr. Young, drew a backlash from Republicans for challenging the congressman in a primary shortly before Mr. Young’s death at the age of 88. Former Young aides called Mr. Begich deceitful and disloyal to their boss and chose to back Ms. Peltola instead.

That was not the case this year. The party united behind Mr. Begich after his top Republican rival, Lt. Gov. Nancy Dahlstrom, withdrew from the race after [*placing behind him in the late-August primary*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/elections/republican-house-trifecta.html). Ms. Dahlstrom had the backing of both former President Donald J. Trump and Speaker Mike Johnson.

Mr. Begich has said he wants to decrease federal spending, a touchy subject in Alaska, where the U.S. government employs more than 16,000 people and federal spending pays for almost half the state’s budget.

PHOTO: His victory on Tuesday was a comeback of sorts for Nick Begich III, an Anchorage native and businessman who was endorsed by the right-wing House Freedom Caucus and who challenged Representative Mary Peltola in 2022 but fell short. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Bill Roth/Anchorage Daily News, via Associated Press FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 21, 2024

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[***Seismic Political Shifts Are Likely to Continue***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DMF-N221-JBG3-61G8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 11, 2024 Wednesday 12:16 EST

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**Section:** BUSINESS; dealbook

**Length:** 1482 words

**Byline:** Alina Tugend

**Highlight:** A lively DealBook Summit task force agreed on little except that the electorate is restless.

**Body**

A lively DealBook Summit task force agreed on little except that the electorate is restless.

This article is part of our special section on the [*DealBook Summit*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/dealbook-special-section) that included business and policy leaders from around the world.

The 2024 presidential election isn’t over.

While the vote count is official and President-elect Donald J. Trump will be the next occupant of the Oval Office, just about everything else, including how much of a mandate he has, why the Democrats lost and what the future of the two political parties — and the country — will look like, is still the subject of fierce debate.

That came through strongly during a discussion on Dec. 4 at the DealBook Summit in New York City about the election and its aftermath. The 10-member election task force, one of four held away from the main stage, included those involved in politics, the media and advocacy.

Early on, the lines were set: Jason Miller, a senior adviser to Mr. Trump, thanked other task force members for joining him in “celebrating President Trump’s victory.” Shortly afterward, Sarah Longwell, an outspoken Republican against Mr. Trump and publisher of the website [*The Bulwark,*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/dealbook-special-section) described Mr. Trump as “the most dangerous criminal human being that America has ever elected.”

And, she said, gesturing at Kevin McCarthy, former speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives and another task force member, “you’re the one who went down and resurrected him,” referring to Mr. McCarthy’s visit to Mar-a-Lago shortly after the Jan. 6 insurrection.

To which Mr. McCarthy replied, “You’re welcome.”

Not all exchanges were testy, but that did not mean there was a meeting of minds. Democrats on the panel rejected Republicans’ assertion that the victory was a sweep.

Kellyanne Conway, the campaign manager for the 2016 Trump campaign and former senior counselor, declared the election “a rejection of wokeness,” while Alexis McGill Johnson, chief executive and president of Planned Parenthood, called it “a rollback on 50 to 100 years of progress that we have been making among communities of color, among gender, among people who just want to live their lives.”

Most agreed that the Democrats’ loss hinged on a variety of factors: inflation, immigration, anti-incumbency and a false sense of hope created after the 2022 midterms, where a predicted red wave never appeared.

The anger many felt after the Supreme Court decision to overturn Roe v. Wade, less than five months before the midterms, carried through that election, but “also kept Kamala Harris competitive because she stepped into that role and for two years has been an incredible surrogate and messenger” for abortion rights, Ms. Johnson said.

But more emphasis was needed on the economic woes of voters, “the daily decisions that they were making from buying a box of cereal to when and how their families would survive,” she added.

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/dealbook-special-section)]

More broadly, panel members of all persuasions pointed to an overall failure of the Democratic Party to understand what disillusioned and divided voters were looking for.

“Something that we as a party will have to face up to is that we have absolutely lost our credibility with people who are at the lower end of the economic scale,” said Anita Dunn, former senior adviser to President Biden. She added that, “If you were to say to me, what is the Democratic Party’s biggest problem right now? It’s that the people we think we’re representing don’t think we are representing them when it comes to the core issue.”

Van Jones, a CNN political commentator and chief executive of the nonprofit Dream Machine, also pointed to the failure of Democrats to attract young men.

“There was a huge disconnect from what the campaign thought was going to work and what was actually resonating with young men,” he said. “I’m going to tell you, young men of color are up for grabs. They don’t like Republicans, they don’t like Democrats, and they don’t like their circumstances.”

In fact, one thing most could agree on was that all sorts of voters are now up for grabs in what Ms. Longwell called a major political realignment.

“The Democratic Party is now populated by a lot more of these college-educated voters, and there aren’t enough of them,” Ms. Longwell said. “The Republican Party has built a multiracial, multiethnic ***working-class*** coalition for a variety of reasons, much of which is part of negative polarization — a rejection of something else, as opposed to an affirmative.”

While the election feels unprecedented, that is not the case; Major Garret, chief Washington correspondent at CBS News, said the only other time a president was re-elected to a nonconsecutive second term was also during a time economic and cultural disruption: Grover Cleveland who was elected in 1885 and then again in 1893.

Just like now, he said, during the Gilded Age “there was massive dislocation, massive convulsions, people feeling as if the world they knew is not only changing but may never be there again.”

These ongoing political shifts also raise the question of what the Republican Party will look like after 2028: Mr. McCarthy acknowledged that, “Republicans have problems too. We didn’t win; Donald Trump won.”

Yet, for the most part, the Republicans on the panel saw bright days ahead.

“When you look at where he is now in 2024 versus 2016, this is an entirely different level of organization and preparedness for a new administration,” Mr. Miller said. “I would make the case that we’ve never seen an administration ever come into Day 1 ready to go like President Trump is, quite frankly because he’s done it before.”

Mr. Miller brushed off questions about Mr. Trump’s vow of [*retribution*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/dealbook-special-section) against those he considered disloyal, including the media, once he is sworn in.

“The president said very clearly his only retribution or revenge will be success, and that’s what it’s going to be,” he said.

Some weren’t satisfied with that answer.

“You said he said retribution will be his success, but he also talked about putting Liz Cheney in front of a firing squad,” said Margaret Hoover, host of “Firing Line with Margaret Hoover” on PBS. “He talked about hanging Mark Milley,” a former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

She then read several names from a list of 60 people who appear in the book “[*Government Gangsters: The Deep State, the Truth and the Battle for Our Democracy,*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/dealbook-special-section)” written by Kash Patel, Mr. Trump’s nominee for F.B.I. director. That compilation has been referred to as an [*enemies list*](https://www.nytimes.com/spotlight/dealbook-special-section) of people he hopes to prosecute.

“Is prosecuting people who held those positions of power in the previous administration, his own administration, the proper way to go?” Ms. Hoover asked Ms. Conway.

“I think what’s going to happen is he’ll be asked about all of that in his confirmation hearings, and we should welcome those questions,” Ms. Conway said about Mr. Patel. “He’s a big boy. He can answer those questions.”

The meeting ended with no conclusions, just a general agreement that the way blue and red politics have traditionally played out in this country is undergoing a major upheaval.

“In 2020 people voted for change, because they were sick of Trump,” Mr. Jones said. “In 2024, they voted for change. They’re probably going to vote for change a bunch more times because something is off. There’s something really going wrong for real, everyday working folks in this country, and I’m not sure either party has an answer yet.”

Takeaways

* A month after the 2024 election, profound disagreement remains about what the results actually mean.

1. Democrats have to acknowledge, and understand why, they have lost credibility with ***working***- ***class*** voters and other parts of their traditional base.
2. The new administration is prepared to take charge Day 1, but Republicans need to look at a future beyond Trump.

Moderator: Maggie Haberman, senior political correspondent, The New York Times

Participants: Kellyanne Conway, campaign manager, Trump-Pence 2016, and former senior counselor to President Donald J. Trump; Anita Dunn, former senior adviser to President Biden; Major Garrett, chief Washington correspondent, CBS News; Margaret Hoover, host, “Firing Line With Margaret Hoover,” PBS; Alexis McGill Johnson, president and chief executive, Planned Parenthood; Van Jones, chief executive, Dream Machine, and CNN political commentator; Jonathan Karl, chief Washington correspondent, ABC News; Sarah Longwell, publisher, The Bulwark, and host, “The Focus Group” podcast; Kevin McCarthy, former speaker, U.S. House of Representatives; and Jason Miller, senior adviser to Mr. Trump.

PHOTOS: Experts in politics, the media and advocacy shared their views in a post-election panel at the DealBook Summit. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JOSÉ A. ALVARADO JR. FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Athletes and media personalities gathered at a panel discussion on branding and sports during the DealBook Summit. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KLAWE RZECZY) This article appeared in print on page F6.

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[***When Will Democrats Learn to Say No?; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DF3-3T41-JBG3-63GW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1769 words

**Byline:** Adam Jentleson

**Highlight:** Why supermajority thinking is urgently needed on the left.

**Body**

When Donald Trump held a [*rally*](https://apnews.com/article/trump-bronx-rally-minority-voters-00fae754f78333111c508d6e740a3610) in the Bronx in May, critics scoffed that there was no way he could win New York State. Yet as a strategic matter, asking the question “What would it take for a Republican to win New York?” leads to the answer, “It would take overperforming with Black, Hispanic and ***working-class*** voters.”

Mr. Trump didn’t win New York, of course, but his gains with nonwhite voters helped him sweep all seven battleground states.

Unlike Democrats, Mr. Trump engaged in what I call supermajority thinking: envisioning what it would take to achieve an electoral realignment and working from there.

Supermajority thinking is urgently needed at this moment. We have been conditioned to think of our era of polarization as a stable arrangement of rough parity between the parties that will last indefinitely, but history teaches us that such periods usually give way to electoral realignments. Last week, Mr. Trump showed us what a conservative realignment can look like. Unless Democrats want to be consigned to minority status and be locked out of the Senate for the foreseeable future, they need to counter by building a supermajority of their own.

That starts with picking an ambitious electoral goal — say, the 365 electoral votes Barack Obama won in 2008 — and thinking clearly about what Democrats need to do to achieve it.

Democrats cannot do this as long as they remain crippled by a fetish for putting coalition management over a real desire for power. Whereas Mr. Trump has crafted an image as a different kind of Republican by routinely making claims that break with the party line on issues ranging from protecting Social Security and Medicare to mandating insurance coverage of in vitro fertilization, Democrats remain stuck trying to please all of their interest groups while watching voters of [*all races*](https://apnews.com/article/trump-bronx-rally-minority-voters-00fae754f78333111c508d6e740a3610) desert them over the very stances that these groups impose on the party.

Achieving a supermajority means declaring independence from liberal and progressive interest groups that prevent Democrats from thinking clearly about how to win. Collectively, these groups impose the rigid mores and vocabulary of college-educated elites, placing a hard ceiling on Democrats’ appeal and fatally wounding them in the places they need to win not just to take back the White House, but to have a prayer in the Senate.

Interest groups tend to be nonprofit organizations dedicated to advancing a single issue or set of related issues that they often hope to get on the Democrats’ agenda. At their best, these groups can be productive partners in building power and legislating. But many have grown too big, adopted overly expansive mandates and become disastrously cavalier about the basic realities of American politics in ways that end up undermining their own goals.

To cite a few examples, when Kamala Harris was running for the Democratic nomination in 2019, the A.C.L.U. [*pushed*](https://apnews.com/article/trump-bronx-rally-minority-voters-00fae754f78333111c508d6e740a3610) her to articulate a position on surgeries for transgender prisoners, needlessly elevating an obscure issue into the public debate as a purity test, despite the fact that current law already gave prisoners access to gender-affirming care. This became a major [*line of attack*](https://apnews.com/article/trump-bronx-rally-minority-voters-00fae754f78333111c508d6e740a3610) for Mr. Trump in the closing weeks of this year’s election. Now, with the G.O.P.’s ascent to dominance, transgender Americans are unquestionably going to be worse off.

The same year, a [*coalition*](https://apnews.com/article/trump-bronx-rally-minority-voters-00fae754f78333111c508d6e740a3610) of groups including the Sunrise Movement and the Working Families Party demanded that all Democrats running for president embrace decriminalizing border crossings. When candidates were asked at a debate if they would do so, every candidate on the stage that night [*raised a hand*](https://apnews.com/article/trump-bronx-rally-minority-voters-00fae754f78333111c508d6e740a3610) (except Michael Bennet). Groups like Justice Democrats pushed Democrats to defund the police and [*abolish*](https://apnews.com/article/trump-bronx-rally-minority-voters-00fae754f78333111c508d6e740a3610) Immigration and Customs Enforcement. Positions taken a few years ago are fair game in campaigns, and by feeding into Republican attacks these efforts helped Mr. Trump and left the people and causes they claim to fight for under threat.

Ruthlessly prioritizing winning will make the groups mad, and that’s OK — in fact, it will be good for them. Groups have become too accustomed to enjoying access without holding themselves accountable; the question “is this tactic more likely to trigger backlash than to advance our goals?” is the single most important one, yet it seems to be rarely asked by many of the groups’ leaders or funders. Meanwhile, many of today’s lawmakers and leaders have come up at a time when alienating the groups is seen as anathema, but they should start seeing it as both right and necessary — a long overdue resetting of the relationship that will be healthy for all involved.

The groups also pollute the talent pipeline by training young people in magical thinking, teaching them to apply movement tactics to every issue instead of inculcating them with the disciplined practice of smart politics. This is primarily the fault of the leaders, not the youth, since many bosses claim to live in fear of being “canceled” by their young staff members. Yet having managed dozens of junior staffers in progressive institutions for more than a decade, I know it is possible to listen to and learn from their concerns and create a supportive work environment while also setting clear boundaries and expectations.

Building a supermajority will require fresh, talented workers who energetically embrace the challenge of seeking change through the political system. By contrast, urging young people to think they can simply change the system when it produces results they don’t like does them no favors. Walking to work on Capitol Hill often involves navigating numerous protests, which fade into background noise. By contrast, a think tank like the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities has probably never participated in a sit-in but has helped [*lift millions of people out of poverty*](https://apnews.com/article/trump-bronx-rally-minority-voters-00fae754f78333111c508d6e740a3610) by producing credible policy analysis and identifying pragmatic legislative changes that lawmakers can implement. Today, the organization’s model is considered unfashionable, derided as incrementalism in an era that valorizes maximalism.

The 2026 midterms will offer an opportunity for Democrats to make major gains in the House and the Senate. Mr. Trump is likely to be an unpopular president, and congressional Republicans consistently undermine their own advantages in pursuit of tax cuts for the wealthy.

A winning strategy has to be more heterodox than the interest groups will allow. Many candidates who overperformed in swing districts were, simultaneously, economically populist, culturally conservative, anti-regulation and anti-corruption, reflecting the complexity of voters that the groups try to sand down. ***Working-class*** people feel cheated by major corporations, yet Amazon has been extremely [*popular*](https://apnews.com/article/trump-bronx-rally-minority-voters-00fae754f78333111c508d6e740a3610) — far more so than the federal government. Americans blame [*billionaires*](https://apnews.com/article/trump-bronx-rally-minority-voters-00fae754f78333111c508d6e740a3610) for economic unfairness and want to tax them at higher rates, but also look up to them and think they’re good for the economy. By wishing away these complexities, a coalition-first mind-set produces many candidates who are the inverse of what voters want — people with the cultural sensibilities of Yale Law School graduates who cosplay as populists by over-relying on niche issues like [*Federal Trade Commission antitrust actions*](https://apnews.com/article/trump-bronx-rally-minority-voters-00fae754f78333111c508d6e740a3610).

Democrats need to strip our messaging down to the studs and focus on the enduring issues that have stood the test of time. It is highly persuasive to give voters basic information in clear terms about Democrats’ positions on Social Security and Medicare, health care, prescription drug pricing, abortion rights and tax policy. Every interest group comes armed with polls of questionable quality showing their issue is popular — but we should focus on what’s been tried and tested.

One way to do this is for Democrats to stop filling out interest group questionnaires and using their websites to placate them by listing positions on every issue under the sun. This is where opponents go to mine for oppo, as they did for Ms. Harris.

Democrats should seek out issues that demonstrate their willingness to fight for their constituents and break with progressive orthodoxy. The emerging concept known as supply-side progressivism offers a good guide, embracing limited deregulation that advances liberal policy goals.

Democratic candidates such as Marie Gluesenkamp Perez of Washington opposed [*regulations*](https://apnews.com/article/trump-bronx-rally-minority-voters-00fae754f78333111c508d6e740a3610) that prevent day care workers from peeling fresh fruit for kids and a mandate for new safety features on table saws that would have made the saws so expensive that people would simply use circular saws, likely resulting in more severed fingers. For Jared Golden of Maine, it was [*opposing*](https://apnews.com/article/trump-bronx-rally-minority-voters-00fae754f78333111c508d6e740a3610) a Biden administration rule meant to protect whales that would have hurt his state’s lobster industry. Border security has clearly emerged as a threshold issue for ***working-class*** voters, including Latinos; by taking a hard line, Dan Osborn (an independent candidate) in Nebraska and Ruben Gallego in Arizona ran well ahead of Ms. Harris. Except for Mr. Osborn (who still ran 13 points ahead of Ms. Harris), these candidates have won or are ahead in their races for the House and Senate.

Our bench is strong, but if we let interest groups dictate the incentive structure for the second resistance as they did for the first, overperformers like Mr. Gallego and Ms. Gluesenkamp Perez will be pulled to the left in politically disastrous ways. Or they will simply be overlooked, as was the case in the 2020 presidential primary for candidates with strong electoral records like Amy Klobuchar or Steve Bullock.

Supermajority thinkers should concede nothing on righteousness. In politics, winning elections is the moral imperative. You go into this business to change people’s lives for the better. That means changing policy, and to change policy you have to win.

Those who would rather lose elections so that they can feel better about themselves leave the real suffering to the people they claim to fight for. No one wins when we lose. It is time to start winning again.

Adam Jentleson is a former chief of staff to Senator John Fetterman of Pennsylvania, a former deputy chief of staff to Senator Harry Reid of Nevada and the author of “Kill Switch: The Rise of the Modern Senate and the Crippling of American Democracy.”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://apnews.com/article/trump-bronx-rally-minority-voters-00fae754f78333111c508d6e740a3610) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://apnews.com/article/trump-bronx-rally-minority-voters-00fae754f78333111c508d6e740a3610). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://apnews.com/article/trump-bronx-rally-minority-voters-00fae754f78333111c508d6e740a3610).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Nadine Redlich FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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**End of Document**



[***Why the Heck Isn’t She Running Away With This?; David Brooks***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D6R-TYJ1-JBG3-61K9-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 17, 2024 Thursday 21:11 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1631 words

**Byline:** David BrooksDavid Brooks is an Opinion columnist for The Times, writing about political, social and cultural trends.

**Highlight:** After huge shifts in the electorate, it’s baffling that the two parties are still almost exactly evenly matched.

**Body**

Two big things baffle me about this election. The first is: Why are the polls so immobile? In mid-June the race between President Biden and Donald Trump was neck and neck. Since then, we’ve had a blizzard of big events, and still the race is basically where it was in June. It started out tied and has only gotten closer.

We supposedly live in a country in which a plurality of voters are independents. You’d think they’d behave, well, independently and get swayed by events. But no. In our era the polling numbers barely move.

The second thing that baffles me is: Why has politics been 50-50 for over a decade? We’ve had big shifts in the electorate, college-educated voters going left and non-college-educated voters going right. But still, the two parties are almost exactly evenly matched.

This is not historically normal. Usually we have one majority party that has a big vision for the country, and then we have a minority party that tries to poke holes in that vision. (In the 1930s the Democrats dominated with the New Deal, and the Republicans complained. In the 1980s the Reagan revolution dominated, and the Democrats tried to adjust.)

But today neither party has been able to expand its support to create that kind of majority coalition. As the American Enterprise Institute scholars Ruy Teixeira and Yuval Levin note in a new study, “[*Politics Without Winners*](https://www.aei.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/10/Politics-Without-Winners-Can-Either-Party-Build-a-Majority-Coalition.pdf),” we have two parties playing the role of minority party: “Each party runs campaigns focused almost entirely on the faults of the other, with no serious strategy for significantly broadening its electoral reach.”

Teixeira and Levin observe that both parties are content to live with deadlock. The parties, they write, “have prioritized the wishes of their most intensely devoted voters — who would never vote for the other party — over the priorities of winnable voters who could go either way.” Both parties “treat narrow victories like landslides and wave away narrow defeats, somehow seeing both as confirmation of their existing strategies.”

Trump has spent the past nine years not even trying to expand his base but just playing to the same MAGA grievances over and over again. Kamala Harris refuses to break with Biden on any significant issue and is running as a paint-by-numbers orthodox Democrat. Neither party tolerates much ideological diversity. Neither party has a plausible strategy to build a durable majority coalition. Why?

I think the reason for all this is that political parties no longer serve the function they used to. In days gone by, parties were political organizations designed to win elections and gain power. Party leaders would expand their coalitions toward that end. Today, on the other hand, in an increasingly secular age, political parties are better seen as religious organizations that exist to provide believers with meaning, membership and moral sanctification. If that’s your purpose, of course you have to stick to the existing gospel. You have to focus your attention on affirming the creed of the current true believers. You get so buried within the walls of your own catechism, you can’t even imagine what it would be like to think outside it.

When parties were primarily political organizations, they were led by elected officials and party bosses. Now that parties are more like quasi-religions, power lies with priesthood — the dispersed array of media figures, podcast hosts and activists who run the conversation, define party orthodoxy and determine the boundaries of acceptable belief.

Let’s look at the Democratic Party. The Democrats have huge advantages in America today. Unlike their opponents, they are not a threat to democracy. Voters trust them on issues like health care and are swinging their way on issues like abortion. They have a great base from which to potentially expand their coalition and build their majority. All they have to do is address their weaknesses, the places where they are out of step with most Americans.

The problem is that where you find their weaknesses, there you find the priesthood. The public conversation on the Democratic side of things is dominated by highly educated urban progressives who work in academia, the media, the activist groups and so on. These folks have a highly developed and self-confident worldview — a comprehensive critique of American society. The only problem is that this worldview is rejected by most Americans, who don’t share the critique. The more the Democrats embrace the priesthood’s orthodoxy, the more it loses ***working-class*** voters, including Hispanic and Black ***working-class*** voters.

For example, the progressive priesthood, quite admirably, is committed to fighting racial oppression. Its members believe that the way to do that is to be hyperaware of racial categories — in the diversity, equity and inclusion way — in order to rearrange preferences to support historically oppressed groups.

Most Americans also seek to fight racism, but they seek to do it in a different way. Their goal is to reduce the salience of racial categories so that people’s talents and initiative determine their life outcomes. According to a 2022 University of Southern California survey of Americans, 92 percent of respondents agreed with this statement: “Our goal as a society should be to treat all people the same without regard to the color of their skin.” Which is why only a [*third*](https://www.aei.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/10/Politics-Without-Winners-Can-Either-Party-Build-a-Majority-Coalition.pdf) of Americans in a recent Pew Research Center survey said they supported using race as a factor in college admissions.

Or take energy. Most members of the Democratic clerisy are properly alarmed by climate change and believe we should rapidly shift from fossil fuels. Liberal white college graduates favor eliminating fossil fuels by two to one. It’s no skin off their teeth; they work on laptops.

But if you live in Oklahoma or work in an industry that runs on oil, coal or natural gas, this idea seems like an assault on your way of life, which, of course, it is. An overwhelming 72 percent of Americans favor an all-of-the-above approach, relying on both renewables and traditional energy sources.

Or take immigration. Highly educated white progressives tend to see the immigration and asylum issue through the lens of oppressor and oppressed: The people coming across our border are fleeing horror in their home countries. But most Americans see immigration through a law-and-order lens: We need to control our boundaries, preserve social order and take care of our own. In a June CBS survey 62 percent of Americans, including 53 percent of Hispanics, said they supported a program to deport undocumented immigrants — the most extreme version of this approach.

On these, as on so many other issues, the position that is held by a vast majority of Americans is unsayable in highly educated progressive circles. The priesthood has established official doctrine, and woe to anyone who contradicts it.

The Republicans have exactly the same dynamic, except their priesthood is dominated by shock jocks, tech bros and Christian nationalists, some of whom are literally members of the priesthood.

Harris clearly understands the problem. She has tried to run her campaign to show she is in tune with majority opinions. In a classic 2018 More in Common [*report*](https://www.aei.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/10/Politics-Without-Winners-Can-Either-Party-Build-a-Majority-Coalition.pdf), only 45 percent of the most liberal group in the survey said they were proud to be American. But Harris festooned her convention with patriotic symbols to the rafters. She’s now explicitly running on the theme: country before party.

But in just the few months she has had to campaign, Harris can’t turn around the Democratic Party’s entire identity. Plus, her gestures have all been stylistic; she hasn’t challenged Democratic orthodoxy on any substantive issue. Finally, candidates no longer have the ultimate power over what the party stands for. The priesthood — the people who dominate the national conversation — has the power.

The result is that each party has its own metaphysics. Each party is no longer just a political organism; it is a political-cultural-religious-class entity that organizes the social, moral and psychological lives of its believers.

Each party’s metaphysic seems to grow more rigid and impermeable as time goes by. Sometimes it seems that Harris is running not to be president of the United States but to be president of a theme park called Democratic Magic Mountain, while Trump is running to be president of Republican Fantasy Island. Each party has become too narcissistic to get outside its own head and try to build a coalition with people outside the camp of true believers.

The political problem for Harris is that there are a lot more Americans without a college degree than with one. Class is growing more salient in American life, with Hispanic and Black ***working-class*** voters shifting steadily over to the ***working-class*** party, the G.O.P.

The problem for Trump is that he is even better at repelling potential converts than the Democrats. He’d be winning landslides if he had tried to wedge MAGA Republicans into a coalition with Bush-McCain Republicans, but he’s incapable of that.

The problem for the rest of us is that we’re locked into this perpetual state of suspended animation in which the two parties are deadlocked and nothing ever changes. I keep running into people who are rooting for divided government for the next four years. It will mean that America will be able to do little to solve its problems. They see this as the least bad option.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.aei.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/10/Politics-Without-Winners-Can-Either-Party-Build-a-Majority-Coalition.pdf) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.aei.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/10/Politics-Without-Winners-Can-Either-Party-Build-a-Majority-Coalition.pdf). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.aei.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/10/Politics-Without-Winners-Can-Either-Party-Build-a-Majority-Coalition.pdf).

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY IOULEX FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A21.

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**End of Document**



[***Road From Wall Street to Trump's Cabinet Will Have Some Financial Bumps***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DH0-64M1-DXY4-X30G-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 25, 2024 Monday

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**Section:** Section B; Column 0; Business/Financial Desk; Pg. 2; DEALBOOK NEWSLETTER

**Length:** 1893 words

**Byline:** By Lauren Hirsch

**Body**

Trump's picks for Treasury secretary and commerce secretary both lead Wall Street firms. Here's what that could mean for their finances and businesses.

As President-elect Donald Trump takes an unconventional approach to stocking his cabinet, he's also embracing one candidate pool that has plenty of precedent: Wall Street chief executives.

On Friday, Trump picked Scott Bessent, a top economic adviser and the founder of Key Square Group, a hedge fund, to be his Treasury secretary. He previously tapped Howard Lutnick, the chief executive of the financial services firm Cantor Fitzgerald, for commerce secretary.

Executives appointed to government positions are often required to make extensive stock divestitures, so the path from Wall Street to Washington can be particularly complex (while also offering an opportunity to avoid certain taxes).

Bessent's potential departure from Key Square may trigger ''key man provisions'' that often protect clients of hedge funds if top executives leave. And Lutnick is inextricably linked with Cantor Fitzgerald: He was named its president in 1991 and steered the firm after it was ravaged by the Sept. 11 attacks in 2001.

Here is what we know -- and don't know -- about how Bessent and Lutnick plan to unwind.

Lutnick would leave Cantor Fitzgerald. He said Thursday that, upon Senate confirmation, he would step down from the company and the two firms it spun out: BGC Group, a brokerage firm, and Newmark, a real estate firm.

He'd be leaving during BGC's ambitious push to take on the exchange giant CME Group -- likely a reason that BGC's shares were down 8 percent for the week. Shares of Newmark were up 1 percent.

Bessent may wind down or sell Key Square, or put it into ''sleep mode,'' Reuters reported, citing a person familiar with the situation.

Lutnick would have to divest millions of dollars in stock. Federal law requires government employees to avoid holding assets that can be affected by their work. Lutnick plans to divest the 128 million shares he owns in BGC, spread out across his 401(k), retirement accounts and trusts, according to a company filing on Thursday. Some name his wife, Allison Lutnick, as a trustee.

Lutnick also said he would not sell his shares on the open market, preventing a flood of new shares that could depress the share price of Cantor Fitzgerald's subsidiaries.

Divesting can get dicey. John Paulson, the hedge fund manager, took himself out of the running for Treasury secretary because of his ''complex financial obligations.'' Vincent Viola, the billionaire Wall Street trader whom Trump nominated to be Army secretary eight years ago, withdrew after he found it too difficult to untangle himself from his business ties.

If he becomes commerce secretary, Lutnick may need to divest a particularly wide range of assets. The position ''has pretty broad purview from an issue standpoint, so there could be a substantial number of divestments that are required by the office,'' Matthew Sanderson, a lawyer at the firm Caplin & Drysdale, told DealBook.

But divestment might come with a big tax break -- depending on how it's done. Special protections allow appointees to avoid paying taxes on gains from divesting in assets that pose a conflict, as long as they invest proceeds from a sale into ''permissible property'' like a Treasury bond or an approved diversified investment fund. It's not a permanent pass on taxes: If they eventually sell those Treasury bonds, for example, they have to pay the taxes.

But the protections essentially give executives with stock concentrated in their own companies an opportunity for tax-free portfolio diversification. The former Goldman Sachs C.E.O. Hank Paulson, for example, famously had to sell around $700 million in the company's stock when he took the job as Treasury secretary in the George W. Bush administration, and was able to do without paying capital gains taxes. Some wealthy executives may be able to borrow against those less risky investments and live on the loans without ever paying the taxes.

Trusts may not be eligible for the special tax treatment, say lawyers who specialize in helping executives divest their holdings. But other holdings might -- depending on how Bessent and Lutnick divested them. Transfer shares to a foundation? That would not qualify for the tax treatment. A private sale to another individual? That would.

Would divestment be enough? Senator Ron Wyden of Oregon, the Democratic chair of the Senate Finance Committee, has already indicated that he plans to scrutinize BGC's joint venture with China Credit Trust -- an appearance of conflict for Lutnick that divesting from BGC may not sufficiently address, tax experts said.

Of course, it's not entirely clear what a confirmation process will look like for Trump's cabinet picks given that his transition team has declined to sign an ethics pledge. And the top job at the U.S. Office of Government Ethics, the agency that oversees these conflicts of interest, is vacant.

''Howard Lutnick, like all those who serve in the administration, will follow the laws and regulations for public service,'' Adam Kennedy, a spokesman for the Trump transition, said.

-- Lauren Hirsch

IN CASE YOU MISSED IT

Amazon invested another $4 billion in Anthropic. The tech giant has now invested $8 billion in the artificial intelligence start-up behind the Claude chatbot. The new investment comes even as regulators increase their scrutiny of Big Tech's ties to leading A.I. start-ups as they race to dominate the sector.

The Justice Department called for Google to be forced to sell its Chrome browser. The request followed a ruling in August that the company was operating an illegal monopoly in search. The proposed remedies are the most sweeping since the Justice Department pushed for Microsoft to be broken up in 2000. If Google is forced to make the change, it would transform how businesses operate on the internet.

Bitcoin came close to $100,000. The price of the cryptocurrency has soared since Election Day on hopes that President-elect Donald Trump will adopt a friendlier approach to the industry than the Biden administration. The sector spent more than $130 million during the election to support pro-crypto candidates, and the president-elect has said he will create a crypto-advisory council.

Biden's chief economist on the election

Since the election, Jared Bernstein, the chair of the White House Council of Economic Advisers, has often found himself in a down mood -- dealing, he says, with ''confusion, guilt'' and ''cognitive dissonance.''

President-elect Donald Trump's sweeping victory was fueled in part by lousy consumer sentiment and ***working-class*** Americans' frustration with the underlying state of the economy. That is a big blow to the idea of ''Bidenomics,'' of which Bernstein was a leading evangelist and architect.

Bernstein, a longtime Biden confidant, spoke with The Times's Talmon Joseph Smith about how he is making sense of the moment.

You told me three years ago that one goal of the American Rescue Plan was to intentionally ''run the economy with a little bit more heat.'' We've seen benefits of that, but in light of ensuing inflation, do you regret the size and the scope of the American Rescue Plan?

Twenty-twenty hindsight is an analytical luxury -- certainly one we didn't have in January of 2021. Back then, we had millions of unemployed people. We had Covid deaths peaking. The economy was improving, but it was far from reopened. And vaccinations hadn't been anywhere near adequately distributed. So the extent of uncertainty regarding the impact of Covid on the economy warranted a very strong rescue plan. And I don't regret the plan. We certainly got more heat than I envisioned at the time, no question, but we also got a lot more growth, less child poverty, fewer evictions, more business survivals, and a much quicker return to full employment and very little economic scarring.

At times, Democrats' economic messaging seemed uncertain or torn: bragging about data, but also apologizing for inflation, blaming corporations for higher prices or sometimes Vladimir Putin or supply chains. Doesn't it make sense, then, that Americans were uncertain about your stewardship, too?

That is not really the way I see it, I guess. I think there are definitely ways in which we talked about the economy that didn't resonate with what people were going through. But I used to say, back then, ''The risk of doing too little was greater than the risk of doing too much.''

And do you stand by that?

Yeah, I stand by that.

The inflation that ensued was largely caused by supply side snarls, but it was exacerbated by strong demand, no question. So I'm not giving fiscal policy a pass. But it's really important not to overly connect the rescue plan to the inflation odyssey we've been through.

Do you think this White House was too antagonistic toward business?

Remember, the corporate sector has been highly profitable over this period. So if we call them out for keeping and not passing savings along to consumers -- or if this president finally won a decades-long fight with Big Pharma -- that is a source of immense pride. No shame in our game there at all.

Donald Trump convinced enough ***working-class*** Americans, across all demographics, that he's in their corner. How did that happen to your party, which says it still sees itself as a party for workers?

The short answer is I don't know. I'm still an economist, not a political pundit. I've been intensely upset about that development. You may have heard us say, ''We get up every day and try to realize the president's vision of helping the ***working class***.'' That sounds like a typical political talking point, but it was basically our agenda for four years.

And the idea that that went so unrecognized, perhaps because the price level ended up being so high when the election came along, is an intensely dissonant set of issues for me.

You could argue that economists and economics reporters should have seen this frustration with the price level -- rather than just inflation -- coming from a mile away, but you all spent a lot of time touting falling inflation. Was that a mistake?

I understand that disinflation is less satisfying to people when they want their old prices back. I get that, and I'm going to have to deal with that, but at the same time, I do not regret talking about the sharp disinflation, or the strong G.D.P. growth or the historically low unemployment rate. And, you know, the Trump administration is inheriting them in such a way that you'll probably start hearing about what a great economy this is in a matter of weeks.

Chart of the week: Retailer dissonance

As the holiday shopping season approaches, two of America's largest retailers are on very different trajectories.

Target's stock price dropped almost 20 percent this week after the company reported a sales and profit decline in the most recent quarter, despite the strong shopping seasons of back-to-school and Halloween. Walmart, which has a bigger grocery business and relies less on discretionary spending than Target, has seen its shares surge this year as it wins over value-conscious customers.

Thanks for reading! We'll see you Monday.

We'd like your feedback. Please email thoughts and suggestions to [*dealbook@nytimes.com*](mailto:dealbook@nytimes.com)

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/23/business/dealbook/bessent-lutnick-divestments.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/23/business/dealbook/bessent-lutnick-divestments.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Howard Lutnick, the chief executive of Cantor Fitzgerald, has been selected for commerce secretary. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HIROKO MASUIKE/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page B2.

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[***Real Estate Leaders Sue to Stop New York's Overhaul of Broker Fees***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DNN-MC61-JBG3-643J-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Emma G. Fitzsimmons

**Body**

A law in New York City shifting broker fees from renters to landlords is set to take effect in June. Real estate leaders want to stop it.

Real estate leaders in New York City filed a lawsuit on Monday seeking to halt a new law that would shift expensive broker fees from renters to landlords.

The broker fee bill became law on Friday after Mayor Eric Adams neglected to sign or veto it within 30 days as required. The new rules approved by the City Council prevent renters from being forced to pay broker fees that can cost thousands of dollars.

The lawsuit was filed in Federal District Court in Manhattan by the Real Estate Board of New York, an influential industry lobbying group. It argues that the law is unconstitutional and that it will lead to higher rents.

''It will wreak havoc on the New York City rental markets and unleash a host of unintended consequences, causing immediate and irreparable harm to the consumers it purports to protect, as well as harm brokers and landlords around the city,'' the lawsuit said.

Moving into an apartment in the city can easily cost more than $10,000 in upfront costs, including a broker fee that is typically more than one month's rent. The median rent is currently about $3,400.

The City Council passed the bill in November over the objections of real estate leaders with 42 votes -- enough for a veto-proof majority to prevent Mr. Adams from trying to stop it. Mr. Adams, a Democrat who is friendly with real estate developers, had concerns about the bill, which is set to take effect in June.

The bill requires whoever hires a broker to pay the fee. Landlords and their agents would be required to disclose fees in listings and rental agreements. Violations could result in a civil penalty, including fines of up to $2,000.

Elected officials in New York have been moving to address the high cost of living. Rents have soared, and the city's rental vacancy rate hovers at close to 1 percent, the lowest it has been in more than 50 years.

The bill's main sponsor, Chi Ossé, a progressive City Council member from Brooklyn, cast the measure as an effort to address affordability and to bring the city in line with other American cities, where renters do not pay the fee.

Mr. Ossé called the lawsuit a ''last desperate attempt by the real estate lobby to undermine the voices of city residents.''

''New Yorkers deserve a rental system that works for them -- not one that exploits them,'' he said in a statement.

The lawsuit, however, focuses on several arguments: The law violates the right to free commercial speech under the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution by restricting apartment listings; it violates the contracts clause in the Constitution by invalidating contracts between brokers and landlords; and it is pre-empted by state law that regulates real estate brokers.

Carl Hum, the general counsel for the Real Estate Board of New York, said in a statement that the bill was ''bad policy and bad law.''

''This legislation will not only raise rents and make it harder for tenants to find housing, but it also infringes upon constitutional guarantees of free speech and contract rights, as well as New York State law,'' he said. ''We look forward to our day in court.''

Bess Freedman, the chief executive officer of Brown Harris Stevens, a major real estate firm, said in an interview that the mayor agreed with real estate leaders that the law could prompt landlords to raise rents to cover fees.

''It's going to create more challenges for a market that has an incredible lack of supply and options for people,'' she said.

Earlier this month, Mr. Adams said that he would not veto the bill amid growing tension with the City Council.

''I'm just not in that space of these headlines of dispute,'' he said. ''We need to be in a better, calm place.''

But Adrienne Adams, the City Council speaker, criticized the mayor over the weekend for attacking a bill that his administration helped negotiate.

''We fully expect Mayor Adams to implement it without delay to reinforce his pledge to support ***working-class*** New Yorkers,'' she said.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/16/nyregion/broker-fees-lawsuit-nyc.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/16/nyregion/broker-fees-lawsuit-nyc.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Moving into a New York City apartment can cost over $10,000, including a security deposit, first month's rent and a broker fee. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JAMES ESTRIN/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A15.

**Load-Date:** December 17, 2024

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[***A Wake for Woke***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCT-HCX1-JBG3-62FN-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Byline:** By Maureen Dowd

**Body**

Some Democrats are finally waking up and realizing that woke is broke.

Donald Trump won a majority of white women and remarkable numbers of Black and Latino voters and young men.

Democratic insiders thought people would vote for Kamala Harris, even if they didn't like her, to get rid of Trump. But more people ended up voting for Trump, even though many didn't like him, because they liked the Democratic Party less.

I have often talked about how my dad stayed up all night on the night Harry Truman was elected because he was so excited. And my brother stayed up all night the first time Trump was elected because he was so excited. And I felt that Democrats would never recover that kind of excitement until they could figure out why they had turned off so many ***working-class*** voters over the decades, and why they had developed such disdain toward their once loyal base.

Democratic candidates have often been avatars of elitism -- Michael Dukakis, Al Gore, John Kerry, Hillary Clinton and second-term Barack Obama. The party embraced a worldview of hyper-political correctness, condescension and cancellation, and it supported diversity statements for job applicants and faculty lounge terminology like ''Latinx,'' and ''BIPOC'' (Black, Indigenous, People of Color).

This alienated half the country, or more. And the chaos and antisemitism at many college campuses certainly didn't help.

''When the woke police come at you,'' Rahm Emanuel told me, ''you don't even get your Miranda rights read to you.''

There were a lot of Democrats ''barking,'' people who ''don't represent anybody,'' he said, and ''the leadership of the party was intimidated.''

Donald Trump played to the irritation of many Americans disgusted at being regarded as insensitive for talking the way they'd always talked. At rallies, he referred to women as ''beautiful'' and then pretended to admonish himself, saying he'd get in trouble for using that word. He'd also call women ''darling'' and joke that he had to be careful because his political career could be at risk.

One thing that makes Democrats great is that they unabashedly support groups that have suffered from inequality. But they have to begin avoiding extreme policies that alienate many Americans who would otherwise be drawn to the party.

Democrats learned the hard way in this election that mothers care both about abortion rights and having their daughters compete fairly and safely on the playing field.

A revealing chart that ran in The Financial Times showed that white progressives hold views far to the left of the minorities they champion. White progressives think at higher rates than Hispanic and Black Americans that ''racism is built into our society.'' Many more Black and Hispanic Americans surveyed, compared with white progressives, responded that ''America is the greatest country in the world.''

Gobsmacked Democrats have reacted to the wipeout in different ways. Some think Kamala did not court the left enough, touting trans rights and repudiating Israel.

Other Democrats feel the opposite, calling on the party to reimagine itself.

Marie Gluesenkamp Perez, a vulnerable Democrat in a red congressional district in Washington, narrowly held her seat. The 36-year-old mother of a toddler and owner of an auto shop told The Times's Annie Karni that Democratic condescension has to go. ''There's not one weird trick that's going to fix the Democratic Party,'' she said. ''It is going to take parents of young kids, people in rural communities, people in the trades running for office and being taken seriously.''

Representative Seth Moulton, a Massachusetts Democrat, said the party needs rebranding. ''Democrats spend way too much time trying not to offend anyone,'' he said. ''I have two little girls. I don't want them getting run over on a playing field by a male or formerly male athlete, but as a Democrat I'm supposed to be afraid to say that.''

On CNN, the Democratic strategist Julie Roginsky said that Democrats did not know how to talk to normal Americans.

Addressing Latinos as ''Latinx'' to be politically correct ''makes them think that we don't even live on the same planet as they do,'' she said. ''When we are too afraid to say that 'Hey, college kids, if you're trashing a campus of Columbia University because you aren't happy about some sort of policy and you're taking over a university and you're trashing it and preventing other students from learning, that that is unacceptable.' But we're so worried about alienating one or another cohort in our coalition that we don't know what to say.''

Kamala, a Democratic lawmaker told me, made the ''colossal mistake'' of running a billion-dollar campaign with celebrities like Beyoncé when many of the struggling ***working-class*** voters she wanted couldn't even afford a ticket to a Beyoncé concert, much less a down payment on a home.

''I don't think the average person said, 'Kamala Harris gets what I'm going through,''' this Democrat said.

Kamala, who sprinted to the left in her 2020 Democratic primary campaign, tried to move toward the center for this election, making sure to say she'd shoot an intruder with her Glock. But it sounded tinny.

The Trump campaign's most successful ad showed Kamala favoring tax-funded gender surgery for prisoners. Bill Clinton warned in vain that she should rebut it.

James Carville gave Kamala credit for not leaning into her gender and ethnicity. But he said the party had become enamored of ''identitarianism'' -- a word he uses because he won't say ''woke'' -- radiating the repellent idea that ''identity is more important than humanity.''

''We could never wash off the stench of it,'' he said, calling ''defund the police'' ''the three stupidest words in the English language.''

''It's like when you get smoke on your clothes and you have to wash them again and again. Now people are running away from it like the devil runs away from holy water.''

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**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY JONNO RATTMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page SR3.

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[***The Very Rich G.O.P. Senate Candidates Bidding for Working-Class Votes***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BKW-N4J1-JBG3-60RY-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1747 words

**Byline:** Jonathan Weisman Jonathan Weisman is a politics writer, covering campaigns with an emphasis on economic and labor policy. He is based in Chicago.

**Highlight:** With Democrats at a fund-raising advantage, the G.O.P. has backed candidates who can self-fund. But their wealth is likely to factor in the fight for Senate control.

**Body**

With Democrats at a fund-raising advantage, the G.O.P. has backed candidates who can self-fund. But their wealth is likely to factor in the fight for Senate control.

Since his rise to the presidency, Donald J. Trump has claimed enormous wealth as proof that he is an anti-establishment ally of the ***working class***, not beholden to corporate donors or special interests.

The Republican Party, eyeing control of the Senate next year, is trying to mimic his success with a cohort of candidates who in the past might have been attacked as a bunch of rich men but this year will be sold as successful outsiders in the Trump mold.

The decision by Ohio voters on Tuesday to nominate Bernie Moreno to take on Senator Sherrod Brown, a Democrat, is the capstone of a year that has crowned nominees — or anointed clear front-runners — with remarkable wealth in Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, West Virginia, Montana and now Ohio.

That might match the party’s presumptive nominee, Mr. Trump, but with backgrounds in banking and hedge funds, properties in Connecticut and Laguna Beach, Calif., and education credentials from Princeton and the Naval Academy, some in the 2024 class feel more like the days of Mitt Romney, [*worth around $174 million*](https://www.opensecrets.org/personal-finances/mitt-romney/net-worth?cid=N00000286&amp;year=2018), and John McCain, a Naval Academy graduate who married into a beer-distributing empire, than the current moment when blue-collar credibility is the currency of the realm.

The intentional decision by Republicans in Washington, D.C., to get behind candidates with enormous personal fortunes will most likely give the party a boost as it struggles for campaign cash against the Democrats’ formidable grass-roots fund-raising operations. But the sheer affluence of the candidates — and how they made their money — is sure to be a factor in the fight for Senate control.

“That’s who they are,” Mr. Brown, who is worth about $263,000, said in an interview on Wednesday, commenting on the lineup of millionaire Republicans arrayed against Democratic incumbents. “I guess I’m not surprised by that.”

Republicans say their candidates will make the case that they are successful political outsiders, running against career politicians who used their years in Washington to raise their net worth and enrich their families.

“We’ve recruited a roster of candidates with impressive backgrounds in business and, in many cases, military service,” said Mike Berg, a spokesman for the National Republican Senatorial Committee. “Democrats have a roster of career politicians with questionable ethics. We’ll take that contrast any day of the week.”

But if a clash over net worth comes down to numbers in bank accounts, the Republicans will have the bigger figures to answer for.

To call Mr. Moreno a former auto dealer, for instance, is to miss the scale of his business and investment fortune. In 2023, Mr. Moreno, a Colombian-born businessman, filed financial disclosure forms that revealed assets valued from $25.5 million to $105.7 million and an annual income nearing $6 million. Those assets include a $2.3 million [*Aston Martin Vulcan*](https://www.opensecrets.org/personal-finances/mitt-romney/net-worth?cid=N00000286&amp;year=2018), one of only 24 ever made, a house listed in Ocean Reef, Fla., worth as much as $25 million, land in Zapotal, Costa Rica, condominiums in New York, Washington, D.C., and Columbus, Ohio, and a home in Avon, Ohio, valued at up to $5 million.

But like Mr. Trump, whose endorsement helped deliver his victory, Mr. Moreno is confident he can speak to the blue-collar voters who have been the backbone of Mr. Brown’s support since the Democrat was elected in 2006.

“We are not the party of the elites in big business,” Mr. Moreno told reporters on Tuesday. “We’re the party of the ***working class***.”

An unusually wealthy crop of candidates

Affluence has been a hallmark of the Senate perhaps since its inception, in both parties. The richest senator, Rick Scott, Republican of Florida, is running for re-election this fall, and has shown [*a ready willingness to tap his fortune*](https://www.opensecrets.org/personal-finances/mitt-romney/net-worth?cid=N00000286&amp;year=2018) to ensure electoral success. The second-richest is a Democrat, Mark Warner of Virginia.

But the Republican Party, wary of the Democrats’ fund-raising prowess in recent cycles, has recruited candidates from a significantly higher economic echelon than the ***working-class*** voters it is trying to woo in swing states. With Democrats holding 51 seats, Republican control is a hairbreadth away.

The retirement of Senator Joe Manchin III, a conservative Democrat in West Virginia, virtually assures the loss of one seat to that state’s governor, Jim Justice, whose [*days as a billionaire coal baron*](https://www.opensecrets.org/personal-finances/mitt-romney/net-worth?cid=N00000286&amp;year=2018) may have passed, according to Forbes, but who is still worth hundreds of millions.

In Pennsylvania, David McCormick, the former chief executive of Bridgewater Associates, one of the largest hedge funds in the world, is challenging Senator Bob Casey. Mr. McCormick and his wife, Dina Powell McCormick, a Trump administration official and former partner at Goldman Sachs, [*reported assets in 2022 worth*](https://www.opensecrets.org/personal-finances/mitt-romney/net-worth?cid=N00000286&amp;year=2018) $116 million to $290 million.

In another key swing state, Wisconsin, Republicans are banking on Eric Hovde, the [*chairman and chief executive of Sunwest Bank*](https://www.opensecrets.org/personal-finances/mitt-romney/net-worth?cid=N00000286&amp;year=2018), a $2.8 billion commercial lender, to challenge Senator Tammy Baldwin.

Sunwest, based in Sandy, Utah, has operations in the West and in Florida. He considers his home to be Madison, Wis., but has been [*listed as a mover and shaker in Orange County, Calif.*](https://www.opensecrets.org/personal-finances/mitt-romney/net-worth?cid=N00000286&amp;year=2018), business circles. Democrats have [*repeatedly hit him over his $7 million home*](https://www.opensecrets.org/personal-finances/mitt-romney/net-worth?cid=N00000286&amp;year=2018) in Laguna Beach, Calif.

In Montana, Senator Jon Tester, a Democrat, faces a re-election battle in a state that gave Mr. Trump [*57 percent of its vote in 2020*](https://www.opensecrets.org/personal-finances/mitt-romney/net-worth?cid=N00000286&amp;year=2018), and his opponent, Tim Sheehy, is leaning on his background as a decorated former Navy SEAL and a firefighting pilot. But there is another piece of his résumé: Bridger Aerospace, an aerial firefighting company he founded, went [*public in 2022, valued at $869 million*](https://www.opensecrets.org/personal-finances/mitt-romney/net-worth?cid=N00000286&amp;year=2018).

So far, the candidates are leaning into their success. Mr. Hovde [*released an advertisement on Friday saying*](https://www.opensecrets.org/personal-finances/mitt-romney/net-worth?cid=N00000286&amp;year=2018) he has “worked hard, been fortunate” and does not need special-interest money. He vowed to donate his Senate salary to a Wisconsin charity.

On Wednesday, [*in a new advertisement*](https://www.opensecrets.org/personal-finances/mitt-romney/net-worth?cid=N00000286&amp;year=2018) airing statewide in Montana, Mr. Sheehy interspersed images of his combat duties with a promise to tap his own wealth: “I don’t need the money from lobbyists,” he said. “I can do the right thing in office because it’s the right thing for America.”

Democrats see openings for attack

For Democrats, their opponents’ backgrounds offer them a choice: tie them to Mr. Trump and his brand of what they call extremism, or fall back on a tried-and-true strategy to portray them as out-of-touch elitists, with histories of harming employees and customers alike.

“The roster of Republican Senate recruits come with enough baggage to fill a bank vault,” said David Bergstein, a spokesman for the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee. “Their finances demonstrate a wealth of vulnerabilities against them, from conflicts of interest to outsourcing to questionable financial practices.”

In Ohio, Mr. Moreno’s Republican opponents, especially the Republican establishment’s choice, State Senator Matt Dolan, repeatedly went after him [*for a lawsuit filed by an employee*](https://www.opensecrets.org/personal-finances/mitt-romney/net-worth?cid=N00000286&amp;year=2018) of one of his car dealerships, who [*sued him in 2017*](https://www.opensecrets.org/personal-finances/mitt-romney/net-worth?cid=N00000286&amp;year=2018) for failure to pay overtime. The judge in the case determined that Mr. Moreno “either did not retain or shredded” monthly reports on overtime hours. The Moreno campaign has countered repeatedly that the suit stemmed from a change in Massachusetts overtime law, not the actions of Mr. Moreno’s management. But Mr. Moreno [*did lose the suit and was ordered to pay $416,160*](https://www.opensecrets.org/personal-finances/mitt-romney/net-worth?cid=N00000286&amp;year=2018) to his employees.

Democrats have hinted that they have many more potentially damaging stories to tell about Mr. Moreno, one reason their leadership-aligned super PAC, the Senate Majority PAC, spent big in the last days of the Ohio primary to boost the businessman’s chances against Mr. Dolan.

Republicans will counter with Mr. Brown’s failure for years to disclose his wife’s pension assets, worth $250,001 to $500,000. Last year, [*he amended several years’ worth*](https://www.opensecrets.org/personal-finances/mitt-romney/net-worth?cid=N00000286&amp;year=2018) of disclosure forms to account for the pension.

Mr. McCormick, Mr. Hovde and Mr. Sheehy will all face questions about their commitments to the states they seek to represent in the Senate. Mr. McCormick’s home in Connecticut was the main point of attack in 2022 when he lost the Republican primary to Mehmet Oz for a vacant Senate seat in Pennsylvania.

Mr. Hovde was raised in Wisconsin, attended the University of Wisconsin-Madison and counts Madison as his home. But his ties to California will be central to the Democratic case against him.

Mr. Sheehy appears to be a dream candidate for Montana, but in facing Mr. Tester, a flat-topped farmer from Big Sandy, Mont., his recent arrival in the state could prove to be an issue. He grew up in Shoreview, Minn., a suburb of Minneapolis, in a multimillion-dollar lake house, went to private preparatory school, and then to the Naval Academy in Annapolis, Md., before being discharged from the military with a Bronze Star and a Purple Heart. He moved to Bozeman, Mont., in 2014 and founded Bridger Aerospace and Ascent Vision Technologies, the latter of which he sold for $350 million in 2020.

Republicans involved in the general-election campaigns say they have plenty of issues to counter those charges with, at least to muddy the waters: a [*$1.3 million condominium*](https://www.opensecrets.org/personal-finances/mitt-romney/net-worth?cid=N00000286&amp;year=2018) in Washington, D.C., that Ms. Baldwin bought with her partner, Maria Brisbane, in 2021; the rising net worth of Mr. Tester; and family lobbying ties connected to Mr. Casey.

As for their standard-bearer, Mr. Trump, his scramble to come up with hundreds of millions of dollars in the coming days to meet the judgment against him for business fraud is raising questions not over how he made his money, but whether he can keep it.

His campaign, facing myriad financial pressures amid mounting legal bills stemming from the criminal cases against him, [*is scrambling to raise cash*](https://www.opensecrets.org/personal-finances/mitt-romney/net-worth?cid=N00000286&amp;year=2018).

PHOTOS: BERNIE MORENO, with former President Donald J. Trump, is running for Senate in Ohio and has assets valued up to $105.7 million. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MADDIE MCGARVEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); DAVID MCCORMICK, running for Senate in Pennsylvania, and his wife, Dina, reported assets worth up to $290 million in 2022. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFF SWENSEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); GOVERNOR JIM JUSTICE of West Virginia, once a billionaire coal baron, remains worth hundreds of millions of dollars. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SHURAN HUANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A17.

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[***Who Might Be the Next Chair of the Democratic Party?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DHN-8YB1-DXY4-X0XG-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** US; politics

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**Byline:** Simon J. Levien, Simon J. Levien is a Times political reporter covering the 2024 elections and a member of the 2024-25 Times Fellowship class, a program for journalists early in their careers.

**Highlight:** The current leader of the Democratic National Committee, Jaime Harrison, won’t seek re-election. His successor will need to revive a distressed party.

**Body**

The current leader of the Democratic National Committee, Jaime Harrison, won’t seek re-election. His successor will need to revive a distressed party.

This article was updated on Feb. 1.

As the Democratic Party reels from devastating losses — in the presidential contest, the race to control the Senate and its bid to regain control of the House — its national committee is searching for a new chair. Whoever lands that critical role will be charged with shepherding the party out of the woods and into a new era.

Jaime Harrison, the current chair of the Democratic National Committee, has decided not to seek re-election. The party’s 448 committee members, who include party officials and politicians from across the country, are voting on his replacement on Saturday.

The post has long been considered among the [*worst in American politics*](https://www.nytco.com/careers/newsroom/newsroom-fellowship/), with a need to satisfy a broad range of donors, elected officials and interest groups, and a tendency to be blamed if things go awry.

The race is crowded. Eight people have enough support — 40 signatures — from D.N.C. members to qualify for the ballot.

Here’s a look at the Democrats running to lead their party, including two candidates who have [*emerged as leading contenders*](https://www.nytco.com/careers/newsroom/newsroom-fellowship/) for the role.

Who are the front-runners?

Ken Martin

Mr. Martin, one of several vice chairs of the D.N.C., is also the longtime leader of Minnesota’s Democratic Party. The state’s governor, Tim Walz, [*has endorsed*](https://www.nytco.com/careers/newsroom/newsroom-fellowship/) Mr. Martin’s candidacy.

Mr. Martin has an extensive track record in behind-the-scenes party leadership. He has led the state party in Minnesota since 2011 and became a national vice chair in 2017. He is also president of the Association of State Democratic Committees, which lobbies the national committee on behalf of the state parties.

Mr. Martin has expressed interest in having Democrats contest every race on every ballot across the country, [*something no party currently does*](https://www.nytco.com/careers/newsroom/newsroom-fellowship/). He [*recently told The Times*](https://www.nytco.com/careers/newsroom/newsroom-fellowship/) that the party’s next leader would have an opportunity to “reimagine the D.N.C.” while “trying to get at what happened in this last election.”

Ben Wikler

Mr. Wikler, the chair of Wisconsin’s Democratic Party since 2019, joined the race in early December. Senator Chuck Schumer of New York, the Democratic leader, backed him in January, and Representative Nancy Pelosi of California, the former House speaker, later followed.

“Ben Wikler has what Democrats need right now — proven results,” Mr. Schumer said in a [*post on social media*](https://www.nytco.com/careers/newsroom/newsroom-fellowship/).

Mr. Wikler is a popular figure among Democrats in Wisconsin, a political battleground. Some Democrats credit him for helping Joseph R. Biden Jr. win the state in 2020, and for helping Gov. Tony Evers secure re-election in 2022. He formerly was a senior adviser at MoveOn, a progressive advocacy group.

In an [*interview with The New York Times*](https://www.nytco.com/careers/newsroom/newsroom-fellowship/) in December, he declined to say whether he thought President Biden should have sought re-election and which state he believed should go first in the 2028 presidential primary.

“My platform in this race is unite, fight, win,” Mr. Wikler said. “Uniting starts not with recriminations but with reckoning and with curiosity and data. And then you use all that to inform the way that you fight the next battle.”

Who else is running?

Martin O’Malley

Mr. O’Malley, a former governor of Maryland and a Democratic presidential candidate in 2016, was the race’s first entrant.

He has a long record of public service, getting his start on the Baltimore City Council before becoming the city’s mayor in 1999. During his tenure as governor, an office he held from 2007 to 2015, he led the Democratic Governors Association.

In 2023, President Biden picked him to lead the Social Security Administration. Mr. O’Malley resigned from the post on Nov. 29.

In [*an interview with The New York Times*](https://www.nytco.com/careers/newsroom/newsroom-fellowship/), he said that he was a “turnaround manager,” and that the party should advance “economic arguments” to court voters.

“We face enormous challenges and a lot of soul-searching,” he said. “We need to focus on fixing the problem, and not the blame.”

Faiz Shakir

Mr. Shakir joined the race for chair in mid-January, just over two weeks before voting was set to begin. He said he thought other candidates were uninspiring, merely proposing procedural changes rather than a bold vision to reshape the party.

Mr. Shakir, who led Senator Bernie Sanders’s 2020 presidential campaign, said in [*an interview*](https://www.nytco.com/careers/newsroom/newsroom-fellowship/) that if elected he would redefine the Democratic Party as the party of the ***working class***. The Democratic brand was “tarnished,” he said, and needed help.

“We are rebuilding trust with people who don’t believe the Democratic Party has been there when it matters most to them,” he said.

Nate Snyder

Mr. Snyder, who worked in the Department of Homeland Security under President Biden and President Barack Obama, entered the D.N.C. chair race in December. He is considered a long shot.

Many of Mr. Snyder’s positions, including his emphasis on a “people-powered movement,” are more progressive than other candidates’. He promises to rebuild the party’s support from ***working-class*** and rural voters and to increase transparency in party fund-raising, according to his website.

“Education, loan forgiveness, putting food on the table, fighting for the little guy — we’ve sort of lost our way on that,” Mr. Snyder [*told Reuters*](https://www.nytco.com/careers/newsroom/newsroom-fellowship/).

Marianne Williamson

[*Marianne Williamson*](https://www.nytco.com/careers/newsroom/newsroom-fellowship/), a self-help author who has staged two long-shot Democratic campaigns for president, joined the D.N.C. race in late December.

A onetime spiritual adviser to Oprah Winfrey, Ms. Williamson, 72, said in an [*open letter to the committee membership*](https://www.nytco.com/careers/newsroom/newsroom-fellowship/) that the Democratic Party needed to understand the “emotional” force of President-elect Donald J. Trump’s appeal and “create the energy to counter it.”

Quintessa Hathaway

Ms. Hathaway, a former congressional candidate, announced a campaign for the role in early January. Like some of the race’s other late entrants, she faces steep odds.

In 2022, Ms. Hathaway lost a bid to unseat Representative French Hill, a Republican, in the Arkansas district that includes Little Rock. Her D.N.C. campaign platform emphasizes civil-rights policies and Democratic organizing in the Southeast.

Jason Paul

Jason Paul, a lawyer and political strategist from Newton, Mass., began his bid for chair in December.

Mr. Paul has worked in local politics across New England, and in 2014, he lost a Democratic primary race for state representative in Connecticut.

According to his website, he supports a “subscription-based fund-raising model” for the party.

Who’s dropped out?

James Skoufis

Mr. Skoufis, a relatively unknown New York state senator who began a long-shot bid to be the party’s leader in late November, [*dropped out of the race in mid-January*](https://www.nytco.com/careers/newsroom/newsroom-fellowship/).

Mr. Skoufis, 37, has served in the New York State Legislature for 12 years, representing Orange County in the Hudson Valley. He initially saw his “outsider” status as an advantage in the D.N.C. race.

“We tried the D.C. Beltway thing, we tried the decades-long operative thing, we tried the sort of party machine thing over and over and over and over again,” Mr. Skoufis [*told The Times*](https://www.nytco.com/careers/newsroom/newsroom-fellowship/). “And here we are.”

But without established relationships with committee members, Mr. Skoufis struggled to secure votes for party chair. When he dropped out, he endorsed Mr. Martin.

Reid J. Epstein, Katie Glueck and Shane Goldmacher contributed reporting.

Reid J. Epstein, Katie Glueck and Shane Goldmacher contributed reporting.

PHOTOS: Martin O’Malley, left, and Ken Martin have their hat in the ring. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANNA ROSE LAYDEN/GETTY IMAGES; JENN ACKERMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A18.

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[***In a Bellwether Pennsylvania County, a Modest Loss Could Be a Win for Harris***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D73-G3W1-DXY4-X0D0-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1651 words

**Byline:** Katie GlueckKatie Glueck covers American politics with a focus on the Democratic Party.

**Highlight:** In white, ***working-class*** places, Kamala Harris’s goal is simply to lose by less. Thirty interviews in Beaver County, Pa., offered signs that with some swing voters, she is holding the line.

**Body**

In 2008, Barack Obama and his new running mate, Joe Biden, [*kicked off their general-election campaign*](https://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/30/us/politics/30dems.html) in Beaver County, Pa., a culturally conservative area northwest of Pittsburgh where the shuttering of steel mills years earlier [*still stung*](https://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/30/us/politics/30dems.html).

In 2020, Mr. Biden was in [*Beaver County hours before Election Day*](https://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/30/us/politics/30dems.html) to make his closing argument. And in August, [*the first stop*](https://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/30/us/politics/30dems.html) for Vice President Kamala Harris and Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota on a Western Pennsylvania bus tour was in Beaver County.

Each time, the Democrats were angling for the loyalties of the ***working-class***, predominantly white voters who live in Beaver County and similar areas across Western Pennsylvania and the industrial Midwest. Each time, the party faced more skepticism and suspicion.

No longer dreaming of winning in such places, Democrats are simply trying to avoid the kinds of staggering losses that helped doom Hillary Clinton in 2016, and to keep pace with Mr. Biden’s slightly improved 2020 margins.

Their goal in white ***working-class*** areas sounds modest but in reality is enormously complicated: lose by less.

“The race is really close,” said Gov. Josh Shapiro, a Pennsylvania Democrat who [*managed to win Beaver County*](https://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/30/us/politics/30dems.html) in his 2022 run for governor and, along with other top Democrats, has campaigned for Ms. Harris in tough blue-collar and [*rural*](https://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/30/us/politics/30dems.html) territory. “Four, five, six hundred more votes in a place like Beaver County could be a real difference maker.”

In more than 30 interviews across Beaver and neighboring areas this week, where [*Republican voter registration is booming*](https://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/30/us/politics/30dems.html), the resistance to Ms. Harris was obvious as voters vented concerns about inflation and immigration. Residents blanketed their yards with Trump signs, and at least one flag cursed Ms. Harris.

It is entirely possible, Democrats acknowledge, that Ms. Harris could end up doing worse with these voters than the Scranton-born Mr. Biden did, especially among men.

But there were also glimmers of evidence that among some swing voters who backed Mr. Biden in 2020, she might be holding the line — even if they don’t want to say so too loudly in a place where former President Donald J. Trump’s supporters are proudly vocal.

“There were people that were supposedly secret Trump voters,” said Kevin Kerr, 52, a political independent from Monaca, Pa. “Now you have people that will paint their whole houses like Trump.”

Mr. Kerr, who voted Republican in 2008 and 2012 and Libertarian in 2016 before backing Mr. Biden in 2020, said he considered Ms. Harris “barely passable.” But he plans to support her — and predicted that others might quietly do the same.

“There’s an undercurrent of people that feel that way about Kamala, that don’t want to admit that they will vote for her, but they will,” said Mr. Kerr, who owns a tattoo shop. “They just don’t want to get into it with their neighbors.”

Is the cookie poll underestimating Harris?

Cindy Thompson, 73, was not planning to discuss politics with anyone when she walked into Kretchmar’s Bakery, an institution in Beaver, Pa., that Mr. Obama [*visited in 2012*](https://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/30/us/politics/30dems.html).

Then she noticed the store’s [*locally famous cookie poll*](https://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/30/us/politics/30dems.html), and its highly unscientific findings: [*Mr. Trump was trouncing Ms. Harris*](https://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/30/us/politics/30dems.html) in sales of cookies featuring their respective images.

“I looked at the cookies, and I said, ‘Oh, gosh, I’m going to have to buy 100 of these Harris cookies,’” Ms. Thompson, a retired teacher and typically a Democrat, recalled afterward. “I usually don’t make my opinion out loud, but I kind of couldn’t help it.”

During the 2016 election, she and her husband, Allan Thompson, 73, both of nearby Westmoreland County, were on opposite sides. Mr. Thompson, who retired from a salaried job in the steel industry, supported Mr. Trump.

“I argued with my New York City son, who told me, ‘Don’t do that, you’re crazy,’” Mr. Thompson said outside Kretchmar’s. “I find out I should listen to my son once in a while.”

He voted for Mr. Biden in 2020 and will support Ms. Harris, he said, in part because “I don’t want Trump. He’s threatening our government, our way of life, and I’m really concerned about what happens should he win.”

“I don’t like the fact that abortion is even something that is talked about in our government,” he added.

Widespread doubts about Democrats

Roman Kozak, the chairman of the Republican Committee of Beaver County and a candidate for state representative, acknowledges Democratic enthusiasm. He has even met a few two-time Trump voters who are now supporting Ms. Harris, he said in an interview.

But among the small group of voters considering a change from their 2020 choice, he said, he more often encountered reluctant Biden voters now leaning the other way.

“I do hear that, at some doors, ‘I don’t like, really, either of them, but at least under Donald Trump we had affordability,’” Mr. Kozak said.

That is the calculation that Megan Stanislow, 45, is making this year.

“I do not like him as a person generally,” she said of Mr. Trump. “I don’t think the way he talks about women is cool.” She also firmly supports abortion rights.

But Ms. Stanislow, of Beaver, intends to vote for him after not voting in 2020, she said. She cited concerns about the cost of living and expressed impatience with Ms. Harris’s mentions of growing up middle-class (a line the vice president repeats so often that [*“Saturday Night Live” made fun of it*](https://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/30/us/politics/30dems.html)). Ms. Harris, she said, simply offered “word salad.”

“They’ve had the last four years,” she said of Democrats. “We’re barely making it month to month.”

Lauren Hitt, a spokeswoman for Ms. Harris, said in a statement that she would move to “bring down the cost of groceries, prescriptions and housing,” and was focused on helping the middle class.

There are also Pennsylvania-specific challenges for Ms. Harris, including her past support, [*now rescinded*](https://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/30/us/politics/30dems.html), for a ban on fracking.

But more broadly, polls show that skepticism of her is especially acute among men, across different racial and age demographics, despite signs that she is making [*some gains*](https://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/30/us/politics/30dems.html) among white women.

“There’s no way in hell, to be honest with you, I want Donald Trump back — but then again, listening to Kamala speak, I’m really not too excited about her either,” said Garland Buffaloe, 52, a roofer who supported Mr. Biden in 2020 but was “50-50” on whether to support Ms. Harris — or to vote at all.

“It’d be nice to have a woman, and I don’t care about her color,” added Mr. Buffaloe, a Black man who agreed with Mr. Trump on tough border policies, but said the former president could be offensive in how he talks about race.

“I don’t trust none of them,” he added.

‘She’s fighting as hard as she can for every vote’

The Harris campaign is working to win over more male voters, betting big on an [*extensive field operation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/30/us/politics/30dems.html) and ramping up its outreach, with targeted efforts for white, Black and Latino men. The campaign recently started an affinity group [*for hunters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/30/us/politics/30dems.html), and is seeking to reach men with ads on sports talk radio and on television during major sporting events.

Mr. Walz is playing a crucial role in those efforts, particularly with rural Americans.

On Tuesday afternoon, he was on a muddy farm in Volant, Pa. — [*population 126*](https://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/30/us/politics/30dems.html) — north of Beaver County.

Decked out in flannel, Mr. Walz highlighted his shooting skills and delved deep into agriculture policy before a modest but enthusiastic crowd.

“They’re showing up in these areas that really matter,” Mr. Shapiro said. “You’ve got to show up, you’ve got to treat people with respect, you’ve got to ask them for their vote. She’s doing that.”

Yet former Representative Conor Lamb, a Pennsylvania Democrat whose district included Beaver County, said that while Ms. Harris was campaigning strategically in such areas, “it might not be visible until the very end, but I can’t say I’m seeing the progress yet.”

Asked if there was a risk that Ms. Harris would lose by more among white ***working-class*** voters than previous Democrats did, he acknowledged that there was.

“She’s fighting as hard as she can for every vote,” he said. “If it turns out that people are just so mad about inflation, or, you know, whatever issue it is, it certainly could go the other direction.”

Several voters supporting Ms. Harris suspected other issues at play.

“Biden was generally well-liked here,” said Kylie Fitzgerald, 35, an occupational therapist who is excited about Ms. Harris, but knows Biden voters who are wary of her. Because she is “a woman and a woman of color, they’re probably a little bit apprehensive, if I’m being honest.”

He’s outnumbered, but his Harris sign is 90 feet wide.

If the fight in battleground states is a game of inches — wring a few more Democratic votes out of the suburbs here, find some new Republican voters in the cities there — in places like Beaver County, it is more like a game of centimeters.

For Democrats following the race closely, every anguished aside from an undecided voter, every unexpected emoji reaction on a social media post, every change in yard sign, takes on outsize meaning.

But Donald Rea, 64, of Brighton Township, Pa., was not going for subtlety when he used lawn paint to create a 36-foot-tall, 90-foot-wide Harris sign on land he owns overlooking the Ohio and Beaver Rivers.

“People were scared to put out signs because all the rhetoric and all the crazy,” said Mr. Rea, who is retired from a career in remodeling. “I decided one day, I’m just not going to be scared, I’m going to do this.”

The reaction, he said, was not what he expected.

“Since we put our sign up, talking to different people in the community, I’m surprised how many of them came out of the closet, how many Kamala Harris people are out there,” he said. “There are a lot here.”

PHOTOS: Listening to a speech from Gov. Tim Walz at a rally on Tuesday at the Telesz Farm in Volant, Pa. Lincoln Kretchmar, left, displayed Harris and Trump cookies at Kretchmar’s Bakery in Beaver, Pa. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JEFF SWENSEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES( This article appeared in print on page A22.

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[***Democrats and the Case of Mistaken Identity Politics; Maureen Dowd***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCK-BTG1-JBG3-625N-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1039 words

**Byline:** Maureen DowdMaureen Dowd is an Opinion columnist for The Times. She won the 1999 Pulitzer Prize for distinguished commentary.

**Highlight:** The post mortem is a wake for woke.

**Body**

Some Democrats are finally waking up and realizing that woke is broke.

Donald Trump won a majority of white women and remarkable numbers of Black and Latino voters and young men.

Democratic insiders thought people would vote for Kamala Harris, even if they didn’t like her, to get rid of Trump. But more people ended up voting for Trump, even though many didn’t like him, because they liked the Democratic Party less.

I have often talked about how my dad stayed up all night on the night Harry Truman was elected because he was so excited. And my brother stayed up all night the first time Trump was elected because he was so excited. And I felt that Democrats would never recover that kind of excitement until they could figure out why they had turned off so many ***working-class*** voters over the decades, and why they had developed such disdain toward their once loyal base.

Democratic candidates have often been avatars of elitism — Michael Dukakis, Al Gore, John Kerry, Hillary Clinton and second-term Barack Obama. The party embraced a worldview of hyper-political correctness, condescension and cancellation, and it supported diversity statements for job applicants and faculty lounge terminology like “Latinx,” and “BIPOC” (Black, Indigenous, People of Color).

This alienated half the country, or more. And the chaos and antisemitism at many college campuses certainly didn’t help.

“When the woke police come at you,” Rahm Emanuel told me, “you don’t even get your Miranda rights read to you.”

There were a lot of Democrats “barking,” people who “don’t represent anybody,” he said, and “the leadership of the party was intimidated.”

Donald Trump played to the irritation of many Americans disgusted at being regarded as insensitive for talking the way they’d always talked. At rallies, he referred to women as “beautiful” and then pretended to admonish himself, saying he’d get in trouble for using that word. He’d also call women “darling” and joke that he had to be careful because his political career could be at risk.

One thing that makes Democrats great is that they unabashedly support groups that have suffered from inequality. But they have to begin avoiding extreme policies that alienate many Americans who would otherwise be drawn to the party.

Democrats learned the hard way in this election that mothers care both about abortion rights and having their daughters compete fairly and safely on the playing field.

A [*revealing chart*](https://www.ft.com/content/84b81600-d107-4050-80cf-1d1e276ea54d) that ran in The Financial Times showed that white progressives hold views far to the left of the minorities they champion. White progressives think at higher rates than Hispanic and Black Americans that “racism is built into our society.” Many more Black and Hispanic Americans surveyed, compared with white progressives, responded that “America is the greatest country in the world.”

Gobsmacked Democrats have reacted to the wipeout in different ways. Some think Kamala did not court the left enough, touting trans rights and repudiating Israel.

Other Democrats feel the opposite, calling on the party to reimagine itself.

Marie Gluesenkamp Perez, a vulnerable Democrat in a red congressional district in Washington, narrowly held her seat. The 36-year-old mother of a toddler and owner of an auto shop [*told*](https://www.ft.com/content/84b81600-d107-4050-80cf-1d1e276ea54d) The Times’s Annie Karni that Democratic condescension has to go. “There’s not one weird trick that’s going to fix the Democratic Party,” she said. “It is going to take parents of young kids, people in rural communities, people in the trades running for office and being taken seriously.”

Representative Seth Moulton, a Massachusetts Democrat, [*said*](https://www.ft.com/content/84b81600-d107-4050-80cf-1d1e276ea54d) the party needs rebranding. “Democrats spend way too much time trying not to offend anyone,” he said. “I have two little girls. I don’t want them getting run over on a playing field by a male or formerly male athlete, but as a Democrat I’m supposed to be afraid to say that.”

On CNN, the Democratic strategist Julie Roginsky said that Democrats did not know how to talk to normal Americans.

Addressing Latinos as “Latinx” to be politically correct “makes them think that we don’t even live on the same planet as they do,” she said. “When we are too afraid to say that ‘Hey, college kids, if you’re trashing a campus of Columbia University because you aren’t happy about some sort of policy and you’re taking over a university and you’re trashing it and preventing other students from learning, that that is unacceptable.’ But we’re so worried about alienating one or another cohort in our coalition that we don’t know what to say.”

Kamala, a Democratic lawmaker told me, made the “colossal mistake” of running a billion-dollar campaign with celebrities like Beyoncé when many of the struggling ***working-class*** voters she wanted couldn’t even afford a ticket to a Beyoncé concert, much less a down payment on a home.

“I don’t think the average person said, ‘Kamala Harris gets what I’m going through,’” this Democrat said.

Kamala, who sprinted to the left in her 2020 Democratic primary campaign, tried to move toward the center for this election, making sure to say she’d shoot an intruder with her Glock. But it sounded tinny.

The Trump campaign’s [*most successful ad*](https://www.ft.com/content/84b81600-d107-4050-80cf-1d1e276ea54d) showed Kamala favoring tax-funded gender surgery for prisoners. Bill Clinton warned in vain that she should rebut it.

James Carville gave Kamala credit for not leaning into her gender and ethnicity. But he said the party had become enamored of “identitarianism” — a word he uses because he won’t say “woke” — radiating the repellent idea that “identity is more important than humanity.”

“We could never wash off the stench of it,” he said, calling “defund the police” “the three stupidest words in the English language.”

“It’s like when you get smoke on your clothes and you have to wash them again and again. Now people are running away from it like the devil runs away from holy water.”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.ft.com/content/84b81600-d107-4050-80cf-1d1e276ea54d) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.ft.com/content/84b81600-d107-4050-80cf-1d1e276ea54d). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.ft.com/content/84b81600-d107-4050-80cf-1d1e276ea54d).

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY JONNO RATTMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page SR3.

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[***Stock for Sale by Cabinet Members; DealBook Newsletter***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DGK-3XC1-JBG3-643N-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** BUSINESS; dealbook

**Length:** 1906 words

**Byline:** Lauren HirschLauren Hirsch covers Wall Street, including M&amp;amp;A, executive changes, board strife and policy moves affecting business.

**Highlight:** Trump’s picks for Treasury secretary and commerce secretary both lead Wall Street firms. Here’s what that could mean for their finances and businesses.

**Body**

Trump’s picks for Treasury secretary and commerce secretary both lead Wall Street firms. Here’s what that could mean for their finances and businesses.

As President-elect Donald Trump takes an unconventional approach to stocking his cabinet, he’s also embracing one candidate pool that has plenty of precedent: Wall Street chief executives.

On Friday, [*Trump picked Scott Bessent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/22/business/trump-scott-bessent-treasury.html), a top economic adviser and the founder of Key Square Group, a hedge fund, to be his Treasury secretary. He previously tapped Howard Lutnick, the chief executive of the financial services firm Cantor Fitzgerald, for commerce secretary.

Executives appointed to government positions are often required to make extensive stock divestitures, so the path from Wall Street to Washington can be particularly complex (while also offering an opportunity to avoid certain taxes).

Bessent’s potential departure from Key Square may trigger “key man provisions” that often protect clients of hedge funds if top executives leave. And Lutnick is inextricably linked with Cantor Fitzgerald: He was named its president in 1991 and steered the firm after it was ravaged by the Sept. 11 attacks in 2001.

Here is what we know — and don’t know — about how Bessent and Lutnick plan to unwind.

Lutnick would leave Cantor Fitzgerald. He said Thursday that, upon Senate confirmation, he would [*step down*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/22/business/trump-scott-bessent-treasury.html) from the company and the two firms it spun out: BGC Group, a brokerage firm, and Newmark, a real estate firm.

He’d be leaving during BGC’s [*ambitious push to take on the exchange giant CME Group*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/22/business/trump-scott-bessent-treasury.html) — likely a reason that BGC’s shares were down 8 percent for the week. Shares of Newmark were up 1 percent.

Bessent may wind down or sell Key Square, or put it into “sleep mode,” [*Reuters reported*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/22/business/trump-scott-bessent-treasury.html), citing a person familiar with the situation.

Lutnick would have to divest millions of dollars in stock. Federal law requires government employees to avoid holding assets that can be affected by their work. Lutnick plans to divest the 128 million shares he owns in BGC, spread out across his 401(k), retirement accounts and trusts, according to a company filing on Thursday. Some name his wife, Allison Lutnick, as a trustee.

Lutnick also said he would not sell his shares on the open market, preventing a flood of new shares that could depress the share price of Cantor Fitzgerald’s subsidiaries.

Divesting can get dicey. John Paulson, the hedge fund manager, took himself out of the running for Treasury secretary because of his “complex financial obligations.” Vincent Viola, the billionaire Wall Street trader whom Trump nominated to be Army secretary eight years ago, [*withdrew*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/22/business/trump-scott-bessent-treasury.html) after he found it too difficult to untangle himself from his business ties.

If he becomes commerce secretary, Lutnick may need to divest a particularly wide range of assets. The position “has pretty broad purview from an issue standpoint, so there could be a substantial number of divestments that are required by the office,” Matthew Sanderson, a lawyer at the firm Caplin &amp; Drysdale, told DealBook.

But divestment might come with a big tax break — depending on how it’s done. Special protections allow appointees to avoid paying taxes on gains from divesting in assets that pose a conflict, as long as they invest proceeds from a sale into “permissible property” like a Treasury bond or an approved diversified investment fund. It’s not a permanent pass on taxes: If they eventually sell those Treasury bonds, for example, they have to pay the taxes.

But the protections essentially give executives with stock concentrated in their own companies an opportunity for tax-free portfolio diversification. The former Goldman Sachs C.E.O. Hank Paulson, for example, famously had to sell around [*$700 million*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/22/business/trump-scott-bessent-treasury.html) in the company’s stock when he took the job as Treasury secretary in the George W. Bush administration, and was able to do without paying capital gains taxes. Some wealthy executives may be able to borrow against those less risky investments and live on the loans without ever paying the taxes.

Trusts may not be eligible for the special tax treatment, say lawyers who specialize in helping executives divest their holdings. But other holdings might — depending on how Bessent and Lutnick divested them. Transfer shares to a foundation? That would not qualify for the tax treatment. A private sale to another individual? That would.

Would divestment be enough? Senator Ron Wyden of Oregon, the Democratic chair of the Senate Finance Committee, has already indicated that he [*plans to scrutinize*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/22/business/trump-scott-bessent-treasury.html) BGC’s joint venture with China Credit Trust — an appearance of conflict for Lutnick that divesting from BGC may not sufficiently address, tax experts said.

Of course, it’s not entirely clear what a confirmation process will look like for Trump’s cabinet picks given that his transition team has [*declined to sign an ethics pledge*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/22/business/trump-scott-bessent-treasury.html). And the top job at the U.S. Office of Government Ethics, the agency that oversees these conflicts of interest, is [*vacant*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/22/business/trump-scott-bessent-treasury.html).

“Howard Lutnick, like all those who serve in the administration, will follow the laws and regulations for public service,” Adam Kennedy, a spokesman for the Trump transition, said.

— Lauren Hirsch

IN CASE YOU MISSED IT

Amazon invested another $4 billion in Anthropic. The tech giant has now [*invested $8 billion*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/22/business/trump-scott-bessent-treasury.html) in the artificial intelligence start-up behind the Claude chatbot. The new investment comes even as regulators increase their scrutiny of Big Tech’s ties to leading A.I. start-ups as they race to dominate the sector.

The Justice Department called for Google to be forced to sell its Chrome browser. The [*request*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/22/business/trump-scott-bessent-treasury.html) followed a [*ruling*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/22/business/trump-scott-bessent-treasury.html) in August that the company was operating an illegal monopoly in search. The proposed remedies are the most sweeping since the Justice Department pushed for Microsoft to be broken up in 2000. If Google is forced to make the change, it would transform how businesses operate on the internet.

Bitcoin came close to $100,000. The price of the [*cryptocurrency has soared since Election Day*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/22/business/trump-scott-bessent-treasury.html) on hopes that President-elect Donald Trump will adopt a friendlier approach to the industry than the Biden administration. The sector spent more than $130 million during the election to support pro-crypto candidates, and the president-elect has said he will create a crypto-advisory council.

Biden’s chief economist on the election

Since the election, Jared Bernstein, the chair of the White House Council of Economic Advisers, has often found himself in a down mood — dealing, he says, with “confusion, guilt” and “cognitive dissonance.”

President-elect Donald Trump’s sweeping victory was fueled in part by lousy consumer sentiment and ***working-class*** Americans’ frustration with the underlying state of the economy. That is a big blow to the idea of “Bidenomics,” of which Bernstein was a leading evangelist and architect.

Bernstein, a longtime Biden confidant, spoke with The Times’s Talmon Joseph Smith about how he is making sense of the moment.

You told me three years ago that one goal of the American Rescue Plan was to intentionally “run the economy with a little bit more heat.” We’ve seen benefits of that, but in light of ensuing inflation, do you regret the size and the scope of the American Rescue Plan?

Twenty-twenty hindsight is an analytical luxury — certainly one we didn’t have in January of 2021. Back then, we had millions of unemployed people. We had Covid deaths peaking. The economy was improving, but it was far from reopened. And vaccinations hadn’t been anywhere near adequately distributed. So the extent of uncertainty regarding the impact of Covid on the economy warranted a very strong rescue plan. And I don’t regret the plan. We certainly got more heat than I envisioned at the time, no question, but we also got a lot more growth, less child poverty, fewer evictions, more business survivals, and a much quicker return to full employment and very little economic scarring.

At times, Democrats’ economic messaging seemed uncertain or torn: bragging about data, but also apologizing for inflation, blaming corporations for higher prices or sometimes Vladimir Putin or supply chains. Doesn’t it make sense, then, that Americans were uncertain about your stewardship, too?

That is not really the way I see it, I guess. I think there are definitely ways in which we talked about the economy that didn’t resonate with what people were going through. But I used to say, back then, “The risk of doing too little was greater than the risk of doing too much.”

And do you stand by that?

Yeah, I stand by that.

The inflation that ensued was largely caused by supply side snarls, but it was exacerbated by strong demand, no question. So I’m not giving fiscal policy a pass. But it’s really important not to overly connect the rescue plan to the inflation odyssey we’ve been through.

Do you think this White House was too antagonistic toward business?

Remember, the corporate sector has been highly profitable over this period. So if we call them out for keeping and not passing savings along to consumers — or if this president finally won a decades-long fight with Big Pharma — that is a source of immense pride. No shame in our game there at all.

Donald Trump convinced enough ***working-class*** Americans, across all demographics, that he’s in their corner. How did that happen to your party, which says it still sees itself as a party for workers?

The short answer is I don’t know. I’m still an economist, not a political pundit. I’ve been intensely upset about that development. You may have heard us say, “We get up every day and try to realize the president’s vision of helping the ***working class***.” That sounds like a typical political talking point, but it was basically our agenda for four years.

And the idea that that went so unrecognized, perhaps because the price level ended up being so high when the election came along, is an intensely dissonant set of issues for me.

You could argue that economists and economics reporters should have seen this frustration with the price level — rather than just inflation — coming from a mile away, but you all spent a lot of time touting falling inflation. Was that a mistake?

I understand that disinflation is less satisfying to people when they want their old prices back. I get that, and I’m going to have to deal with that, but at the same time, I do not regret talking about the sharp disinflation, or the strong G.D.P. growth or the historically low unemployment rate. And, you know, the Trump administration is inheriting them in such a way that you’ll probably start hearing about what a great economy this is in a matter of weeks.

Chart of the week: Retailer dissonance

As the holiday shopping season approaches, two of America’s largest retailers are on very different trajectories.

Target’s stock price dropped almost 20 percent this week after [*the company reported a sales and profit decline*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/22/business/trump-scott-bessent-treasury.html) in the most recent quarter, despite the strong shopping seasons of back-to-school and Halloween. Walmart, which has a bigger grocery business and relies less on discretionary spending than Target, has seen its shares surge this year as it wins over value-conscious customers.

Thanks for reading! We’ll see you Monday.

We’d like your feedback. Please email thoughts and suggestions to [*dealbook@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/22/business/trump-scott-bessent-treasury.html).

PHOTO: Howard Lutnick, the chief executive of Cantor Fitzgerald, has been selected for commerce secretary. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HIROKO MASUIKE/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page B2.

**Load-Date:** November 24, 2024

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[***How Kamala Harris Changes the Race***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CJJ-1461-DXY4-X05W-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** UPSHOT

**Length:** 1191 words

**Byline:** Nate Cohn Nate Cohn is The Times&amp;#8217;s chief political analyst. He covers elections, public opinion, demographics and polling.

**Highlight:** In some ways, the new matchup figures to be strangely familiar.

**Body**

In some ways, the new matchup figures to be strangely familiar.

When all the dust settles on a chaotic few weeks of American politics, this year’s presidential race will look very different than it did before.

But despite the upheaval, there’s a good chance that [*the new matchup*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/us/elections/polls-president.html) will look strangely familiar, even typical. In fact, it might look much more typical than the old Joe Biden-Donald Trump race.

After all, the Biden-Trump matchup [*stopped following the usual script*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/us/elections/polls-president.html) long before what proved to be a [*fateful debate*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/us/elections/polls-president.html). Here are just a few of the ways that the race will be different now that Vice President Kamala Harris is in it.

A Democrat for change

Incumbency is usually an asset to a president seeking re-election. For President Biden, incumbency was a burden.

In polls, a majority of voters say they are deeply dissatisfied with the state of the country. They say the political and economic system is broken. In short, they want change.

Mr. Trump is a change candidate. Mr. Biden was not. Not only did he represent the status quo, but he also struggled to communicate a vision for his second term. His campaign to defend democracy and abortion rights was, essentially, an effort to defend the system and America as it was before Mr. Trump. Even Mr. Biden’s 2020 campaign to “restore the soul of the nation” or bring a “return to normalcy” was a promise to return to pre-Trump politics. That may have seemed refreshing to voters amid the chaos of the Trump presidency, but it doesn’t seem to be enough for voters today.

With Ms. Harris, Democrats will have another chance to make the case that they can improve the nation’s fortunes. For one, she’s neither Mr. Biden nor Mr. Trump — two figures who have been in public life for decades. For another, she’s not the president. She may be burdened by voters’ perceptions of Mr. Biden’s record, but she’ll have room to distinguish herself. She even has room to argue for a new direction.

The return of issues?

What has been the most hotly debated issue of the 2024 campaign so far?

By the standards of prior elections, there hasn’t really been one. Just think back to the 2020 election at this time, which was dominated by the pandemic and the Black Lives Matter protests in the wake of the murder of George Floyd. If any issue has been dominant this year, it was Mr. Biden’s age — and that’s not typically what people mean by an “issue.”

Why haven’t the issues been front and center? Mr. Biden is a relatively moderate Democrat and his policies are generally popular, or at least not especially unpopular. (The border is perhaps the only major exception.) But he often appeared frail as a campaigner and didn’t seem able to land a major blow on Mr. Trump on issues like abortion, democracy, [*Project 2025*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/us/elections/polls-president.html) or even the [*several criminal indictments*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/us/elections/polls-president.html) against him, including a [*conviction*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/us/elections/polls-president.html).

With Ms. Harris in the race, the issues might make a comeback. In the past, she staked out some left-leaning positions that can now leave her vulnerable to attack from Republicans, like banning fracking or supporting [*Medicare for all*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/us/elections/polls-president.html). Conversely, Democrats will have a vigorous campaigner capable of attacking Mr. Trump on abortion, democracy and more.

The return of the usual demographic divide?

Over the last year, polls have shown something surprising: a [*huge decline*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/us/elections/polls-president.html) in Democratic support among young, Black and Hispanic voters, even as Mr. Biden held his own among [*older*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/us/elections/polls-president.html), white ***working-class*** voters.

The unusual demographic pattern yielded unusual results in the state polling as well. Mr. Biden [*stayed resilient*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/us/elections/polls-president.html) in relatively white Northern battleground states like Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, even as Mr. Trump surged ahead nationwide and in the competitive Sun Belt states.

Oddly, it was enough to [*diminish the Republican advantage*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/us/elections/polls-president.html) in the Electoral College relative to the popular vote, as Mr. Trump made big gains in relatively noncompetitive, diverse states that wouldn’t earn him any additional Electoral College votes.

If the [*early polling on a Harris-Trump matchup*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/us/elections/polls-president.html) is any indication, this unusual trend might fade. Ms. Harris has fared better than Mr. Biden among young, Black and Hispanic voters in most polls so far this year.

To this point, most Harris-Trump polling has not shown Ms. Harris reaching typical Democratic benchmarks among Black, Hispanic and younger voters. Still, the numbers look somewhat more typical than the Biden-Trump polling. Georgia, Nevada and Arizona may turn out to be newly competitive.

White ***working-class*** voters return to front and center?

For the last six decades, Democratic fortunes in presidential elections usually turned on how they did with white, moderate, often ***working-class*** swing voters.

Two Democratic presidents elected since the enactment of the Voting Rights Act in 1965, Bill Clinton and Mr. Biden, were all but intentionally selected to help their party among white, moderate swing voters. Another was a moderate Southerner (Jimmy Carter). And the other, Barack Obama, focused relentlessly on assuaging their concerns — and [*managed to excel*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/us/elections/polls-president.html) among white ***working-class*** voters (in the North) with the help of a populist economic pitch.

The Biden-Trump matchup wasn’t fitting into this framework. Mr. Biden had a lot of problems, but older and white ***working-class*** voters didn’t rank high on the list. Instead, young, Black and Hispanic voters appeared poised to defect from him. It set up an unusual election where usual Democratic constituencies were the key swing voters.

With Ms. Harris, Democrats have selected a candidate who may have more appeal to young and nonwhite voters than among white ***working-class*** moderates. As with most Democrats of the last 60 years, her campaign will have to think as much about addressing the concerns of those white blue-collar moderates as about anything else — beginning with her vice-presidential [*selection*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/us/elections/polls-president.html).

When will we know?

On Monday, we republished our [*polling averages*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/us/elections/polls-president.html) with the Harris-Trump matchup, and it showed Mr. Trump leading Ms. Harris by three percentage points. Almost all of these polls were conducted before President Biden left the race, so these numbers represent a baseline for judging what might come next more than they measure where things stand today.

But even once we do see a new set of Harris-Trump polls — and we’re in the field already — the race still won’t be especially clear. For very different reasons, the two candidates might be running with the wind at their back right now.

A strong set of polls for Mr. Trump could simply reflect lasting good will in the wake of the assassination attempt and his party’s convention. If Ms. Harris leads in coming polls, one could say it’s only because she’s benefiting from a wave of endorsements that will soon give way to renewed scrutiny and Republican attacks.

And no matter what, the electorate still hasn’t seen much of Ms. Harris as a presidential candidate — most haven’t heard her message, and they haven’t heard the attacks against her, either. Her standing might improve in the weeks ahead; it might decline as well.

PHOTO: Kamala Harris supporters in Milwaukee on Tuesday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Kenny Holston/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Karl Marx Explained the 19th Century. Wolfgang Streeck Explains the 21st.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DJ8-X6F1-DXY4-X057-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 1, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Sunday Review Desk; Pg. 8; GUEST ESSAY

**Length:** 1736 words

**Byline:** By Christopher Caldwell

**Body**

Who could have seen Donald Trump's resounding victory coming? Ask the question of an American intellectual these days and you may meet with embittered silence. Ask a European intellectual and you will likely hear the name of Wolfgang Streeck, a German sociologist and theorist of capitalism.

In recent decades, Mr. Streeck has described the complaints of populist movements with unequaled power. That is because he has a convincing theory of what has gone wrong in the complex gearworks of American-driven globalization, and he has been able to lay it out with clarity. Mr. Streeck may be best known for his essays in New Left Review, including a dazzling series on the cascade of financial crises that followed the crash of 2008. He resembles Karl Marx in his conviction that capitalism has certain internal contradictions that make it unsustainable -- the more so in its present ''neoliberal'' form. His latest book, ''Taking Back Control? States and State Systems After Globalism,'' published this month, asks whether the global economy as it is now set up is compatible with democracy. He has his doubts.

Understand Mr. Streeck and you will understand a lot about the left-wing movements that share his worldview -- Syriza in Greece, Podemos in Spain and the new Sahra Wagenknecht Alliance in Germany. But you will also understand Viktor Orban, Brexit and Mr. Trump.

Mr. Streeck (whose name rhymes with ''cake'') argues that today's contradictions of capitalism have been building for half a century. Between the end of World War II and the 1970s, he reminds us, working classes in Western countries won robust incomes and extensive protections. Profit margins suffered, of course, but that was in the nature of what Mr. Streeck calls the ''postwar settlement.'' What economies lost in dynamism, they gained in social stability.

But starting in the 1970s, things began to change. Sometime after the Arab oil embargo of 1973, investors got nervous. The economy began to stall. This placed politicians in a bind. Workers had the votes to demand more services. But that required making demands on business, and business was having none of it. States finessed the matter by permitting the money supply to expand. For a brief while, this maneuver allowed them to offer more to workers without demanding more of bosses. Essentially, governments had begun borrowing from the next generation.

That was the Rubicon, Mr. Streeck believes: ''the first time after the postwar growth period that states took to introducing not-yet-existing future resources into the conflict between labor and capital.'' They never broke the habit.

Very quickly their policies sparked inflation. Investors balked again. It took a painful tightening of money to stabilize prices. Ronald Reagan's supply-side regime eased the pain a bit, but only by running record government deficits. Bill Clinton was able to eliminate these, but only by deregulating private banking and borrowing, Mr. Streeck shows. In other words, the dangerous debt exposure was shifted out of the Treasury and into the bank accounts of middle-class and ***working-class*** households. This led, eventually, to the financial crisis of 2008.

As Mr. Streeck sees it, a series of (mostly American) attempts to calm the economy after the '70s produced the system we now call neoliberalism. ''Neoliberalism,'' he argues, ''was, above all, a political-economic project to end the inflation state and free capital from its imprisonment in the postwar settlement.'' This project has never really been reconsidered, even as one administration's fix turns into the next generation's crisis.

At each stage of neoliberalism's evolution, Mr. Streeck stresses, key decisions have been made by technocrats, experts and other actors relatively insulated from democratic accountability. When the crash came in 2008, central bankers stepped in to take over the economy, devising quantitative easing and other novel methods of generating liquidity. During the Covid emergency of 2020 and 2021, Western countries turned into full-blown expertocracies, bypassing democracy outright. A minuscule class of administrators issued mandates on every aspect of national life -- masks, vaccinations, travel, education, church openings -- and incurred debt at levels that even the most profligate Reaganite would have considered surreal.

Mr. Streeck has a clear vision of something paradoxical about the neoliberal project: For the global economy to be ''free,'' it must be constrained. What the proponents of neoliberalism mean by a free market is a deregulated market. But getting to deregulation is trickier than it looks because in free societies, regulations are the result of people's sovereign right to make their own rules. The more democratic the world's societies are, the more idiosyncratic they will be, and the more their economic rules will diverge. But that is exactly what businesses cannot tolerate -- at least not under globalization. Money and goods must be able to move frictionlessly and efficiently across borders. This requires a uniform set of laws. Somehow, democracy is going to have to give way.

A uniform set of laws also requires a single international norm. Which norm? That's another problem, as Mr. Streeck sees it: The global regime we have is a reliable copy of the American one. This brings order and efficiency but also tilts the playing field in favor of American corporations, banks and investors.

Perhaps that is what blighted the West's relations with Russia, where the transition to global capitalism ''was tightly controlled by American government agencies, foundations and N.G.O.s,'' Mr. Streeck says, and the oligarchs who emerged to run the government in the 1990s were ''received with open arms by American corporations and, not least, the London real estate market.'' To an Indian or a Chinese person, ''free markets'' established on these terms might carry the threat of imperial highhandedness and lost self-determination.

This insight gives us a context for understanding the persistent grievances of movements like Mr. Trump's, and their equally persistent popularity. What happens on the imperial level also happens at the local level, within the United States and the Western European societies that make the rules of globalization. Non-technocrats, whether they are the resentful members of the old ***working class*** or just people wisecracking about the progressive pieties of corporate human resource managers, are not going to be permitted to tangle up the system with their demands.

As we no longer have an economic policy that is managed democratically, it should not be surprising that it produces unfair outcomes. Nor should it be surprising that in the wake of the mortgage crisis, Covid, the war in Ukraine and so-called Bidenflation, this unfairness would give rise to what Mr. Streeck calls ''tendencies toward deglobalization'' -- such as those that emerged with a vengeance on Nov. 5.

The ''global economy'' is a place where common people have no leverage. Parties of the left lost sight of such problems after the 1970s, Mr. Streeck notes. They allowed their old structure, oriented around industrial workers and primarily concerned with workers' rights and living standards, to be infiltrated and overthrown by intellectuals, who were primarily concerned with promoting systems of values, such as human rights and lately the set of principles known as wokeism.

It is in disputing the wisdom of this shift that Mr. Streeck is most likely to antagonize American Democrats and others who think of themselves (usually incorrectly) as belonging to the left. He, too, thinks that democracy is in crisis, but only because it is being thwarted by the very elites who purport to champion it. Among the people, democracy is thriving. After decades of decline in voter turnout, there has been a steep and steady rise in participation over the past 20 years -- at least for parties whose candidates reflect a genuine popular sentiment. As this has happened, liberal commentators -- who tend to back what Mr. Streeck calls ''parties of the standard model'' -- have changed their definition of democracy, he writes: They see high electoral participation as a troubling expression of discontent, ''endangering rather than strengthening democracy.''

This new, topsy-turvy idea of democracy comes with a new political strategy. The interests and agendas of standard-issue parties are increasingly reinforced by the media and other grandees of globalization. These actors have ''fought against the new wave of politicization,'' Mr. Streeck writes, ''with the full arsenal of instruments at their disposal -- propagandistic, cultural, legal, institutional.''

Mr. Streeck is probably referring here to the obstacles put in the way of so-called left-wing movements in Europe -- Syriza, Podemos, La France Insoumise in France. But his observation applies just as well to so-called right-wing parties. At present, Marine Le Pen, whose party won the most votes in France's national elections last summer, is standing trial for embezzlement before a court that may ban her from politics for five years. In Germany this month, more than a hundred members of the Bundestag requested a constitutional ban on the country's fast-growing right-wing party the Alternative for Germany, ahead of national elections scheduled for February.

There are dangers, too, in the way partisan prosecutors, in the run-up to the U.S. presidential election, convicted Mr. Trump of 34 felonies involving bookkeeping, on a legal theory so novel that not one American in a thousand could explain what he had been convicted of. A majority of Americans effectively voided the conviction at the ballot box.

Mr. Streeck's new book is not about Mr. Trump's triumph. But his message (or his warning, however you choose to read it) is not unrelated: The left must embrace populism, which is merely the name given to the struggle over an alternative to globalism. With globalism collapsing under its own contradictions, all serious politics is now populist in one way or another.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/28/opinion/wolfgang-streeck-populism.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/28/opinion/wolfgang-streeck-populism.html)

**Graphic**

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[***Gains in Every Corner, With Nearly All Groups***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DC4-PS31-DXY4-X4DV-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Length:** 1094 words

**Byline:** By Nate Cohn

**Body**

He made gains in every corner of the country and with nearly every demographic group.

When Donald J. Trump won the presidency eight years ago, it was easy to cast his victory as a narrow one -- or even dismiss it as a fluke.

Not this time.

Despite Jan. 6, the end of Roe v. Wade and a felony conviction, Mr. Trump won a clear victory. He is on track to win all seven battleground states. He made gains in every corner of the country and with nearly every demographic group: If you look at The Times's map of what has changed since 2020, you'll see a sea of red.

According to our estimates, Mr. Trump is also on track to become the first Republican to win the national popular vote in 20 years.

At the same time, the scope of his victory shouldn't be overstated. This was no landslide. A one- or two-percentage-point victory in the national popular vote with roughly 312 electoral votes is not unusual. It's not as large as Barack Obama's modest win in 2012, and falls far short of ''change'' elections like Mr. Obama's in 2008 or Bill Clinton's in 1992.

But Mr. Trump is not any ordinary candidate. As a consequence, an ordinary victory says a lot more than it usually would. A felon who sought to overturn an election wouldn't usually be considered viable in a presidential election. But not only was he viable -- he won somewhat convincingly.

Despite his victory, most voters found Mr. Trump to be an unappealing candidate. CNN's exit poll found that just 44 percent of voters had a favorable view of him, compared with 54 percent who had an unfavorable view. A majority of voters, 55 percent, said his views are too extreme. Obviously, there are many aspects of Mr. Trump's appeal that these simple questions do not easily measure. But Mr. Trump's victory may say more about the Democrats and the public's desire for change than it does about the president-elect himself.

After all, on paper, Democrats weren't in a sound position to win this election. No party has ever retained the White House when the president's approval rating was as low as it is today and when so many Americans thought the country was on the wrong track.

The signs that voters had soured on Democrats were everywhere. Most obviously, there was President Biden's failed re-election campaign, which was predicated on the idea that voters found Mr. Trump so distasteful they would look past any misgivings about the incumbent. This assumption publicly collapsed with the first presidential debate, even though voters had been telling pollsters well before then how dissatisfied they were with Mr. Biden.

And the signs of building Republican strength were everywhere. Not only did Mr. Trump lead Mr. Biden in the polls even as the felony indictments piled up, but the polls also showed Republicans overtaking Democrats on party identification for the first time in two decades. Republican registration numbers surged. Mr. Trump was even gaining among young, Black and Hispanic voters -- groups historically assumed to be vehemently anti-Trump.

All of this occurred against the backdrop of political upheaval across the industrial world. In the wake of the pandemic and surging prices, voters in country after country in election after election have voted against the party in power. More broadly, the past two decades have featured the rise of right-wing populist parties and a corresponding decline in the strength of the center-left among ***working-class*** voters.

Despite all this, Democrats had a real chance anyway. The Supreme Court's decision to overturn Roe, Mr. Trump's personal unpopularity and his actions on Jan. 6, 2021, gave the Democrats powerful arguments -- arguments that seemed as if they might be enough to let them win an election that they entered with a disadvantage.

Kamala Harris herself probably helped give Democrats a chance. She was not a perfect candidate -- she brought major liabilities from her time in the Biden administration and her campaign for the 2020 Democratic nomination -- but she revitalized her party, won the debate against Mr. Trump in September and avoided major missteps.

Nonetheless, election night ended in a stinging rebuke of Democrats. This was not like 2016, when Mr. Trump made gains among a single demographic group, ***working-class*** white voters, who happened to be disproportionately concentrated in the key battleground states. Instead, Mr. Trump gained across the board -- including among the voters who seemed most skeptical of him eight years ago, from Hispanic voters in New York City to technology workers in San Francisco.

Perhaps the most striking evidence of the rebuke came from blue America. Mr. Trump made big gains in New York City, where he improved on his 2020 margin by more than 10 points. As of Wednesday morning, Ms. Harris was on track to win New Jersey by only five points.

In California, the early returns showed Ms. Harris up by only 18 points in her home state, compared with a 29-point victory for Mr. Biden four years ago. Mr. Trump appeared to make gains even in liberal bastions like San Francisco and Alameda County, home to Berkeley and Oakland.

The early results in Dearborn, Mich., home to the nation's largest Arab American population (and a place Mr. Biden won by 39 points), showed Mr. Trump well ahead, with Ms. Harris only narrowly leading the Green Party candidate, Jill Stein, for second place.

Mr. Trump appeared to make his largest gains among Hispanic voters, whether in the exit polls or in the results of counties with lots of Hispanic voters. Miami-Dade County in Florida voted for Mr. Trump by 11 points, compared with Mr. Biden's seven-point victory in 2020 and Hillary Clinton's 29-point victory in 2016. The once reliably Democratic bastions along the Rio Grande in Texas were all red -- an astonishing shift from eight years ago, when Mrs. Clinton won 70 to 80 percent of the vote.

In the end, there just weren't many parts of the country where Ms. Harris fared better than Mr. Biden did in 2020. There were a handful of outer ring counties around Atlanta and Dallas, where demographic change drove Democratic gains, but otherwise it was mostly a scattering of rural, white counties, often in the Great Plains and the interior West.

None of this is what Democrats would have imagined a decade ago, when many of them assumed that demographic and generational change would bring a new Democratic majority. Instead, many of the voters whom Democrats viewed as the bedrock of their coalition grew so frustrated with the status quo that they decided to back Mr. Trump instead.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/upshot/trump-election-victory.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/upshot/trump-election-victory.html)

**Graphic**

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[***Liverpool Sends a Message to Far-Right Rioters: Not Here***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CNX-R8F1-DXY4-X1SJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1437 words

**Byline:** Megan Specia and Andrew Testa Megan Specia reports on Britain, Ireland and the Ukraine war for The Times. She is based in London.

**Highlight:** The city in northern England has a long history of protest. That tradition continued this week, with counterprotesters delivering a firm rejection of anti-immigrant violence.

**Body**

The city in northern England has a long history of protest. That tradition continued this week, with counterprotesters delivering a firm rejection of anti-immigrant violence.

The residents of the southeast Liverpool neighborhood of Edge Hill had spent Wednesday preparing for trouble.

Parents were called to pick up children early from nursery school. Shop owners pulled their shutters down over glass storefronts. And in the semidetached brick houses on and around Overbury Street, where generations of the same families have lived alongside newer arrivals, locals pulled their curtains as evening approached.

What they feared was another night of the anti-immigrant violence that had rocked the country in the week since a deadly stabbing attack nearby in Southport that was falsely rumored as being carried out by a migrant.

What they got, instead, was a night of near celebration by people opposed to the racism and anti-immigrant sentiments that drove the week of rioting in cities and towns across Britain.

People in Liverpool had been especially unnerved since an online list of what were said to be new far-right targets for protests included a local charity that works with asylum seekers. Neighbors texted neighbors to head to the streets to counter any racist rioters. Local unions and leaders of neighborhood mosques also put out the word, as did a nationwide collective called “Stand Up to Racism.”

So as helicopters circled overhead on Wednesday night, and police officers on horseback patrolled the streets, young women handed out snacks and water bottles in front of the boarded-up windows of the targeted charity. Another group set up a makeshift first aid area across the street in case of emergency, given the unbridled violence of the past riots. And a white-haired man with a long beard propped a megaphone next to a speaker on his metal walker and played peace songs.

People carried signs reading “Not in our city,” and “Will trade racists for refugees.”

“They all had one thing in mind; it was to not let this hate get a foothold,” said Ewan Roberts, who manages Asylum Link Merseyside, the charity that was on the target list.

And then, the far right was a no-show.

In some ways, the gathering of hundreds of antiracism demonstrators was not unexpected in Liverpool, a multicultural city with proud ***working-class*** roots.

But similar protests were staged in cities across England on Wednesday night as thousands of people angered by the earlier violence decided to make their voices heard. That violence had included rioters trying to set fire to a hotel in the city of Rotherham while asylum seekers and other guests were inside. Some rioters pummeled police officers so hard they had to go to the hospital. A fire was set in a community library on the northern outskirts of Liverpool over the weekend.

Some of the Liverpool residents who turned out in force Wednesday were especially angry that what set off the spasm of violence was a lie about the deadly knife attack that was promoted again and again online.

The teenager accused of killing three young girls at a Taylor Swift-themed dance class was not — as online agitators claimed — a migrant straight off one of the small boats that bring impoverished people across the English Channel to Britain’s shores. The suspect was born in Wales, to parents who the BBC says came from Rwanda, and the police have not disclosed a motive.

“They are using a tragedy to promote this hate,” said Jasmine Galanakis, 27, who put her young daughter to bed in their home up the street and then joined the crowd on Wednesday evening. “So many people in this community come from different backgrounds, and it’s ignorance driving this. It’s just an excuse for hate, and we won’t stand for it.”

Liverpool, in England’s north, has long been a stronghold of the Labour Party and has a proud ***working-class*** tradition. The city’s dock workers have a history of organized action, and particularly after World War II, diversity flourished, making the city among the country’s most multicultural.

The threats in this sliver of Liverpool had been made against Asylum Link Merseyside, the charity that Mr. Roberts manages. He and the staff decided to shut its doors temporarily at the start of the week and bring in carpenters to board up the windows and doors to minimize damage if the building was attacked.

As he watched people gather peacefully in the streets, he said he was moved by the diversity of those who came out to express their support for asylum seekers.

It was especially affirming after years of railing by the former Conservative government against the number of asylum seekers — and its attempt to deport them to Rwanda despite a Supreme Court ruling that the policy was illegal.

Nazehar Benamar, 42, and her cousin Wafa Hizam, 22, who grew up in Liverpool, both said they felt it was important to be there. But they also said they were angry about the [*violence that erupted in the city center a few days earlier*](https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/articles/c0jqjqxl3dyo).

“Liverpool is a very multicultural city, but as a person of color, you are always aware of racism and prejudice,” said Ms. Benamar, who is Muslim and wears a hijab. She recalled how as the only nonwhite child in her class, she had been subjected to racial slurs. She said she was saddened that racism and Islamophobia were still so potent so many years later.

“People are being terrorized by fear about this violence,” she said. “Today especially, I could feel it.”

Still, on Wednesday night she was reassured to see members of her local mosque standing alongside university students and retirees. The people of Liverpool had come together to show “what we are made of here,” she said.

What united many of them was the feeling that ***working-class*** people are in life’s struggles together. As the evening light turned golden and night slowly set in, one young woman raised a sign that read, “The Enemy of the ***Working Class*** Travels By Private Jet Not Migrant Dinghy,” to applause from many standing nearby.

Matty Delaney, 33, who lives just outside Liverpool, said he had heard on Instagram about the demonstration against racism and thought it was important to deliver a clear message to those who had rioted, particularly as a young, white, ***working-class*** man.

“We’ve got more in common with an Indian nurse, with a Black bricklayer than we do with the Elon Musks, the Nigel Farages, the Tommy Robinsons, of the world — all these people who are stoking violence,” Mr. Delaney said.

Mr. Musk, the billionaire owner of the social media platform X — where disinformation about the initial attack had been allowed to swirl — threw himself into the fray this week by saying, “[*Civil war is inevitable*](https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/articles/c0jqjqxl3dyo)” and accusing the prime minister, Keir Starmer, of not protecting “all communities” in Britain.

Mr. Farage, the leader of the populist anti-immigration Reform U.K. party, initially stoked conspiracy theories that drove the riots, before coming out against the violence. And Mr. Robinson, [*an anti-Islam agitator*](https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/articles/c0jqjqxl3dyo) who founded the English Defense League — originally a street movement, which now spreads Islamophobic and xenophobic views mostly online — was among the far-right figures who pushed for their supporters to take to the streets after the stabbing attack.

By Thursday morning, the rhythm of daily life had returned to Overbury Street. At St. Anne’s Church, next door to the charity for asylum seekers, a local family gathered for a funeral. Discarded placards from the night before lay on the ground nearby.

The staff of the charity was also regrouping, and Mr. Roberts said they were trying to figure out when to reopen. While he said he felt an overwhelming sense of relief that the center had not faced violence, it was difficult to know what would come next.

Speaking of the rioters, he said, “They are trying to damage trust between the community and new arrivals, more than the buildings or infrastructure.” But, he added, “What last night told me was we are a greater value in the community, more than we actually understood, and it was wonderful to see that.”

For now, his staff planned to send a letter of thanks to the community. But they also planned to reinforce the wooden boards that protect the center’s windows, just in case.

PHOTOS: Clockwise from top left: People in Liverpool demonstrated against racism on Wednesday night; many were united by a feeling that ***working-class*** people are in the struggle together; officers hoped to head off another night of violence, and riots did not occur; the charity Asylum Link Merseyside boarded its windows just in case. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANDREW TESTA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A5.

**Load-Date:** August 9, 2024

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[***In Multicultural Liverpool, Rally Tells Anti-Immigrant Rioters: Not Here***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CNY-6G31-DXY4-X2HF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 9, 2024 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 5

**Length:** 1379 words

**Byline:** By Megan Specia and Andrew Testa

**Body**

Liverpool has a long history of protest. Residents continued that tradition this week, delivering a resounding message to anti-immigrant rioters: Not here.

The residents of the southeast Liverpool neighborhood of Edge Hill had spent Wednesday preparing for trouble.

Parents were called to pick up children early from nursery school. Shop owners pulled their shutters down over glass storefronts. And in the semidetached brick houses on and around Overbury Street, where generations of the same families have lived alongside newer arrivals, locals pulled their curtains as evening approached.

What they feared was another night of the anti-immigrant violence that had rocked the country in the week since a deadly stabbing attack nearby in Southport that was falsely rumored as being carried out by a migrant.

What they got, instead, was a night of near celebration by people opposed to the racism and anti-immigrant sentiments that drove the week of rioting in cities and towns across Britain.

People in Liverpool had been especially unnerved since an online list of what were said to be new far-right targets for protests included a local charity that works with asylum seekers. Neighbors texted neighbors to head to the streets to counter any racist rioters. Local unions and leaders of neighborhood mosques also put out the word, as did a nationwide collective called ''Stand Up to Racism.''

So as helicopters circled overhead on Wednesday night, and police officers on horseback patrolled the streets, young women handed out snacks and water bottles in front of the boarded-up windows of the targeted charity. Another group set up a makeshift first aid area across the street in case of emergency, given the unbridled violence of the past riots. And a white-haired man with a long beard propped a megaphone next to a speaker on his metal walker and played peace songs.

People carried signs reading ''Not in our city,'' and ''Will trade racists for refugees.''

''They all had one thing in mind; it was to not let this hate get a foothold,'' said Ewan Roberts, who manages Asylum Link Merseyside, the charity that was on the target list.

And then, the far right was a no-show.

In some ways, the gathering of hundreds of antiracism demonstrators was not unexpected in Liverpool, a multicultural city with proud ***working-class*** roots.

But similar protests were staged in cities across England on Wednesday night as thousands of people angered by the earlier violence decided to make their voices heard. That violence had included rioters trying to set fire to a hotel in the city of Rotherham while asylum seekers and other guests were inside. Some rioters pummeled police officers so hard they had to go to the hospital. A fire was set in a community library on the northern outskirts of Liverpool over the weekend.

Some of the Liverpool residents who turned out in force Wednesday were especially angry that what set off the spasm of violence was a lie about the deadly knife attack that was promoted again and again online.

The teenager accused of killing three young girls at a Taylor Swift-themed dance class was not -- as online agitators claimed -- a migrant straight off one of the small boats that bring impoverished people across the English Channel to Britain's shores. The suspect was born in Wales, to parents who the BBC says came from Rwanda, and the police have not disclosed a motive.

''They are using a tragedy to promote this hate,'' said Jasmine Galanakis, 27, who put her young daughter to bed in their home up the street and then joined the crowd on Wednesday evening. ''So many people in this community come from different backgrounds, and it's ignorance driving this. It's just an excuse for hate, and we won't stand for it.''

Liverpool, in England's north, has long been a stronghold of the Labour Party and has a proud ***working-class*** tradition. The city's dock workers have a history of organized action, and particularly after World War II, diversity flourished, making the city among the country's most multicultural.

The threats in this sliver of Liverpool had been made against Asylum Link Merseyside, the charity that Mr. Roberts manages. He and the staff decided to shut its doors temporarily at the start of the week and bring in carpenters to board up the windows and doors to minimize damage if the building was attacked.

As he watched people gather peacefully in the streets, he said he was moved by the diversity of those who came out to express their support for asylum seekers.

It was especially affirming after years of railing by the former Conservative government against the number of asylum seekers -- and its attempt to deport them to Rwanda despite a Supreme Court ruling that the policy was illegal.

Nazehar Benamar, 42, and her cousin Wafa Hizam, 22, who grew up in Liverpool, both said they felt it was important to be there. But they also said they were angry about the violence that erupted in the city center a few days earlier.

''Liverpool is a very multicultural city, but as a person of color, you are always aware of racism and prejudice,'' said Ms. Benamar, who is Muslim and wears a hijab. She recalled how as the only nonwhite child in her class, she had been subjected to racial slurs. She said she was saddened that racism and Islamophobia were still so potent so many years later.

''People are being terrorized by fear about this violence,'' she said. ''Today especially, I could feel it.''

Still, on Wednesday night she was reassured to see members of her local mosque standing alongside university students and retirees. The people of Liverpool had come together to show ''what we are made of here,'' she said.

What united many of them was the feeling that ***working-class*** people are in life's struggles together. As the evening light turned golden and night slowly set in, one young woman raised a sign that read, ''The Enemy of the ***Working Class*** Travels By Private Jet Not Migrant Dinghy,'' to applause from many standing nearby.

Matty Delaney, 33, who lives just outside Liverpool, said he had heard on Instagram about the demonstration against racism and thought it was important to deliver a clear message to those who had rioted, particularly as a young, white, ***working-class*** man.

''We've got more in common with an Indian nurse, with a Black bricklayer than we do with the Elon Musks, the Nigel Farages, the Tommy Robinsons, of the world -- all these people who are stoking violence,'' Mr. Delaney said.

Mr. Musk, the billionaire owner of the social media platform X -- where disinformation about the initial attack had been allowed to swirl -- threw himself into the fray this week by saying, ''Civil war is inevitable'' and accusing the prime minister, Keir Starmer, of not protecting ''all communities'' in Britain.

Mr. Farage, the leader of the populist anti-immigration Reform U.K. party, initially stoked conspiracy theories that drove the riots, before coming out against the violence. And Mr. Robinson, an anti-Islam agitator who founded the English Defense League -- originally a street movement, which now spreads Islamophobic and xenophobic views mostly online -- was among the far-right figures who pushed for their supporters to take to the streets after the stabbing attack.

By Thursday morning, the rhythm of daily life had returned to Overbury Street. At St. Anne's Church, next door to the charity for asylum seekers, a local family gathered for a funeral. Discarded placards from the night before lay on the ground nearby.

The staff of the charity was also regrouping, and Mr. Roberts said they were trying to figure out when to reopen. While he said he felt an overwhelming sense of relief that the center had not faced violence, it was difficult to know what would come next.

Speaking of the rioters, he said, ''They are trying to damage trust between the community and new arrivals, more than the buildings or infrastructure.'' But, he added, ''What last night told me was we are a greater value in the community, more than we actually understood, and it was wonderful to see that.''

For now, his staff planned to send a letter of thanks to the community. But they also planned to reinforce the wooden boards that protect the center's windows, just in case.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/09/world/europe/in-multicultural-liverpool-residents-rallied-against-hate.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/09/world/europe/in-multicultural-liverpool-residents-rallied-against-hate.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Clockwise from top left: People in Liverpool demonstrated against racism on Wednesday night

many were united by a feeling that ***working-class*** people are in the struggle together

officers hoped to head off another night of violence, and riots did not occur

the charity Asylum Link Merseyside boarded its windows just in case. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANDREW TESTA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A5.

**Load-Date:** August 9, 2024

**End of Document**



[***This Maverick Thinker Is the Karl Marx of Our Time; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DHK-TRT1-DXY4-X06C-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 28, 2024 Thursday 13:06 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1729 words

**Byline:** Christopher CaldwellChristopher Caldwell is a contributing Opinion writer for The Times and a contributing editor at The Claremont Review of Books. He is the author of &amp;#8220;Reflections on the Revolution in Europe: Immigration, Islam and the West&amp;#8221; and &amp;#8220;The Age of Entitlement: America Since the Sixties.&amp;#8221;

**Highlight:** Wolfgang Streeck has a convincing theory of what has gone wrong with globalization.

**Body**

Who could have seen Donald Trump’s resounding victory coming? Ask the question of an American intellectual these days and you may meet with embittered silence. Ask a European intellectual and you will likely hear the name of Wolfgang Streeck, a German sociologist and theorist of capitalism.

In recent decades, Mr. Streeck has described the complaints of populist movements with unequaled power. That is because he has a convincing theory of what has gone wrong in the complex gearworks of American-driven globalization, and he has been able to lay it out with clarity. Mr. Streeck may be best known for his essays in [*New Left Review*](https://newleftreview.org/), including a dazzling series on the cascade of financial crises that followed the crash of 2008. He resembles Karl Marx in his conviction that capitalism has certain internal contradictions that make it unsustainable — the more so in its present “neoliberal” form. His latest book, “Taking Back Control? States and State Systems After Globalism,” published this month, asks whether the global economy as it is now set up is compatible with democracy. He has his doubts.

Understand Mr. Streeck and you will understand a lot about the left-wing movements that share his worldview — Syriza in Greece, Podemos in Spain and the new Sahra Wagenknecht Alliance in Germany. But you will also understand Viktor Orban, Brexit and Mr. Trump.

Mr. Streeck (whose name rhymes with “cake”) argues that today’s contradictions of capitalism have been building for half a century. Between the end of World War II and the 1970s, he reminds us, working classes in Western countries won robust incomes and extensive protections. Profit margins suffered, of course, but that was in the nature of what Mr. Streeck calls the “postwar settlement.” What economies lost in dynamism, they gained in social stability.

But starting in the 1970s, things began to change. Sometime after the Arab oil embargo of 1973, investors got nervous. The economy began to stall. This placed politicians in a bind. Workers had the votes to demand more services. But that required making demands on business, and business was having none of it. States finessed the matter by permitting the money supply to expand. For a brief while, this maneuver allowed them to offer more to workers without demanding more of bosses. Essentially, governments had begun borrowing from the next generation.

That was the Rubicon, Mr. Streeck believes: “the first time after the postwar growth period that states took to introducing not-yet-existing future resources into the conflict between labor and capital.” They never broke the habit.

Very quickly their policies sparked inflation. Investors balked again. It took a painful tightening of money to stabilize prices. Ronald Reagan’s supply-side regime eased the pain a bit, but only by running record government deficits. Bill Clinton was able to eliminate these, but only by deregulating private banking and borrowing, Mr. Streeck shows. In other words, the dangerous debt exposure was shifted out of the Treasury and into the bank accounts of middle-class and ***working-class*** households. This led, eventually, to the financial crisis of 2008.

As Mr. Streeck sees it, a series of (mostly American) attempts to calm the economy after the ’70s produced the system we now call neoliberalism. “Neoliberalism,” he argues, “was, above all, a political-economic project to end the inflation state and free capital from its imprisonment in the postwar settlement.” This project has never really been reconsidered, even as one administration’s fix turns into the next generation’s crisis.

At each stage of neoliberalism’s evolution, Mr. Streeck stresses, key decisions have been made by technocrats, experts and other actors relatively insulated from democratic accountability. When the crash came in 2008, central bankers stepped in to take over the economy, devising quantitative easing and other novel methods of generating liquidity. During the Covid emergency of 2020 and 2021, Western countries turned into full-blown expertocracies, bypassing democracy outright. A minuscule class of administrators issued mandates on every aspect of national life — masks, vaccinations, travel, education, church openings — and incurred debt at levels that even the most profligate Reaganite would have considered surreal.

Mr. Streeck has a clear vision of something paradoxical about the neoliberal project: For the global economy to be “free,” it must be constrained. What the proponents of neoliberalism mean by a free market is a deregulated market. But getting to deregulation is trickier than it looks because in free societies, regulations are the result of people’s sovereign right to make their own rules. The more democratic the world’s societies are, the more idiosyncratic they will be, and the more their economic rules will diverge. But that is exactly what businesses cannot tolerate — at least not under globalization. Money and goods must be able to move frictionlessly and efficiently across borders. This requires a uniform set of laws. Somehow, democracy is going to have to give way.

A uniform set of laws also requires a single international norm. Which norm? That’s another problem, as Mr. Streeck sees it: The global regime we have is a reliable copy of the American one. This brings order and efficiency but also tilts the playing field in favor of American corporations, banks and investors.

Perhaps that is what blighted the West’s relations with Russia, where the transition to global capitalism “was tightly controlled by American government agencies, foundations and N.G.O.s,” Mr. Streeck says, and the oligarchs who emerged to run the government in the 1990s were “received with open arms by American corporations and, not least, the London real estate market.” To an Indian or a Chinese person, “free markets” established on these terms might carry the threat of imperial highhandedness and lost self-determination.

This insight gives us a context for understanding the persistent grievances of movements like Mr. Trump’s, and their equally persistent popularity. What happens on the imperial level also happens at the local level, within the United States and the Western European societies that make the rules of globalization. Non-technocrats, whether they are the resentful members of the old ***working class*** or just people wisecracking about the progressive pieties of corporate human resource managers, are not going to be permitted to tangle up the system with their demands.

As we no longer have an economic policy that is managed democratically, it should not be surprising that it produces unfair outcomes. Nor should it be surprising that in the wake of the mortgage crisis, Covid, the war in Ukraine and so-called Bidenflation, this unfairness would give rise to what Mr. Streeck calls “tendencies toward deglobalization” — such as those that emerged with a vengeance on Nov. 5.

The “global economy” is a place where common people have no leverage. Parties of the left lost sight of such problems after the 1970s, Mr. Streeck notes. They allowed their old structure, oriented around industrial workers and primarily concerned with workers’ rights and living standards, to be infiltrated and overthrown by intellectuals, who were primarily concerned with promoting systems of values, such as human rights and lately the set of principles known as wokeism.

It is in disputing the wisdom of this shift that Mr. Streeck is most likely to antagonize American Democrats and others who think of themselves (usually incorrectly) as belonging to the left. He, too, thinks that democracy is in crisis, but only because it is being thwarted by the very elites who purport to champion it. Among the people, democracy is thriving. After decades of decline in voter turnout, there has been a steep and steady rise in participation over the past 20 years — at least for parties whose candidates reflect a genuine popular sentiment. As this has happened, liberal commentators — who tend to back what Mr. Streeck calls “parties of the standard model” — have changed their definition of democracy, he writes: They see high electoral participation as a troubling expression of discontent, “endangering rather than strengthening democracy.”

This new, topsy-turvy idea of democracy comes with a new political strategy. The interests and agendas of standard-issue parties are increasingly reinforced by the media and other grandees of globalization. These actors have “fought against the new wave of politicization,” Mr. Streeck writes, “with the full arsenal of instruments at their disposal — propagandistic, cultural, legal, institutional.”

Mr. Streeck is probably referring here to the obstacles put in the way of so-called left-wing movements in Europe — Syriza, Podemos, La France Insoumise in France. But his observation applies just as well to so-called right-wing parties. At present, Marine Le Pen, whose party won the most votes in France’s national elections last summer, is standing trial for embezzlement before a court that may ban her from politics for five years. In Germany this month, more than a hundred members of the Bundestag requested a constitutional ban on the country’s fast-growing right-wing party the Alternative for Germany, ahead of national elections scheduled for February.

There are dangers, too, in the way partisan prosecutors, in the run-up to the U.S. presidential election, convicted Mr. Trump of 34 felonies involving bookkeeping, on a legal theory so novel that not one American in a thousand could explain what he had been convicted of. A majority of Americans effectively voided the conviction at the ballot box.

Mr. Streeck’s new book is not about Mr. Trump’s triumph. But his message (or his warning, however you choose to read it) is not unrelated: The left must embrace populism, which is merely the name given to the struggle over an alternative to globalism. With globalism collapsing under its own contradictions, all serious politics is now populist in one way or another.

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This article appeared in print on page SR8.

**Load-Date:** November 30, 2024

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[***How Democrats Can Learn From Their Loss***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DDM-H9J1-DXY4-X218-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 14, 2024 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 13; LETTERS

**Length:** 1203 words

**Body**

To the Editor:

Re ''Democrats Sift Through Rubble, Seeking Answers'' (front page, Nov. 10):

Rather than pointing fingers at one another, the party needs to do what the Republicans did with Richard Nixon's ''Southern Strategy'' and Ronald Reagan's ''Reagan Democrats'': Figure out who didn't vote for them; discern what they wanted -- but didn't see forthcoming from the Democrats; develop programs to respond to those wants; and, finally, replicate the communications network, social media and mass media campaign that the Republicans mounted.

The inbox of this registered Democrat was filled over the past 90 days with emails extolling the virtues of Donald Trump and the evils of Democrats. There was also the shrewdest TV barrage I have ever seen.

I would humbly suggest that nobody connected with this election, including the bicoastal Pelosi-Schumer coalition, should have anything to do with the project. As the saying goes, ''They blew it, big time.''

Stephen PhillipsSt. Petersburg, Fla.

To the Editor:

I appreciate all the recent coverage of reasons for the Democratic defeat in the election -- particularly Ezra Klein's recent podcasts. I am left wondering, however, how the Democrats should best respond.

I suspect that the party will now pivot to the right, à la Bill Clinton, as it tries to woo ***working-class***, non-college-educated voters. But I wonder if that's the answer.

As a moderate, I cringed at woke rhetoric and thought it was alienating and counterproductive. But I believe in many of the ideals behind it, such as protecting minority interests, showing respect and sensitivity to identity concerns, acknowledging the effects of systemic racism and police brutality, and empowering women.

The thing I can't get my head around is how do Democrats hold onto those values while trying to attract a large group of voters who don't seem to share them? I would love to hear some answers to that question.

Elissa WarantzHuntington Beach, Calif.

To the Editor:

Re ''Trump Offered Men Something the Democrats Never Could,'' by Elizabeth Spiers (Opinion guest essay, nytimes.com, Nov. 6):

As a lifelong Democrat, and an old retired white guy, I am now a member of the party that is almost completely devoted to elite working women and minorities. A party that bends over backward to please the tiniest minorities yet fails to recognize the needs of the vast majority of people.

The policies of the Pelosi-Schumer Democratic Party have been a complete disaster. The fact that they lost an election to a septuagenarian demagogue says it all.

I remain a committed Democrat because it is the lone party that still values ethics, but I told my friends in the spring of 2016 that Hillary Clinton was going to lose because she was ignoring white guys like me. And she did.

This latest defeat rests on the shoulders of the Pelosi-Schumer administration.

John PalmieriBronx

To the Editor:

Contributors to The New York Times's Opinion page have been obsessed with cataloging all of the Democratic Party's failings, some of the criticisms being of genuine merit (e.g., ''The Democratic Blind Spot That Wrecked 2024,'' by Ezra Klein, column, nytimes.com, Nov. 10), and any number being of no constructive use.

A perennial problem for the Democrats is that they rarely articulate a succinctly stated point of view while the Republicans tend to identify hot-button issues with unambiguous terseness.

The Democrats can't blunt attacks on their economic or immigration policies because they always come across as equivocators: ''Well, it's complicated.'' Yes, these matters are complicated, but to win an election in the United States you have to be blunt in stating an outcome everyone should want.

The Democratic National Committee needs to go to Madison Avenue to find its bearings. The inner workings of your policies may have to be complicated, but the public declaration of them should be as clear as day.

Paul BetzChapel Hill, N.C.

To the Editor:

A lifelong Democrat, I face an inconvenient truth: The Democratic Party is now the party of the elites. Data can be interpreted, but it's undeniable that the Dems have been steadily losing the populist vote, in the Rust Belt, in rural areas and even in cities. While I do believe that there is more racism, prejudice and sexism than I would like to admit, the Democrats can't write off this group as ignorant or racist or clinging to religion if they want to win. They have to understand them.

It is a savage irony that the party that purports to care about the poor and ***working class*** does not have their support. At the risk of stating the obvious, Democrats need to get off their ideological high horse and reach out to people in ways they haven't for decades. Treat minority groups or rural blocs as a monolith at your peril.

John J. ArentSan Francisco

Kennedy's Role in Health Policy

To the Editor:

Re ''Kennedy, Vocal Critic of Vaccines, Is Poised to Wield New Power'' (news article, Nov. 8):

As a physician, I find the prospect of Robert F. Kennedy Jr. playing any role in public health policy to be nothing short of terrifying. He is a skeptic of vaccinations, despite the consensus of experts that vaccines are safe and effective.

It was bad enough when Donald Trump's unwise refusal to accept the reality of the Covid pandemic caused hundreds of thousands of avoidable deaths. We can expect similarly bad outcomes if Mr. Kennedy is making important decisions about public health policy.

Clearly, a second Trump term would be an unprecedented public health disaster.

Harvey M. BermanWhite Plains, N.Y.

The Shuttering of the 'Mom and Pop' Pharmacies

To the Editor:

Re ''Powerful Firms Driving Out Local Pharmacies'' (front page, ''The Middlemen'' series, Oct. 20):

The forces squeezing the independent neighborhood pharmacies into oblivion are analogous to those that have nearly decimated the private practice of medicine, as large entities monopolize the business of health care.

As far as the ''mom and pop'' pharmacy, a staple of the community, the pharmacy benefit managers are wielding unchecked powers skewed in favor of the large-chain pharmacy conglomerates.

For the independent operator, there is little wiggle room for cost containment when fixed operating expenses rise and reimbursement is reduced. Only creative revenue sources from ancillary services keep some of these independents afloat.

It is no wonder stores are shuttering in astounding numbers. There is something special about those surviving small-town pharmacies where you can still know your pharmacist by name and make an inquiry about your concerns about a newly prescribed medication.

As a physician in a solo private practice, I am fortunate to collaborate with one of our town's only surviving apothecaries. I can definitively attest to the fact that the services are superior to the large-chain counterparts, and you can actually get to speak to a live person.

Our dependence on the large chains will invariably lead to longer wait times as the bulk of independent pharmacies gradually wither away into obscurity. This is an example of one more casualty of a health care system usurped by corporate greed.

Ronald G. FrankWest Orange, N.J.

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A23.

**Load-Date:** November 15, 2024

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[***Sherrod Brown Signs Off in the Senate. For Now.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DNV-6MS3-RSXM-50V8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 17, 2024 Tuesday 18:45 EST

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**Section:** US

**Length:** 747 words

**Byline:** Carl HulseCarl Hulse is the chief Washington correspondent, primarily writing about Congress and national political races and issues. He has nearly four decades of experience reporting in the nation&amp;#8217;s capital.

**Highlight:** Ohio’s senior Democratic senator told colleagues that despite his defeat, he was not done with politics just yet.

**Body**

Ohio’s senior Democratic senator told colleagues that despite his defeat, he was not done with politics just yet.

Like other senators leaving the chamber next month, Senator Sherrod Brown, Democrat of Ohio, on Tuesday marked the end of his three terms with an [*emotional, highly personal floor speech*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/13/us/politics/departing-senators-farewell-address.html). But he refused to call it a farewell.

“It is not — I promise you — the last time you will hear from me,” Mr. Brown assured his applauding colleagues as he concluded remarks that caused him to choke up several times.

In an interview, Mr. Brown, 72, a progressive labor champion in the Senate since 2007, would not say what form his future political activism might take, raising the prospect of a potential institute on “the dignity of work” — a signature issue for him.

But he also would not rule out running for office back in Ohio or trying to return to the Senate in two years, when a special election is scheduled to be held to fill the unexpired term of JD Vance, the Republican who will resign his seat to become vice president in January.

No matter what the future holds, Mr. Brown said he intended to try to refocus his party on ***working-class*** issues.

“I’m going to stay engaged,” Mr. Brown, currently the chairman of the Banking Committee, said in the interview. “I lost. First time I’ve lost in a long, long time. I am not walking away at all from advocating for workers.”

“My goal is to make the Democratic Party the party of workers,” he added. “A whole lot of voters in Ohio see the Democratic Party as a bicoastal party, and those days need to be behind us.”

Like other Democratic Senate contenders, Mr. Brown ran well ahead of Vice President Kamala Harris in November’s general election but he could not overtake Bernie Moreno, the Republican who will assume the seat in January.

Still, Mr. Brown, who was once considered a potential presidential candidate, has received encouragement from his Democratic colleagues to try to come back to the Senate in two years in the midterms, when the political environment traditionally favors the party out of power. He retains a strong political base in the state and has widespread name recognition.

Returning to the Senate after losing an election has proved difficult but not impossible. Slade Gorton, Republican of Washington, was elected in 1980, lost in 1986 and then returned to the Senate by winning in 1988. But in another recent example, Senator Russ Feingold, Democrat of Wisconsin, lost to his Republican opponent, Ron Johnson, in 2010 and again in 2016.

Senator Bob Casey of Pennsylvania, another defeated Democratic incumbent who, like Mr. Brown, was first elected to the Senate in 2006, has told media outlets in his state that he is not ruling out a potential political comeback. But he might have to wait a full six years for a Senate rematch, since the other Pennsylvania seat is held by a Democrat, John Fetterman.

As his time in Congress winds down, Mr. Brown is on the cusp of a potentially significant victory. The Senate is nearing a vote on a plan he has sponsored with Senator Susan Collins, Republican of Maine, to restore full Social Security benefits to public employees such as teachers and firefighters whose payments are reduced because they receive other public pensions. It passed the House overwhelmingly and could clear the Senate this week.

In the Senate, Mr. Brown is known for pushing for a higher child tax credit and pension protection, and was an early opponent of the North American Free Trade Agreement and other trade deals that he said punished American workers while rewarding Wall Street at labor’s expense. No wonder, he said, many Americans think the system is rigged against them.

“For half a century, the stock market soared, executive compensation exploded, corporate profits have risen dramatically, worker productivity has gone up, but workers’ wages have been comparatively flat and costs keep going up,” he said.

“Until we solve that fundamental problem in this country,” he added, “until hard work is valued, until everyone has a path to the middle class and the stability and security of a good-paying job, our work in this body — my work as a private citizen come January — that work is unfinished.”

PHOTO: Senator Sherrod Brown, who was once considered a potential presidential candidate, has received encouragement from his Democratic colleagues to try to come back to the Senate in two years in the midterms. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Haiyun Jiang for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** December 17, 2024

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[***Among Silvas Across Brazil, Shared Name Has Grim Past***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DKH-VC21-JBG3-61MN-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 7, 2024 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 1382 words

**Byline:** By Ana Ionova

**Body**

Silva, the surname of presidents and soccer stars, has long carried stigma over its colonial links. Now, many see its legacy in new ways.

Fernando Santos da Silva's surname -- shared by 150 relatives -- is an heirloom from a grim chapter of Brazil's history.

Like millions of others in Latin America's most populated country, he inherited it from his ancestors who were once enslaved, likely named after their captors.

With its painful roots, Silva was long a source of shame even as it became Brazil's most common surname.

But today, the name is treated in a starkly different light.

''Silva is a symbol of resistance,'' said Mr. Santos da Silva, 32, an antiques vendor from Rio de Janeiro. ''It's a connection, both to the present and to my ancestors.''

Whenever you meet a Brazilian, there's a good chance that Silva is tucked somewhere in a lengthy, melodic last name. If not, they certainly have a friend or relative who has the name. (Most Brazilians use the surname of both their mother and father.)

Silva is found in the name of the nation's president, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, and its most celebrated soccer player, Neymar da Silva Santos Júnior. It's also shared by some five million other Brazilians, from movie stars and Olympic medalists to teachers, drivers and cleaners.

Exactly how Silva spread across Brazil -- one in 40 Brazilians has the name -- is the subject of some debate. But historians agree that much of its popularity is linked to slaveholders who gave the name to many enslaved people who then passed it down to future generations.

Marked by its colonial roots, the name was for decades synonymous with poverty and oppression in a majority Black country that only abolished slavery in 1888, and where deep racial and economic inequalities persist.

Few Brazilians embraced the name in the past. Many prominent figures, including Ayrton Senna da Silva, a Formula One driver in the 1980s and '90s, quietly dropped Silva from their names.

But as Brazil rethinks how its brutal past helped shape the country's identity, more and more well-known people are spotlighting their surname, conveying the idea that there's nothing shameful about being a Silva.

Celebrities like the mixed-martial arts fighter Anderson Silva and a popular musician who goes simply by Silva fill many Brazilians with admiration and transform the name's image.

''Today, we are in all kinds of places,'' said Rene Silva, an activist from one of Rio's largest slums and the host of a television program showcasing the success stories of people, both famous and ordinary, with the name. ''It shows that we are fighters -- and we are winning.''

The name's ubiquity was on full display on a recent afternoon in a busy notary public in Rio de Janeiro.

Behind a counter, Tiago Mendes Silva, a 39-year-old clerk who inherited the name from both his parents, stamped and sealed documents.

''There's always a Silva or two around,'' said Mr. Mendes Silva, one of the notary's seven employees with the name.

On the other side of the counter, Juscelina Silva Morais, a 59-year-old cafeteria worker, handed over a document she needed legalized. ''This name is part of our story,'' she said. ''It's as Brazilian as it gets.''

Mr. Santos da Silva, the antiques vendor, was also there with his partner, Tamiê Cordeiro, filing for a marriage license. ''I'm not a Silva yet,'' joked Ms. Cordeiro, 27. ''But I will be soon.''

Some historians trace the name Silva back to the Roman Empire, where there is a record of a general with the name. Others link it to noble families in the Iberian Peninsula, a region now home to Spain and Portugal, during the reign of the Kingdom of León, which formed in the 900s.

Derived from the Latin word ''selva,'' or wilderness, the name became common in the 11th and 12th centuries among those who lived and worked near forests in that region.

''There are many possible origins,'' said Viviane Pompeu, a genealogist who runs a firm that helps Brazilians trace their ancestry. ''But we notice that the root always comes from a place in the woods, in the jungle.''

The name arrived in Brazil with colonization, with the first record dating to a Portuguese settler in 1612. Notaries began tracking names about a century later and, since then, nearly 32 million Brazilians have been registered as Silva, according to data compiled for The New York Times by the national association of registrars.

Scholars say African slaves arriving in Brazil by ship were sometimes baptized by priests who gave the name Costa (''coast'' in Portuguese) to those headed to coastal cities and the name Silva to those destined for plantations in the country's wild forested regions.

Wealthy landowners named Silva also often gave the surname to people they enslaved, sometimes slipping in the preposition ''da'' (''of'' in Portuguese) to label them as property.

''John of Silva -- he belonged to someone from the family Silva,'' explained Rogério da Palma, a professor at the State University of Mato Grosso do Sul and the author of a book on racism in post-abolition Brazil.

Even after Brazil abolished slavery, the number of Silvas kept swelling. Freed slaves registering for documents for the first time sometimes took the name of the landowners who had once enslaved them and continued to employ them in exchange for room and board.

''It was a way of belonging,'' Dr. Palma said. ''It was also loyalty he had to that slave-owning family.''

More than a century later, echoes of this past surfaced in Daniel Fermino da Silva's own family tree.

A history buff, Mr. Fermino da Silva, 45, spent more than three years searching for traces of his ancestors in archives and libraries. He eventually discovered a family history deeply ''intertwined with the history of Brazil.''

On his mother's side, he descended from wealthy landholders from São Paulo who had once enslaved people. On his father's side, records from the 1700s showed that his Silva ancestors had been enslaved some 500 miles away, in the mineral-rich state of Minas Gerais.

''I see my family and my ancestors as heroes,'' Mr. Fermino da Silva, an engineer from the southern city of Londrina, said, referring to his father's family.

It's less clear how Brazil's president, the son of illiterate farmers from the country's impoverished northeast, inherited the nation's most popular name.

During colonial rule, the region where Mr. Lula was born saw an influx of Jewish refugees and other migrants fleeing religious persecution in Portugal. Seeking new identities -- and anonymity -- historians say many new arrivals swapped their names for Silva.

Some scholars believe that might be how Mr. Lula ended up as a Silva. But genealogists have struggled to trace his roots with any certainty.

''It's a big mystery,'' said Fernando Morais, Mr. Lula's official biographer, who has tried to piece together the president's family history.

The president doesn't seem to mind. A former union leader with a fifth-grade education, Mr. Lula considers himself ''just another Silva,'' according to Mr. Morais. ''It's the name of the people.''

Among the elite, though, Silva often tells a story of privilege. At least four Brazilian politicians and lawmakers, including a former president, had ancestors with the name who had links to slavery, according to data compiled for The New York Times by Agência Pública, a nonprofit investigative outlet that recently mapped the ancestry of Brazil's most powerful people.

In popular culture, the experience of the average Silva was long embodied by a popular 1990s funk song about a ***working-class*** man who falls victim to the violence ravaging Rio's poor, mostly Black suburbs. ''It's just another Silva whose star doesn't shine,'' the lyrics say.

Hearing the song always moved Marcelle da Silva Oliveira, 36, whose father was killed by drug traffickers in a ***working-class*** Rio neighborhood when she was young. But, for years, she was ashamed of the surname.

''I would say, 'I don't know any Silva who made it in life,''' said Ms. da Silva Oliveira, a domestic worker.

But Ms. da Silva Oliveira's view eventually shifted and she has passed the surname down to her own six children.

''We lived through so much, so much humiliation,'' she said. ''Our name is a sign of survival.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/05/world/americas/brazil-silva-name-slavery.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/05/world/americas/brazil-silva-name-slavery.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: ''Silva is a symbol of resistance,'' said Fernando Santos da Silva, an antiques vendor from Rio de Janeiro, above with his partner, Tamiê Cordeiro, and their baby, Hakin Onã. ''It's a connection, both to the present and to my ancestors.''

Daniel Fermino da Silva spent more than three years searching for traces of his relatives in archives and libraries. He is descended from wealthy landholders on his mother's side and ancestors who were enslaved on his father's side.

Marcelle da Silva Oliveira, a domestic worker, was long ashamed of her surname: ''I would say, 'I don't know any Silva who made it in life.''' Now, she sees it as a sign of survival, one that she has since passed down to her children. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DADO GALDIERI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Brazil's president, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, in São Paulo in 2022. It's unclear how Mr. Lula inherited his country's most popular name. He considers himself ''just another Silva,'' according to Fernando Morais, his official biographer. (PHOTOGRAPH BY VICTOR MORIYAMA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A4.

**Load-Date:** December 7, 2024

**End of Document**



[***What Democrats Should Learn From Their Loss; letters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DDG-1721-DXY4-X11G-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 13, 2024 Wednesday 21:16 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1191 words

**Highlight:** Readers point to campaign missteps and offer advice for winning back voters. Also: Robert F. Kennedy Jr.’s role in health policy; closing local pharmacies.

**Body**

To the Editor:

Re “[*Democrats Sift Through Rubble, Seeking Answers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/democrats-kamala-harris.html)” (front page, Nov. 10):

Rather than pointing fingers at one another, the party needs to do what the Republicans did with Richard Nixon’s “Southern Strategy” and Ronald Reagan’s “Reagan Democrats”: Figure out who didn’t vote for them; discern what they wanted — but didn’t see forthcoming from the Democrats; develop programs to respond to those wants; and, finally, replicate the communications network, social media and mass media campaign that the Republicans mounted.

The inbox of this registered Democrat was filled over the past 90 days with emails extolling the virtues of Donald Trump and the evils of Democrats. There was also the shrewdest TV barrage I have ever seen.

I would humbly suggest that nobody connected with this election, including the bicoastal Pelosi-Schumer coalition, should have anything to do with the project. As the saying goes, “They blew it, big time.”

Stephen Phillips

St. Petersburg, Fla.

To the Editor:

I appreciate all the recent coverage of reasons for the Democratic defeat in the election — particularly Ezra Klein’s [*recent podcasts.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/democrats-kamala-harris.html) I am left wondering, however, how the Democrats should best respond.

I suspect that the party will now pivot to the right, à la Bill Clinton, as it tries to woo ***working-class***, non-college-educated voters. But I wonder if that’s the answer.

As a moderate, I cringed at woke rhetoric and thought it was alienating and counterproductive. But I believe in many of the ideals behind it, such as protecting minority interests, showing respect and sensitivity to identity concerns, acknowledging the effects of systemic racism and police brutality, and empowering women.

The thing I can’t get my head around is how do Democrats hold onto those values while trying to attract a large group of voters who don’t seem to share them? I would love to hear some answers to that question.

Elissa Warantz

Huntington Beach, Calif.

To the Editor:

Re “[*Trump Offered Men Something the Democrats Never Could*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/democrats-kamala-harris.html),” by Elizabeth Spiers (Opinion guest essay, nytimes.com, Nov. 6):

As a lifelong Democrat, and an old retired white guy, I am now a member of the party that is almost completely devoted to elite working women and minorities. A party that bends over backward to please the tiniest minorities yet fails to recognize the needs of the vast majority of people.

The policies of the Pelosi-Schumer Democratic Party have been a complete disaster. The fact that they lost an election to a septuagenarian demagogue says it all.

I remain a committed Democrat because it is the lone party that still values ethics, but I told my friends in the spring of 2016 that Hillary Clinton was going to lose because she was ignoring white guys like me. And she did.

This latest defeat rests on the shoulders of the Pelosi-Schumer administration.

John Palmieri

Bronx

To the Editor:

Contributors to The New York Times’s Opinion page have been obsessed with cataloging all of the Democratic Party’s failings, some of the criticisms being of genuine merit (e.g., “[*The Democratic Blind Spot That Wrecked 2024*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/democrats-kamala-harris.html),” by Ezra Klein, column, nytimes.com, Nov. 10), and any number being of no constructive use.

A perennial problem for the Democrats is that they rarely articulate a succinctly stated point of view while the Republicans tend to identify hot-button issues with unambiguous terseness.

The Democrats can’t blunt attacks on their economic or immigration policies because they always come across as equivocators: “Well, it’s complicated.” Yes, these matters are complicated, but to win an election in the United States you have to be blunt in stating an outcome everyone should want.

The Democratic National Committee needs to go to Madison Avenue to find its bearings. The inner workings of your policies may have to be complicated, but the public declaration of them should be as clear as day.

Paul Betz

Chapel Hill, N.C.

To the Editor:

A lifelong Democrat, I face an inconvenient truth: The Democratic Party is now the party of the elites. Data can be interpreted, but it’s undeniable that the Dems have been steadily losing the populist vote, in the Rust Belt, in rural areas and even in cities. While I do believe that there is more racism, prejudice and sexism than I would like to admit, the Democrats can’t write off this group as ignorant or racist or clinging to religion if they want to win. They have to understand them.

It is a savage irony that the party that purports to care about the poor and ***working class*** does not have their support. At the risk of stating the obvious, Democrats need to get off their ideological high horse and reach out to people in ways they haven’t for decades. Treat minority groups or rural blocs as a monolith at your peril.

John J. Arent

San Francisco

Kennedy’s Role in Health Policy

To the Editor:

Re “[*Kennedy, Vocal Critic of Vaccines, Is Poised to Wield New Power*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/democrats-kamala-harris.html)” (news article, Nov. 8):

As a physician, I find the prospect of Robert F. Kennedy Jr. playing any role in public health policy to be nothing short of terrifying. He is a skeptic of vaccinations, despite the consensus of experts that vaccines are safe and effective.

It was bad enough when Donald Trump’s unwise refusal to accept the reality of the Covid pandemic caused [*hundreds of thousands of avoidable deaths*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/democrats-kamala-harris.html). We can expect similarly bad outcomes if Mr. Kennedy is making important decisions about public health policy.

Clearly, a second Trump term would be an unprecedented public health disaster.

Harvey M. Berman

White Plains, N.Y.

The Shuttering of the ‘Mom and Pop’ Pharmacies

To the Editor:

Re “[*Powerful Firms Driving Out Local Pharmacies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/democrats-kamala-harris.html)” (front page, “The Middlemen” series, Oct. 20):

The forces squeezing the independent neighborhood pharmacies into oblivion are analogous to those that have nearly decimated the private practice of medicine, as large entities monopolize the business of health care.

As far as the “mom and pop” pharmacy, a staple of the community, the pharmacy benefit managers are wielding unchecked powers skewed in favor of the large-chain pharmacy conglomerates.

For the independent operator, there is little wiggle room for cost containment when fixed operating expenses rise and reimbursement is reduced. Only creative revenue sources from ancillary services keep some of these independents afloat.

It is no wonder stores are shuttering in astounding numbers. There is something special about those surviving small-town pharmacies where you can still know your pharmacist by name and make an inquiry about your concerns about a newly prescribed medication.

As a physician in a solo private practice, I am fortunate to collaborate with one of our town’s only surviving apothecaries. I can definitively attest to the fact that the services are superior to the large-chain counterparts, and you can actually get to speak to a live person.

Our dependence on the large chains will invariably lead to longer wait times as the bulk of independent pharmacies gradually wither away into obscurity. This is an example of one more casualty of a health care system usurped by corporate greed.

Ronald G. Frank

West Orange, N.J.

This article appeared in print on page A23.

**Load-Date:** November 14, 2024

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[***Some Voters Are Backing Trump, but Not Senate Hopefuls Trying to Be Like Him***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D79-YV61-DXY4-X0TW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 20, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1428 words

**Byline:** By Catie Edmondson

**Body**

In the battleground state of Arizona and other important pockets of the country, polling suggests that voters backing the former president are eschewing Republican Senate candidates.

On matters of substance and style, there is little distance between former President Donald J. Trump and Kari Lake, the bombastic former news anchor running for Senate in Arizona.

Both rose to fame on television. Both have refused to concede their last election. And both favor the incendiary rhetoric that delights supporters in the base of the Republican Party.

But there is a vast distance between them in the polls in the Grand Canyon state. Mr. Trump has consistently put up competitive polling numbers, while Ms. Lake has routinely lagged behind her Democratic opponent, Representative Ruben Gallego.

A similar phenomenon is playing out in at least two other battleground states where polling shows that despite Mr. Trump's competitive standing, Republican challengers in pivotal Senate races are trailing the Democratic incumbents. In Nevada, Sam Brown, an Army veteran whom Mr. Trump helped elevate out of a crowded primary race, is trailing Senator Jacky Rosen, the mild-mannered, low-profile freshman Democrat. In Pennsylvania, David McCormick, a businessman, has begun to close what polling showed last month was a nine-point deficit with Senator Bob Casey.

Ticket-splitting, in which voters choose candidates of different parties for different offices up and down the ballot, has for years been on the wane in the United States, as partisan polarization has consumed American politics. But polling this year, which suggests that some conservative-leaning voters in critical states are rejecting Republican candidates for Senate even as they support the party's presidential nominee, seems to indicate important pockets of the country where it is very much alive and could boost Democrats' uphill battle to hold their majority in the Senate.

It also underscores what has emerged as a recurring theme: Even candidates who closely mirror Mr. Trump rarely are able to duplicate his political success.

''Many are trying to emulate Donald Trump; the problem is none of them are Donald Trump, and as a result they're underperforming in races that categorically should be competitive,'' said Mike Noble, an Arizona-based independent pollster. ''And it's hamstringing the G.O.P. on the Senate map this cycle.''

Republicans are still heavily favored to win the Senate, with polls showing their candidates ahead in states they must hold, including Florida and Texas, as well as in the critical state of Montana, where Senator Jon Tester, a Democrat, is lagging. And the G.O.P. candidates who have consistently trailed Mr. Trump argue that their races are closer than polling shows, giving them a path to victory.

Still, voters willing to divide their loyalties between the two parties could pose a steep challenge.

In Pennsylvania, these ticket splitters are largely ***working-class*** white voters who think of Mr. Casey, a three-term Democrat who hails from a prominent political family in the state, as being pro-labor. Mr. Casey has attacked his opponent, a former hedge fund executive who grew up in Pennsylvania but only recently moved back to run for Senate there, on his vast personal wealth and questioned his ties to the state.

In Nevada, Mr. Brown has leaned heavily on his biography, telling the story of how he was inspired to run for office after he survived a blast from a roadside bomb while serving as a U.S. Army lieutenant in Afghanistan. But until recently, he has run a largely cloistered campaign, allowing an onslaught of ads by Ms. Rosen, including referencing his move to Nevada from Texas, to define him.

''In previous elections, Sam Brown has come to our community,'' said Nathan Robertson, the Republican mayor of Ely who has endorsed Ms. Rosen. ''I've met him and his family; they're very nice people. That being said, he's just been running for office since he's left the military. He doesn't really have a track record to run on.''

Here in Arizona, Ms. Lake, who ran unsuccessfully for governor in 2022, is arguably the Senate Republican candidate this cycle who has styled herself most closely in Mr. Trump's image. Pictures of the two side by side are plastered on her campaign's bus and feature prominently on signs everywhere in the state.

But recent polling by The New York Times and Siena College indicated that 10 percent of Mr. Trump's supporters said they would vote for Mr. Gallego in the Senate contest. The findings show that Mr. Gallego's lead has been boosted largely by ticket splitters who are disproportionately young and Latino; representatives of his campaign say that they have also noticed a surge of crossover voters who are ***working-class*** men.

''A lot of them are people that look at Trump as a businessman, not as a politician,'' Mr. Gallego said in an interview, describing voters who are supporting both him and the former president. ''For me, it'll be like, 'You're a veteran. I like that,' 'You come from the ***working class***' or 'You understand what it means to be a worker.' I think a lot of them feel like I meet their vibe, that they can trust me.''

On a recent Sunday night in Phoenix, Mr. Gallego, a former Marine who served in Iraq, was ordering dinner at a restaurant when he was approached by a man wearing a MAGA hat and a Trump T-shirt who asked him for a photo. Mr. Gallego agreed, and the man shortly returned with a challenge. He and some of his friends who are veterans were interested in voting for Mr. Gallego, the man said, but wanted the congressman to give him a reason to support him.

Mr. Gallego replied that he wouldn't ever be 100 percent aligned with the man or his friends, but that he would work for them and be willing to listen to their views. ''Good enough,'' the man replied.

The interaction, Mr. Gallego said, reflected a dynamic he has noticed among some Trump voters -- mostly men -- who he believes are supporting the former president as a way of asserting independence.

''It's hard to put my finger on it,'' he said. ''At the end of the day, they just want to be different. Being different means being for Trump.''

Mr. Gallego has worked to cultivate support among less politically engaged voters, casting the approach as a ''continuous effort'' rather than a one-time shot. That has included hosting events at a local boxing club where voters can come watch pay-per-view prize fights for free and meet him, and canvassing outside concerts featuring Latino artists, including when Bad Bunny played Phoenix.

The son of Mexican and Colombian immigrants, Mr. Gallego leans heavily on his Latino roots, addressing crowds in a mix of Spanish and English. His campaign passes out signs and fliers modeled after loterÃ­a cards, the centerpiece of a traditional Mexican game akin to Bingo that features a standard set of characters, like ''La sirena,'' or the mermaid.

In one postcard distributed by Mr. Gallego's campaign, he is depicted as ''El senador'' -- the senator. Ms. Lake is depicted as ''La peligrosa'' -- the dangerous one.

Mr. Gallego has also been boosted by what voters and political operatives describe as a deep resistance within the state to Ms. Lake.

Gino Ortiz plans to vote for both Vice President Kamala Harris, the Democratic presidential candidate, and Mr. Gallego in November. During an interview at a backyard meet-and-greet for Mr. Gallego where attendees dined on homemade breakfast burritos and pan dulce, Mr. Ortiz recounted how he had found it easier to convince his conservative-leaning friends to turn away from Ms. Lake than from Mr. Trump.

His friends who are supporting Mr. Trump, he said, frequently argued that the economy was better under the former president and believe that he would rein in inflation.

''He's done a really good job of marketing himself and to be this man that, going back four years, had a better economy, was more, 'American,''' he said.

When Mr. Ortiz tried to convince them otherwise, he said, ''They just don't seem to buy it. But at the same time, when you bring up Kari Lake, she just comes off so negative and not likable.''

Mr. Noble said that his polling showed that Ms. Lake was underperforming Mr. Trump among key constituencies including Republicans, suburbanites, women and older voters.

''When people talk about Kari Lake, they refer to her as the Donald Trump of Arizona, and it's true and it's not,'' he said. ''It's true she has all of the baggage Trump has. But she doesn't have any of the policy wins.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/19/us/politics/split-ticket-voters-trump-senate.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/19/us/politics/split-ticket-voters-trump-senate.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A23.

**Load-Date:** October 20, 2024

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[***Real Estate Leaders Sue to Stop New York City’s Overhaul of Broker Fees***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DNH-XD21-JBG3-6379-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 16, 2024 Monday 00:15 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 712 words

**Byline:** Emma G. FitzsimmonsEmma G. Fitzsimmons is the City Hall bureau chief for The Times, covering Mayor Eric Adams and his administration.

**Highlight:** A law in New York City shifting broker fees from renters to landlords is set to take effect in June. Real estate leaders want to stop it.

**Body**

A law in New York City shifting broker fees from renters to landlords is set to take effect in June. Real estate leaders want to stop it.

Real estate leaders in New York City filed a lawsuit on Monday seeking to halt a new law that would shift expensive broker fees from renters to landlords.

The broker fee bill became law on Friday after Mayor Eric Adams neglected to sign or veto it within 30 days as required. The [*new rules approved by the City Council*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/12/nyregion/broker-fees-rent-nyc.html) prevent renters from being forced to pay broker fees that can cost thousands of dollars.

The lawsuit was filed in Federal District Court in Manhattan by the Real Estate Board of New York, an influential industry lobbying group. It argues that the law is unconstitutional and that it will lead to higher rents.

“It will wreak havoc on the New York City rental markets and unleash a host of unintended consequences, causing immediate and irreparable harm to the consumers it purports to protect, as well as harm brokers and landlords around the city,” the lawsuit said.

Moving into an apartment in the city can [*easily cost more than $10,000*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/12/nyregion/broker-fees-rent-nyc.html) in upfront costs, including a broker fee that is typically more than one month’s rent. The [*median rent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/12/nyregion/broker-fees-rent-nyc.html) is currently about $3,400.

The [*City Council passed the bill*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/12/nyregion/broker-fees-rent-nyc.html) in November over the objections of real estate leaders with 42 votes — enough for a veto-proof majority to prevent Mr. Adams from trying to stop it. Mr. Adams, a Democrat who is friendly with real estate developers, had concerns about the bill, which is set to take effect in June.

The bill requires whoever hires a broker to pay the fee. Landlords and their agents would be required to disclose fees in listings and rental agreements. Violations could result in a civil penalty, including fines of up to $2,000.

Elected officials in New York have been [*moving to address the high cost of living*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/12/nyregion/broker-fees-rent-nyc.html). Rents have soared, and the city’s rental vacancy rate hovers at close to 1 percent, [*the lowest it has been in more than 50 years*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/12/nyregion/broker-fees-rent-nyc.html).

The bill’s main sponsor, Chi Ossé, a progressive City Council member from Brooklyn, cast the measure as an effort to address affordability and to bring the city in line with other American cities, where renters do not pay the fee.

Mr. Ossé called the lawsuit a “last desperate attempt by the real estate lobby to undermine the voices of city residents.”

“New Yorkers deserve a rental system that works for them — not one that exploits them,” he said in a statement.

The lawsuit, however, focuses on several arguments: The law violates the right to free commercial speech under the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution by restricting apartment listings; it violates the contracts clause in the Constitution by invalidating contracts between brokers and landlords; and it is pre-empted by state law that regulates real estate brokers.

Carl Hum, the general counsel for the Real Estate Board of New York, said in a statement that the bill was “bad policy and bad law.”

“This legislation will not only raise rents and make it harder for tenants to find housing, but it also infringes upon constitutional guarantees of free speech and contract rights, as well as New York State law,” he said. “We look forward to our day in court.”

Bess Freedman, the chief executive officer of Brown Harris Stevens, a major real estate firm, said in an interview that the mayor agreed with real estate leaders that the law could prompt landlords to raise rents to cover fees.

“It’s going to create more challenges for a market that has an incredible lack of supply and options for people,” she said.

Earlier this month, Mr. Adams said that he would not veto the bill amid growing tension with the City Council.

“I’m just not in that space of these headlines of dispute,” he said. “We need to be in a better, calm place.”

But Adrienne Adams, the City Council speaker, criticized the mayor over the weekend for attacking a bill that his administration helped negotiate.

“We fully expect Mayor Adams to implement it without delay to reinforce his pledge to support ***working-class*** New Yorkers,” she said.

PHOTO: Moving into a New York City apartment can cost over $10,000, including a security deposit, first month’s rent and a broker fee. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JAMES ESTRIN/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A15.

**Load-Date:** December 17, 2024

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[***Split-Ticket Voters Buoy Democrats in Key Senate Races***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D73-G3W1-DXY4-X0CP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 19, 2024 Saturday 23:13 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1419 words

**Byline:** Catie EdmondsonCatie Edmondson covers Congress for The Times.

**Highlight:** In the battleground state of Arizona and other important pockets of the country, polling suggests that voters backing the former president are eschewing Republican Senate candidates.

**Body**

In the battleground state of Arizona and other important pockets of the country, polling suggests that voters backing the former president are eschewing Republican Senate candidates.

On matters of substance and style, there is little distance between former President Donald J. Trump and Kari Lake, the bombastic former news anchor running for Senate in Arizona.

Both rose to fame on television. Both have refused to concede their last election. And both favor the incendiary rhetoric that delights supporters in the base of the Republican Party.

But there is a vast distance between them in the polls in the Grand Canyon state. Mr. Trump has consistently put up competitive polling numbers, while Ms. Lake has routinely lagged behind her Democratic opponent, Representative Ruben Gallego.

A similar phenomenon is playing out in at least two other battleground states where polling shows that despite Mr. Trump’s competitive standing, Republican challengers in pivotal Senate races are trailing the Democratic incumbents. In Nevada, Sam Brown, an Army veteran whom Mr. Trump helped [*elevate out of a crowded primary race*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/09/us/politics/trump-endorsement-sam-brown.html), is trailing Senator Jacky Rosen, the mild-mannered, low-profile freshman Democrat. In Pennsylvania, David McCormick, a businessman, [*has begun to close*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/09/us/politics/trump-endorsement-sam-brown.html) what polling showed last month was a nine-point deficit with Senator Bob Casey.

Ticket-splitting, in which voters choose candidates of different parties for different offices up and down the ballot, has for years been [*on the wane in the United States*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/09/us/politics/trump-endorsement-sam-brown.html), as partisan polarization has consumed American politics. But polling this year, which suggests that some conservative-leaning voters in critical states are rejecting Republican candidates for Senate even as they support the party’s presidential nominee, seems to indicate important pockets of the country where it is very much alive and could boost Democrats’ uphill battle to hold their majority in the Senate.

It also underscores what has emerged as a recurring theme: Even candidates who closely mirror Mr. Trump rarely are able to duplicate his political success.

“Many are trying to emulate Donald Trump; the problem is none of them are Donald Trump, and as a result they’re underperforming in races that categorically should be competitive,” said Mike Noble, an Arizona-based independent pollster. “And it’s hamstringing the G.O.P. on the Senate map this cycle.”

Republicans are still heavily favored to win the Senate, [*with polls showing their candidates ahead*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/09/us/politics/trump-endorsement-sam-brown.html) in states they must hold, including Florida and Texas, as well as in the critical state of Montana, where Senator Jon Tester, a Democrat, is lagging. And the G.O.P. candidates who have consistently trailed Mr. Trump argue that their races are closer than polling shows, giving them a path to victory.

Still, voters willing to divide their loyalties between the two parties could pose a steep challenge.

In Pennsylvania, these ticket splitters are largely ***working-class*** white voters who think of Mr. Casey, a three-term Democrat who hails from a prominent political family in the state, as being pro-labor. Mr. Casey has attacked his opponent, a former hedge fund executive who [*grew up in Pennsylvania*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/09/us/politics/trump-endorsement-sam-brown.html) but only recently moved back to run for Senate there, on his [*vast personal wealth*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/09/us/politics/trump-endorsement-sam-brown.html) and questioned his ties to the state.

In Nevada, Mr. Brown has leaned heavily on his biography, telling the story of how he was inspired to run for office after he survived a blast from a roadside bomb while serving as a U.S. Army lieutenant in Afghanistan. But until recently, he has run a largely cloistered campaign, allowing [*an onslaught of ads*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/09/us/politics/trump-endorsement-sam-brown.html) by Ms. Rosen, including referencing his move to Nevada from Texas, to define him.

“In previous elections, Sam Brown has come to our community,” said Nathan Robertson, the Republican mayor of Ely who has endorsed Ms. Rosen. “I’ve met him and his family; they’re very nice people. That being said, he’s just been running for office since he’s left the military. He doesn’t really have a track record to run on.”

Here in Arizona, Ms. Lake, who ran unsuccessfully for governor in 2022, is arguably the Senate Republican candidate this cycle who has styled herself most closely in Mr. Trump’s image. Pictures of the two side by side are plastered on her campaign’s bus and feature prominently on signs everywhere in the state.

But [*recent polling by The New York Times and Siena College*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/09/us/politics/trump-endorsement-sam-brown.html) indicated that 10 percent of Mr. Trump’s supporters said they would vote for Mr. Gallego in the Senate contest. The findings show that Mr. Gallego’s lead has been boosted largely by ticket splitters who are disproportionately young and Latino; representatives of his campaign say that they have also noticed a surge of crossover voters who are ***working-class*** men.

“A lot of them are people that look at Trump as a businessman, not as a politician,” Mr. Gallego said in an interview, describing voters who are supporting both him and the former president. “For me, it’ll be like, ‘You’re a veteran. I like that,’ ‘You come from the ***working class***’ or ‘You understand what it means to be a worker.’ I think a lot of them feel like I meet their vibe, that they can trust me.”

On a recent Sunday night in Phoenix, Mr. Gallego, a former Marine who served in Iraq, was ordering dinner at a restaurant when he was approached by a man wearing a MAGA hat and a Trump T-shirt who asked him for a photo. Mr. Gallego agreed, and the man shortly returned with a challenge. He and some of his friends who are veterans were interested in voting for Mr. Gallego, the man said, but wanted the congressman to give him a reason to support him.

Mr. Gallego replied that he wouldn’t ever be 100 percent aligned with the man or his friends, but that he would work for them and be willing to listen to their views. “Good enough,” the man replied.

The interaction, Mr. Gallego said, reflected a dynamic he has noticed among some Trump voters — mostly men — who he believes are supporting the former president as a way of asserting independence.

“It’s hard to put my finger on it,” he said. “At the end of the day, they just want to be different. Being different means being for Trump.”

Mr. Gallego has worked to cultivate support among less politically engaged voters, casting the approach as a “continuous effort” rather than a one-time shot. That has included hosting events at a local boxing club where voters can come watch pay-per-view prize fights for free and meet him, and canvassing outside concerts featuring Latino artists, including when Bad Bunny played Phoenix.

The son of Mexican and Colombian immigrants, Mr. Gallego leans heavily on his Latino roots, addressing crowds in a mix of Spanish and English. His campaign passes out signs and fliers modeled after lotería cards, the centerpiece of a traditional Mexican game akin to Bingo that features a standard set of characters, like “La sirena,” or the mermaid.

In one postcard distributed by Mr. Gallego’s campaign, he is depicted as “El senador” — the senator. Ms. Lake is depicted as “La peligrosa” — the dangerous one.

Mr. Gallego has also been boosted by what voters and political operatives describe as a deep resistance within the state to Ms. Lake.

Gino Ortiz plans to vote for both Vice President Kamala Harris, the Democratic presidential candidate, and Mr. Gallego in November. During an interview at a backyard meet-and-greet for Mr. Gallego where attendees dined on homemade breakfast burritos and pan dulce, Mr. Ortiz recounted how he had found it easier to convince his conservative-leaning friends to turn away from Ms. Lake than from Mr. Trump.

His friends who are supporting Mr. Trump, he said, frequently argued that the economy was better under the former president and believe that he would rein in inflation.

“He’s done a really good job of marketing himself and to be this man that, going back four years, had a better economy, was more, ‘American,’” he said.

When Mr. Ortiz tried to convince them otherwise, he said, “They just don’t seem to buy it. But at the same time, when you bring up Kari Lake, she just comes off so negative and not likable.”

Mr. Noble said that his polling showed that Ms. Lake was underperforming Mr. Trump among key constituencies including Republicans, suburbanites, women and older voters.

“When people talk about Kari Lake, they refer to her as the Donald Trump of Arizona, and it’s true and it’s not,” he said. “It’s true she has all of the baggage Trump has. But she doesn’t have any of the policy wins.”

This article appeared in print on page A23.

**Load-Date:** October 19, 2024

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[***Former Aide To Obama Enters Race For Mayor***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DH0-64M1-DXY4-X31K-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 25, 2024 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 18

**Length:** 575 words

**Byline:** By Emma G. Fitzsimmons

**Body**

Michael Blake, a former state assemblyman and a veteran of the Obama administration, joins a crowded field of candidates running against Mayor Eric Adams.

Michael Blake, a former New York State assemblyman from the Bronx and a veteran of the Obama administration, is entering the crowded race to unseat Mayor Eric Adams.

He is the seventh prominent candidate to challenge Mr. Adams, a Democrat who was indicted in September on federal corruption charges. Mr. Blake created an exploratory committee on Friday and put up a campaign website on Sunday.

In his first interview as a mayoral candidate, Mr. Blake said that his campaign would focus on addressing the high cost of living in New York City and quality of life issues.

''New Yorkers clearly do not feel that their lives are getting better under his administration,'' he said. ''Whether it be loss of funds in their pocket or loss of hope and trust, it is hard to see how the city moves forward given the current mayor.''

Mr. Blake, 41, a former vice chair of the Democratic National Committee, served in the State Assembly for six years and in the Obama White House for two years.

Many of the candidates who are running in the Democratic primary in June are to the left of Mr. Adams, most more so than Mr. Blake. He said that he had implemented both progressive and moderate policies and viewed himself as a ''responsible leader who is finding solutions in the middle.'' As mayor, he said that he would support policies such as universal child care and paying nonprofits faster.

Other candidates, including former Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo, could enter the mayoral race in the coming months.

Mr. Blake said that he was also considering running for a leadership role at the Democratic National Committee as the party searches for a path forward following the victory of President-elect Donald J. Trump.

Mr. Blake ran unsuccessfully for Congress in 2020, losing to Representative Ritchie Torres in the Democratic primary. A year earlier, he finished fourth among 17 candidates in a special election for New York City public advocate, a race won by Jumaane Williams. Mr. Blake will have to move quickly to raise money for the race and to reintroduce himself to voters across the city.

Mr. Blake, whose parents are from Jamaica, plans to highlight his ***working-class*** biography and his roots in the Bronx. His father was a maintenance worker at a hospital, he said, and his mother worked at a manufacturing plant.

He said that he was proud of his work as a state lawmaker on issues such as the ''Raise the Age'' law that stopped 16- and 17-year-olds from being tried as adults in criminal court. He received scrutiny for accepting and then declining a job at a political consulting firm while serving in the Legislature.

Since leaving office, he has worked as a political consultant, runs a nonprofit and serves as an associate pastor at a church in the Bronx.

Mr. Blake, who worked on the Obama campaign in 2012, said that he had not talked to the former president about running for mayor. He said he was still friendly with Mr. Obama and spoke with him in October for a ''Win With Black Men'' event for Vice President Kamala Harris's presidential campaign.

Brian Cunningham, a state assemblyman from Brooklyn, said that Mr. Blake would be a great candidate for mayor and had made ''meaningful investments in underserved communities.''

''He understands how to lift everyone around him,'' he said.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/24/nyregion/michael-blake-mayor-nyc.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/24/nyregion/michael-blake-mayor-nyc.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Michael Blake becomes the seventh prominent candidate to challenge Mayor Eric Adams's bid for re-election. (PHOTOGRAPH BY GABRIELA BHASKAR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A18.

**Load-Date:** November 25, 2024

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[***How Can I Make Corduroy Look Cool?; ASK Vanessa***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DM0-5CG1-JBG3-63JM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 9, 2024 Monday 08:22 EST

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**Section:** STYLE

**Length:** 659 words

**Byline:** Vanessa FriedmanVanessa Friedman has been the fashion director and chief fashion critic for The Times since 2014.

**Highlight:** A reader seeks advice on how to style corduroy in a modern fashion. Our critic offers guidance on wearing the highly versatile fabric.

**Body**

A reader seeks advice on how to style corduroy in a modern fashion. Our critic offers guidance on wearing the highly versatile fabric.

I love corduroy, especially in winter, but every time I put it on I feel like a refugee from the 1970s or the woods. What’s the best way to wear it so it seems contemporary? — Jane, Brooklyn

Corduroy is one of those materials that have been with us for so long that it has acquired a whole encyclopedia’s worth of cultural references.

There’s academic corduroy, all elbow patches and lamp-lit brown; think Robin Williams in “Dead Poets Society.” There’s hippie-chic corduroy, à la old Bob Dylan or Oscar Isaac in “Inside Llewyn Davis.” There’s journalist corduroy; see Robert Redford as Bob Woodward in “All the President’s Men.” (Bob, did you really wear a lot of corduroy?) There’s weirdo corduroy, best worn by Wes Anderson and the cast of “The Royal Tenenbaums.” Preppy corduroy. Camp corduroy. Cool corduroy. (Hello, Steve McQueen.)

And then there’s fashion corduroy, product of all of the above, since fashion loves a reference, which has periodic surges in popularity but never really goes out of style — for any gender. Recently Gwyneth Paltrow posted an [*Instagram selfie*](https://www.instagram.com/goop/?hl=en) on her Goop account in which she modeled a pair of camel cords with a button-up white shirt. [*Katie Holmes*](https://www.instagram.com/goop/?hl=en), street-style magnet extraordinaire, is a dedicated corduroy model.

“It’s perennial,” Wes Gordon, the creative director of Carolina Herrera, said when I asked. He had, it turned out, just worn his own favorite new pair of corduroy pants. “It’s like denim.”

Corduroy’s roots go back to ancient Egypt, when the city of Al-Fustat became a center for woven materials and gave its name to a fabric christened “[*fustian*](https://www.instagram.com/goop/?hl=en).” That was effectively the ancestral forerunner of corduroy, without the ridges (or what we now call “wales”). Those showed up sometime in the 18th century, and by the 1800s, fustian had become “the proverbial costume of the working-men,” thanks to its toughness, at least according to Friedrich Engels, who memorialized it in “The Condition of the ***Working Class*** in England in 1844.”

After that came wales wide and narrow, and in 2005 the [*Corduroy Appreciation Club*](https://www.instagram.com/goop/?hl=en) was formed, and Nov. 11 was crowned [*Corduroy Day*](https://www.instagram.com/goop/?hl=en), because 11/11 looked the most like — yup — wales. Once upon a time rumor had it that corduroy derived its name from the French “cord du roi.” That has largely been disproved, but corduroy remains fabric royalty.

As to why, well: Corduroy is both plush and hard-wearing, warm and cool. It’s comfort clothing that can look good in pretty much any context, depending on “how it’s used, how it’s cut, how it’s worn,” Mr. Gordon said.

The good news is that this winter corduroy is enjoying one of its upswings, and there are many different styles to choose from, depending on what, exactly, you want to convey. According to Tagwalk, the fashion search engine, there were at least 148 different corduroy looks on the fall men’s and women’s runways from brands as diverse as Brunello Cucinelli (for whom corduroy is a veritable staple, as it is for Ralph Lauren and Tommy Hilfiger), Eckhaus Latta and Sacai.

To keep from seeming too walking-through-the-heather, Mr. Gordon suggested thinking in extremes — opt for loose, wide trousers or narrow ones, but avoid the basic middle — and pairing your cords with a well-tailored jacket, rather than a chunky cable sweater. (Cords plus chunky sweater pretty much equals ski resort.)

Look for lines with a bit of flare and a sharp silhouette. Avoid polyester weaves, which are less long-lasting. And remember: The wider the wale, the more luxurious the effect.

Your Style Questions, Answered

Every week on Open Thread, Vanessa will answer a reader’s fashion-related question, which you can send to her anytime via [*email*](https://www.instagram.com/goop/?hl=en) or [*Twitter*](https://www.instagram.com/goop/?hl=en). Questions are edited and condensed.

PHOTO: On the Lower East Side, spring 2024. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Simbarashe Cha/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** December 9, 2024

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[***Democrats Sift Through Rubble, Seeking Answers***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCT-HCX1-JBG3-62DM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 10, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1674 words

**Byline:** By Reid J. Epstein, Lisa Lerer and Nicholas Nehamas

**Body**

A depressed and demoralized Democratic Party is beginning the painful slog into a largely powerless future, as its leaders grapple with how deeply they underestimated Donald J. Trump's resurgent hold on the nation.

The nationwide repudiation of the party stunned many Democrats who had expressed a ''nauseous'' confidence about their chances in the final weeks of the race. As they sifted through the wreckage of their defeats, they found no easy answers as to why voters so decisively rejected their candidates.

In more than two dozen interviews, lawmakers, strategists and officials offered a litany of explanations for Vice President Kamala Harris's failure -- and just about all of them fit neatly into their preconceived notions of how to win in politics.

The quiet criticism, on phone calls, in group chats and during morose team meetings, was a behind-the-scenes preview of the intraparty battle to come, with Democrats quickly falling into the ideological rifts that have defined their party for much of the Trump era.

What was indisputable was how badly Democrats did. They lost the White House, surrendered control of the Senate and appeared headed to defeat in the House. They performed worse than four years ago in cities and suburbs, rural towns and college towns. An early New York Times analysis of the results found the vast majority of the nation's more than 3,100 counties swinging rightward since President Biden won in 2020.

The results showed that the Harris campaign, and Democrats more broadly, had failed to find an effective message against Mr. Trump and his down-ballot allies or to address voters' unhappiness about the direction of the nation under Mr. Biden. The issues the party chose to emphasize -- abortion rights and the protection of democracy -- did not resonate as much as the economy and immigration, which Americans often highlighted as among their most pressing concerns.

Many Democrats were considering how to navigate a dark future, with the party unable to stop Mr. Trump from carrying out a right-wing transformation of American government. Others turned inward, searching for why the nation rejected them.

They spoke about misinformation and the struggle to communicate the party's vision in a diminished news environment inundated with right-wing propaganda. They conceded that Ms. Harris had paid a price for not breaking from Mr. Biden's support of Israel in the war in Gaza, which angered Arab American voters in Michigan. Some felt their party had moved too far to the left on social issues like transgender rights. Others argued that as Democrats had shifted rightward on economic issues, they had left behind the interests of the ***working class***.

They lamented a Democratic Party brand that has become toxic in many parts of the country. Several noted that the independent Senate candidate in Nebraska ran 14 percentage points ahead of Ms. Harris in the state.

And many said they were struggling to process the scale of their loss, describing their feelings as a mix of shock, mourning and panic over what might come in a second Trump administration.

''I am pretty devastated and worried,'' said Representative Veronica Escobar of Texas, who served as a co-chair for the Harris campaign. ''There's real, imminent danger for people here. There is real danger here ahead for Americans -- including many Americans who voted for Trump.''

Soul-searching over strategy and values

Not everyone was quite as mournful.

Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont, the longtime progressive standard-bearer, blamed what he called a party-wide emphasis on identity politics at the expense of focusing on the economic concerns of ***working-class*** voters.

''It's not just Kamala,'' he said. ''It's a Democratic Party which increasingly has become a party of identity politics, rather than understanding that the vast majority of people in this country are ***working class***. This trend of workers leaving the Democratic Party started with whites, and it has accelerated to Latinos and Blacks.''

Mr. Sanders, a political independent who has long criticized the influence of the party's biggest donors and veteran operatives, offered a pessimistic forecast: ''Whether or not the Democratic Party has the capability, given who funds it and its dependency on well-paid consultants, whether it has the capability of transforming itself, remains to be seen.''

Mr. Sanders was hardly the only one who diagnosed the party's problem as being too beholden to the needs of its identity groups. Mr. Trump spent tens of millions of dollars on anti-transgender television advertising, which went unanswered by the Harris campaign and its allies.

Representative Seth Moulton of Massachusetts, who was one of two dozen Democrats who sought the party's presidential nomination in 2020, suggested the party should shift its approach to transgender issues.

''Democrats spend way too much time trying not to offend anyone rather than being brutally honest about the challenges many Americans face,'' Mr. Moulton said. ''I have two little girls, I don't want them getting run over on a playing field by a male or formerly male athlete, but as a Democrat I'm supposed to be afraid to say that.''

But Representative Pramila Jayapal of Washington, the chair of the Congressional Progressive Caucus, said Democrats should not give in to prejudice and misinformation. She compared the fight for transgender rights to the struggle over gay marriage, in which public opinion shifted quickly.

''We need to create space for people's fears and let them get to know people,'' said Ms. Jayapal, who described herself as ''the proud mom of a daughter who happens to be trans.''

''And we need to counter the idea that my daughter is a threat to anyone else's children,'' she said.

'The dynamics of this race were baked in'

And then there was the blame for Mr. Biden.

Even before he announced his run for re-election, Democrats were whispering that the president, now 81, was too old to seek re-election, and polls confirmed that voters had serious reservations.

Democrats who were worried at the time now say Ms. Harris never really had a chance.

''The dynamics of this race were baked in before Kamala Harris became a candidate,'' said Julián Castro, the former housing secretary who also ran for president in 2020. ''She was dealt a bad hand. She was trying to get elected in the shadow of a president who was unpopular and who the public had overwhelmingly been saying should not run for re-election and took too long to step aside.''

Even David Plouffe, a veteran Democratic strategist whom Ms. Harris brought into her operation after Mr. Biden dropped out, seemed to suggest that the president had put her in a difficult position.

''We dug out of a deep hole but not enough,'' Mr. Plouffe wrote on X.

Mr. Biden's defenders said it was not his fault.

Senator Chris Coons of Delaware, a top Biden ally, said he did not think the president had been a drag on Ms. Harris. She ran ''a terrific campaign,'' he added.

''There's a couple of groups in the United States, young men and Latino voters, that just did not respond in a positive way to our candidate and our message and our record,'' he said. ''We had a gap that we didn't close.''

For her part, Ms. Harris delivered a concession speech that urged supporters to remain vigilant about the present and optimistic about the future, and to keep fighting for their values. She did not point fingers or cast blame.

''I am so proud of the race we ran, and the way we ran it,'' she said. ''Hear me when I say, the light of America's promise will always burn bright. As long as we never give up. And as long as we keep fighting.''

On Thursday, Mr. Biden addressed the nation from the Rose Garden, urging his supporters to remain optimistic and tenacious.

''Setbacks are unavoidable, but giving up is unforgivable,'' he said. ''We all get knocked down, but the measure of our character, as my dad would say, is how quickly we get back up.''

As they reflected on the fallout, Democratic officials compared notes about where this Election Day ranked on their list of horrible experiences.

Matt Bennett, the executive vice president for public affairs at Third Way, a centrist think tank, said the party had not faced a crisis as severe since the 1980s, when Democrats lost three straight presidential races in landslides.

To regain their grip on power, Democrats must embrace a more moderate approach, he argued. But that will not be easy, Mr. Bennett warned, since the party is facing a leadership vacuum with Mr. Biden weakened and Ms. Harris defeated.

''The one way to beat a right-wing populist is through the center,'' Mr. Bennett said. ''You must become the party that is more pragmatic, reasonable and more sane. That's where we have to go.''

A leadership vacuum

Mini Timmaraju, the chief executive of Reproductive Freedom for All, said Democrats must develop a long-term plan to directly confront the sexism -- both within their party and the nation -- that hampered Ms. Harris and Hillary Clinton, the only women to win a major party's presidential nomination.

''We can't keep brushing it under the rug,'' she said. ''The narrative cannot be, 'Kamala Harris somehow failed.' There's a bigger failure here and we have to figure it out and reckon with it.''

With Mr. Biden and Ms. Harris now political lame ducks, the Senate majority gone and without a likely House speaker in the party, Democrats in 2025 will find themselves short on clear leaders, as they did after Mr. Trump won in 2016.

The next decision party leaders face is whom to choose as the next leader of the Democratic National Committee, a post that was largely ceremonial with Mr. Biden in office but will include far more responsibilities and power without White House officials calling the shots.

Jaime Harrison, the party's chairman since Mr. Biden installed him in the post four years ago, has said for months that he will not seek another term. A new election is set to take place early next year.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/democrats-kamala-harris.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/democrats-kamala-harris.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: The election night gathering for Vice President Kamala Harris at Howard University. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A1)

As lawmakers and strategists sought to explain Vice President Kamala Harris's defeat, many Democrats said they were struggling to process the scale of the loss -- and a dark future under President-elect Donald J. Trump's sweeping right-wing agenda. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY LOREN ELLIOTT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A22) This article appeared in print on page A1, A22.

**Load-Date:** November 10, 2024

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[***What to Know About J.D. Vance, Trump’s Running Mate***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CGN-YFX1-JBG3-60WT-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 15, 2024 Monday 20:09 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 694 words

**Byline:** Maggie Astor Maggie Astor covers politics for The New York Times, focusing on breaking news, policies, campaigns and how underrepresented or marginalized groups are affected by political systems.

**Highlight:** The 39-year-old from Ohio was best known as the author of the memoir “Hillbilly Elegy” before his election to the Senate in 2022.

**Body**

The 39-year-old from Ohio was best known as the author of the memoir “Hillbilly Elegy” before his election to the Senate in 2022.

Senator J.D. Vance of Ohio, the newly announced running mate to former President Donald J. Trump, has gone on a rapid journey over the past eight years from best-selling author and outspoken Trump critic to one of Mr. Trump’s staunchest defenders and, now, his would-be second in command.

Before running for office, Mr. Vance, 39, was known as the author of “Hillbilly Elegy,” a best-selling memoir recounting his upbringing in a poor family that also served as a sort of sociological examination of white ***working-class*** Americans. The book was published the summer before Mr. Trump’s election in 2016, and many readers looked to it after his victory as a sort of guide to understanding Mr. Trump’s support among white ***working-class*** communities.

Mr. Vance himself harshly denounced Mr. Trump during his 2016 campaign. But by 2022, he had embraced Mr. Trump, winning a crowded Republican Senate primary with his backing and becoming a reliable pro-Trump voice in Congress.

Here is more on Mr. Vance’s background and views.

* Personal background: He was born in Middletown, Ohio, and spent part of his childhood in Jackson, Ky., raised by his maternal grandparents as his mother struggled with drug addiction, before returning to Middletown. After high school, he enlisted in the Marines and was deployed to Iraq, doing public affairs work. He later attended Ohio State University and Yale Law School.

1. Career in finance: Mr. Vance worked for the conservative venture capitalist Peter Thiel before founding his own venture capital firm. Mr. Thiel donated millions of dollars to Mr. Vance’s 2022 Senate campaign.
2. “Hillbilly Elegy”: The timing of his book, published the year that Mr. Trump was elected, [*helped raise his profile*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/15/arts/jd-vance-trump-hollywood.html). He argued that a lack of personal agency was responsible for economic suffering, drug abuse and other struggles in white ***working-class*** communities like his, and wrote of “a willingness to blame everyone but yourself.” Since aligning himself with Mr. Trump, he has turned his blame toward outside sources, like offshoring and immigration.
3. Criticism of Trump: During the 2016 campaign, Mr. Vance sharply criticized Mr. Trump, describing him as “cultural heroin” and as a demagogue who was “leading the white ***working class*** to a very dark place.” He described himself as “a Never Trump guy.” In a [*Twitter post*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/15/arts/jd-vance-trump-hollywood.html) that he has since deleted, he called Mr. Trump “reprehensible” because he “makes people I care about afraid. Immigrants, Muslims, etc.”
4. Senate campaign: After deciding to run for Senate in 2022, he [*recast himself*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/15/arts/jd-vance-trump-hollywood.html) as an unflinching Trump supporter. Mr. Vance apologized for denouncing Mr. Trump, adopted his hard-line stances on immigration and other issues, and won Mr. Trump’s endorsement. He has said that Mr. Trump’s term in the White House proved his opposition wrong. He also [*said in 2019*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/15/arts/jd-vance-trump-hollywood.html) that “Trump’s popularity in the Vance household went up substantially” because of Brett M. Kavanaugh’s Supreme Court confirmation hearings, during which the judge — whom Mr. Trump had nominated, and for whom Mr. Vance’s wife had clerked — was accused of sexual assault.
5. Election denial: He has not committed to accepting the results of this year’s election. “If we have a free and fair election, I will accept the results,” [*he said on CNN*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/15/arts/jd-vance-trump-hollywood.html) in May. It’s a caveat that many Republicans have used, leaving the door open to the notion of foul play and helping to sow doubt in advance. In February, he [*told ABC News*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/15/arts/jd-vance-trump-hollywood.html) that if he had been vice president on Jan. 6, 2021, he would not have certified the election as Mike Pence did, but would have “told the states, like Pennsylvania, Georgia and so many others, that we needed to have multiple slates of electors, and I think the U.S. Congress should have fought over it from there.”

Chris Cameron contributed reporting.

Chris Cameron contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Senator J.D. Vance was once critical of former President Donald J. Trump, but he was elected to the U.S. Senate with Mr. Trump’s backing in 2022. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Nic Antaya for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Let’s Not Lose Sight of Who Trump Is; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCC-2FH1-DXY4-X1K8-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 3139 words

**Byline:** Thomas B. EdsallThomas B. Edsall&amp;#160;has been a contributor to the Times Opinion section since 2011. His column on strategic and demographic trends in American politics appears every Wednesday. He previously covered politics for The Washington Post.

**Highlight:** The 2024 election has the potential to challenge the New Deal realignment of 1932 as the most consequential election of the past 100 years.

**Body**

In terms of historical perspective, the 2024 election has the potential to challenge the New Deal realignment of 1932 as the most consequential election of the past 100 years.

On Nov. 5, American voters re-empowered Donald Trump, a man who has explicitly declared he will gut [*civil service protections*](https://rollcall.com/2024/10/30/trump-schedule-f-plan-federal-worker-fears/) for the highest-ranked federal employees, [*prosecute*](https://rollcall.com/2024/10/30/trump-schedule-f-plan-federal-worker-fears/) political adversaries and somehow [*deport*](https://rollcall.com/2024/10/30/trump-schedule-f-plan-federal-worker-fears/) 11 million illegal immigrants. On Thursday, [*he told NBC News*](https://rollcall.com/2024/10/30/trump-schedule-f-plan-federal-worker-fears/) that his plans for mass deportation were so precious that there would be “no price tag” on them.

The outcome of the election, it almost goes without saying, puts America on a right-wing populist path, inching ever closer toward a form of autocratic rule rarely, if ever, seen in the nation’s history.

[*Douglas Massey*](https://rollcall.com/2024/10/30/trump-schedule-f-plan-federal-worker-fears/), a professor of sociology and public affairs at Princeton, summed up the situation in an email:

Trump won a clear victory, in a free and fair election, in both the Electoral College and the popular vote. A majority of American voters seems to have embraced his dark message of a nation in decline, with its false narrative of a failing economy, rising crime, predatory minorities as well as an existential threat from left-wing radicals.

Trump’s campaign was openly racist, xenophobic and authoritarian and his supporters appear to be willing to jettison democracy in support of an autocratic demagogue who promises to “fix everything” while pandering to their angers, resentments and prejudices.

Massey minced no words:

Once in power with a supine Republican-controlled Congress and judiciary, Trump will govern despotically as a populist based on his uninformed and increasingly delusional understanding of the nation and its challenges, wreaking havoc on the American political economy and the global political order.

The 2024 election did answer one key question: Does the Trump coalition provide the basis for a fully competitive political party?

[*Julian E. Zelizer*](https://rollcall.com/2024/10/30/trump-schedule-f-plan-federal-worker-fears/), a professor of history at Princeton, emailed me to say:

The MAGA/Republican coalition is clearly a viable competitor. Indeed, the coalition just won the White House — and the Senate. The coalition has proved its ability to retain strong support with the ***working-class***, rural, non-college-educated base, still attract most of the rest of the older Republican electorate, and has demonstrated the capacity to grow into new areas such as Latino and Black men.

Early predictions of inevitable demographic shifts toward the Democrats missed how identity is complex, and how it can change. In our era of intense polarization, coalitions don’t have to be overwhelming. They just need to be big enough to push a party over in the swing states.

Trump, Zelizer argued, will have wide latitude to pursue his agenda:

The first time a person is elected, for example, Reagan in 1980, we vote based on promise, aspiration and potential. The re-election campaign, which this is more comparable to, for Trump, is about legitimation. Voters know what they are getting and say that is who they want in office.

Trump, Zelizer pointed out, “has been extraordinarily transparent about his hostility toward core democratic principles — the peaceful transition of power, confidence in the election system, limitations on presidential power and more.”

Many of those I contacted stressed the breadth and depth of Trump’s victory, perhaps best demonstrated in this Times [*graphic*](https://rollcall.com/2024/10/30/trump-schedule-f-plan-federal-worker-fears/), which shows that Trump improved on his 2020 vote margins in 2,367 counties so far compared with Harris improving on Biden’s 2020 margins in 240 counties.

“When you win an election this broadly,” [*Francis Fukuyama*](https://rollcall.com/2024/10/30/trump-schedule-f-plan-federal-worker-fears/), a senior fellow at Stanford University’s Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, argued in an email, “you’re entitled to move ahead with your agenda. The only limitations will be capacity (hard to deport 11 million people) and the courts which haven’t been completely made subservient.”

Fukuyama went on to say:

The move of the ***working class*** to the Republicans is now much more entrenched. For Blacks and Hispanics voting for Trump, class was much more important than identity, and Democrats failed to understand that. I really think that the importance of the transgender issue was underappreciated by the Democrats. They simply thought it was the latest civil rights issue when the actual policy was really crazy and offensive to ***working class*** voters.

In a post-election exchange with [*Yascha Mounk*](https://rollcall.com/2024/10/30/trump-schedule-f-plan-federal-worker-fears/), a political scientist at Johns Hopkins, transcribed on [*Mounk’s Substack*](https://rollcall.com/2024/10/30/trump-schedule-f-plan-federal-worker-fears/), Fukuyama elaborated on his views:

There was an expectation that once Trump became a one-term president and Biden was elected that the world would kind of snap back to something like what it was before 2016. But now it’s not just the fact that Trump succeeded in getting re-elected. He didn’t squeak his way in. He really won a pretty resounding victory. He defeated Kamala Harris in all of the swing states that were up for grabs. They got the Senate. They already control the Supreme Court. So conservative power is consolidated in a way that makes the Biden administration look like the fluke, the last gasp of a dying order.

The MAGA coalition, in contrast,

doesn’t feel like the last stand of a dying electorate at all since Trump actually has managed to diversify the Republican electorate in a broad way. And doesn’t seem like the tyranny of a minority, because — though tyranny it may turn into — it would be the tyranny of the majority, since it looks like he’s clearly on track to win the popular vote.

The primary threat Trump poses, Fukuyama argued,

is to the rule of law. He’s been very clear in the last few months and weeks that he’s really out for revenge. He wants to take revenge on all the people that he believes have been prosecuting him and or persecuting him. And I think that this is where Schedule F (Trump’s proposal to politicize the top ranks of the civil service) really matters. I think he’s going to put people in key positions in the Justice Department that will enable them to open up investigations.

Fukuyama expects Viktor Orban of Hungary to provide Trump a governing model with “this kind of steady, slow erosion of one check and balance against executive power after another.”

[*William Galston*](https://rollcall.com/2024/10/30/trump-schedule-f-plan-federal-worker-fears/), a Democrat and a senior fellow at Brookings, analyzed the election in a Nov. 6 essay, “[*Why Donald Trump Won and Kamala Harris Lost*](https://rollcall.com/2024/10/30/trump-schedule-f-plan-federal-worker-fears/).”

Galston made the case that

Trump won a personal victory in the 2024 election, sweeping all the swing states, improving his vote share just about everywhere, and — unlike his 2016 victory — garnering an outright majority of the popular vote. In addition, he led the Republican Party to a larger-than-expected Senate majority and, although many House races remain to be called, an expanded House majority may result as well. These gains are more than incremental; indeed, they may signal a new era in American politics.

Donald Trump’s theory of the case was broadly correct. He and his campaign managers believed that it was possible to build on Republicans’ growing strength among white ***working-class*** voters to create a multiethnic ***working-class*** coalition. He was right: He made strides among Latinos and African Americans, especially men. He increased his share of the Black male vote from 12 percent to 20 percent and carried Hispanic men by nine points, 54 percent to 45 percent.

The Trump campaign, Galston went on to say,

decided that Harris’s stance on transgender issues was the Willie Horton of 2024 and invested heavily in negative advertising that dominated the airwaves. Anecdotal evidence suggests that this campaign helped weaken Harris’s effort to portray herself as a common-sense center-left candidate rather than an emissary from San Francisco.

For Trump, the election outcome is both politically and personally significant.

[*Bruce Cain*](https://rollcall.com/2024/10/30/trump-schedule-f-plan-federal-worker-fears/), a political scientist at Stanford, wrote by email:

The election has given Trump both vindication and a Republican Congress. It is inconceivable that he won’t try to use it. Some of the things he wants to do such as cut taxes once again, or cut agency staff and regulations, are things he is sure to attempt and likely to succeed in to some degree. Other things like big tariffs or cutting off Ukraine funds may be more divisive within Republican ranks and turn out to be bargaining positions leading to party compromises (e.g., like NAFTA last time). Massive immigrant deportation and vetoing national anti-abortion legislation might be highly divisive and problematic.

How big a role did gender play in Harris’s defeat?

“Many men and non-college-educated women,” Cain argued, “still equate women with weakness and blustery masculinity with strength.”

[*Sean Westwood*](https://rollcall.com/2024/10/30/trump-schedule-f-plan-federal-worker-fears/), a political scientist at Dartmouth, argued in an email that the election outcome was less a mandate for Trump than a rejection of Democratic policies under Joe Biden and Kamala Harris:

The scale of Trump’s electoral success and the red shift in Congress makes it clear that Americans have rejected the policies and priorities of the Democratic Party. Many voters cast their ballots based on their perceptions of the economy. Although Harris attempted to highlight improvements in macroeconomic indicators, voters struggling with rising costs for essentials like milk, bread, and gas felt little connection between their financial troubles and abstract measures like G.D.P. growth.

According to Westwood, “What seems to unify the majority of voters is dissatisfaction with the vision of America articulated by Harris and the Democratic Party.”

The election outcome suggests that voters did not place much weight on the fear that Trump would undermine a “vision of America,” despite his history of doing just that.

[*Yphtach Lelkes*](https://rollcall.com/2024/10/30/trump-schedule-f-plan-federal-worker-fears/), a political scientist at the University of Pennsylvania, provided some explanation for this seeming indifference:

The election results are in line with [*work*](https://rollcall.com/2024/10/30/trump-schedule-f-plan-federal-worker-fears/) suggesting that people care more about policy outcomes than democracy. Research shows that when people are asked whether they want a candidate that supports their preferred policy but subverts democracy versus a candidate that doesn’t support their preferred policy but is more democratic, they tend to choose the former. Policy trumps democracy.

Lelkes wrote that “the results clearly show that, more than ever, the MAGA coalition is a viable competitor in the two-party system, in part because it is now a bigger tent. If the exit polls are correct, the MAGA coalition made significant inroads with groups of people that Democrats could traditionally rely on.”

The problem now facing Democrats, Lelkes noted, is that they “will have to grapple with the fact that they are seen as the cultural elite and this is off-putting to a majority of the country, who do not see their values represented by highly educated city dwellers.”

While most of the experts I contacted view the 2024 election as a major, and perhaps realigning, development in American politics, some were more cautious in their views.

[*Frances Lee*](https://rollcall.com/2024/10/30/trump-schedule-f-plan-federal-worker-fears/), a political scientist at Princeton, wrote by email:

I would caution against over-interpreting the results of the 2024 elections. I understand the psychological impulse to assign large-scale meaning to a set of outcomes that will have such profound effects on the country and the world. But my reading of 2024 is that this was a pedestrian “time for a change” election.

Polling, she added,

had long shown that voters were very sour on the direction of the country, the high cost of living after the Covid shocks, and the scale of undocumented immigration. Polls were clear that Trump was more trusted on all those issues. Trump’s behavior on Jan. 6, 2021, probably was troubling to at least some of those who voted for him, as was his divisive rhetoric. But in a two-party system, voters’ choices were severely limited. They could either support Kamala Harris, the sitting vice president of an administration they blamed for the state of the country, or former President Trump, the only alternative on offer.

While “Trump obviously expanded his coalition in 2024 relative to 2020,” Lee wrote,

much of that expansion can be understood as swing voters moving against an unpopular administration. Harris underperformed Biden with almost all demographic groups. I wouldn’t see the voters who joined the Trump column this year as permanent parts of the Trump coalition. We need to see this expanded coalition hold together for additional cycles before we can draw firm conclusions about change in the G.O.P. generally.

Along similar lines, [*Alexander Theodoridis*](https://rollcall.com/2024/10/30/trump-schedule-f-plan-federal-worker-fears/), a political scientist at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst, wrote:

There will certainly be the usual efforts to interpret the results in service of recrimination or mandate manufacturing. These narratives that emerge will often support the pet argument of their source.

Americans, in poll after poll, told us how this result should be interpreted — as a reaction to inflation and personal economic unease among many voters. Experts may understand that inflation was an inevitable outcome of successful efforts to save the economy during a global pandemic, that it is now largely under control in the United States, and that we fared better than most peer nations. But, average Americans have been feeling it in their pocketbooks for the last few years. It is incredibly difficult for the incumbent party to win when voters feel their spending power has decreased.

[*Herbert Kitschelt*](https://rollcall.com/2024/10/30/trump-schedule-f-plan-federal-worker-fears/), a political scientist at Duke, offered the most overarching view of the 2024 election, and he is on the side of those who believe the 2024 election will prove consequential:

After building up over more than 40 years, the 2024 U.S. presidential election marks the capstone and ultimate high-water mark of the rise of a new populist radical right in the entire Western Hemisphere.

Donald Trump’s recasting of the Republican Party achieved a decisive victory over the combined forces of moderate center-left and radical left-libertarian political currents uneasily cohabiting under the umbrella of the Democratic Party. Historians may place the 2024 election, or the 2016-24 sequence, in significance for the United States on a par with the elections of 1860, 1876, 1896 and 1932.

The New Deal party system that was in full force until 1964 has been fully replaced by a new alignment. 2024 ratifies a lasting realignment in the American party system.

Driving the transformation of politics here and abroad, in Kitschelt’s view, are “changing ‘labor markets’ and changing ‘marriage/family markets.’”

These changes, according to Kitschelt,

have produced new “winners” and “losers.” Changing labor markets have eroded the earnings potential of less educated people, and particularly those in occupations that were in demand in manufacturing. Changing marriage markets have reduced the bargaining power of men to dominate gender relations and the choice of offspring.

Young men of lesser education are hit twice, both in marriage and in labor markets. It is not surprising that they are most likely to voice their grievances in expressions of political dissatisfaction with the status quo. Add onto this that almost without exception around the Western Hemisphere women now constitute the majority of college students and graduates and the full picture of change comes into view.

How do these developments relate to the 2024 election?

First, Kitschelt argued:

The moderate and progressive left in the United States thought it could count on disadvantaged minorities as fixed components of a left-wing “rainbow coalition.” But it now turns out in the United States — and elsewhere — that these ethnic groups are internally divided by the same kinds of knowledge-society-induced divisions based on education, occupation and gender that run through the ethnic majority population. And right-wing populist authoritarians are increasingly skilled to sense these divisions and make their appeals resonate among the aggrieved elements of these minorities, especially younger people without college education, particularly young men.

Second, Kitschelt said, the populist right has gained control of the agenda:

The rise of Trumpism in the United States — and right-wing populist authoritarianism around the world — throws down the gauntlet to the remaining liberal and progressive forces to come up with new ideas for institutional innovation and policy reform that include those who have hitherto been losers of multiple decades of social change. The 2024 U.S. election is a signal that the political projects of the existing left have failed.

The result?

The pool of new “losers” is not represented by the Democratic Party and was not by the old Republican Party. A political entrepreneur — Donald Trump — has managed to activate them to drive his ascent. Aggrieved people look for an outlet and recently found one in Donald Trump, many of them never previously Republicans, but now Trumpists.

Kitschelt’s conclusion is both dark and bleak, suggesting that if Trump’s policies fail to produce a boom economy, his inclination toward authoritarianism will intensify as he tries to hold power in the face of growing public opposition:

Republicans support, Kitschelt wrote,

Trump’s current ideas to soothe the ills of the knowledge society through tariffs and eviction of immigrants. But there is a strong probability that these policies will disappoint the president’s core constituencies.

Few jobs will be created through re-industrialization and the absence of immigrants will hurt — instead of improve — the labor market payoffs of many natives. All the while the real incomes of the less well-off will be reduced by a surge of tariff-induced inflation that bond and gold markets are now already anticipating.

When backed into a corner by policy failure, the greatest danger, then, becomes Donald Trump’s and his strategists’ inclination to suffocate opposition.

It is at this moment of policy failure, Kitschelt wrote, that

The hour of political authoritarianism arrives, when the new wagers to create economic affluence among the less well-off and to resurrect the old kinship relations of industrial society turn sour and generate disenchantment among Trump’s own following.

Trump then may well want to make sure that his disenchanted supporters — as well as those who always opposed Trumpism — will not get another chance to express their opinions.

If the scenario Kitschelt depicts comes to pass, American voters will finally get to see the real Donald Trump — when it may be too late to do anything about it.

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Will Matsuda for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***What Do 5 Million Brazilians Have in Common? A Name With a Grim Past***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DK4-89V1-DXY4-X37R-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** WORLD; americas

**Length:** 1541 words

**Byline:** Ana Ionova

**Highlight:** Silva, the surname of presidents and soccer stars, has long carried stigma over its colonial links. Now, many see its legacy in new ways.

**Body**

Silva, the surname of presidents and soccer stars, has long carried stigma over its colonial links. Now, many see its legacy in new ways.

Fernando Santos da Silva’s surname — shared by 150 relatives — is an heirloom from a grim chapter of Brazil’s history.

Like millions of others in Latin America’s most populated country, he inherited it from his ancestors who were once enslaved, likely named after their captors.

With its painful roots, Silva was long a source of shame even as it became Brazil’s most common surname.

But today, the name is treated in a starkly different light.

“Silva is a symbol of resistance,” said Mr. Santos da Silva, 32, an antiques vendor from Rio de Janeiro. “It’s a connection, both to the present and to my ancestors.”

Whenever you meet a Brazilian, there’s a good chance that Silva is tucked somewhere in a lengthy, melodic last name. If not, they certainly have a friend or relative who has the name. (Most Brazilians use the surname of both their mother and father.)

Silva is found in the name of the nation’s president, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, and its most celebrated soccer player, Neymar da Silva Santos Júnior. It’s also shared by some five million other Brazilians, from movie stars and Olympic medalists to teachers, drivers and cleaners.

Exactly how Silva spread across Brazil — one in 40 Brazilians has the name — is the subject of some debate. But historians agree that much of its popularity is linked to slaveholders who gave the name to many enslaved people who then passed it down to future generations.

Marked by its colonial roots, the name was for decades synonymous with poverty and oppression in a majority Black country that only abolished slavery in 1888, and where deep racial and economic inequalities persist.

Few Brazilians embraced the name in the past. Many prominent figures, including Ayrton Senna da Silva, a Formula One driver in the 1980s and ’90s, quietly dropped Silva from their names.

But as Brazil rethinks how its brutal past helped shape the country’s identity, more and more well-known people are spotlighting their surname, conveying the idea that there’s nothing shameful about being a Silva.

Celebrities like the mixed-martial arts fighter Anderson Silva and a popular musician who goes simply by Silva fill many Brazilians with admiration and transform the name’s image.

“Today, we are in all kinds of places,” said Rene Silva, an activist from one of Rio’s largest slums and the host of a television program showcasing the success stories of people, both famous and ordinary, with the name. “It shows that we are fighters — and we are winning.”

The name’s ubiquity was on full display on a recent afternoon in a busy notary public in Rio de Janeiro.

Behind a counter, Tiago Mendes Silva, a 39-year-old clerk who inherited the name from both his parents, stamped and sealed documents.

“There’s always a Silva or two around,” said Mr. Mendes Silva, one of the notary’s seven employees with the name.

On the other side of the counter, Juscelina Silva Morais, a 59-year-old cafeteria worker, handed over a document she needed legalized. “This name is part of our story,” she said. “It’s as Brazilian as it gets.”

Mr. Santos da Silva, the antiques vendor, was also there with his partner, Tamiê Cordeiro, filing for a marriage license. “I’m not a Silva yet,” joked Ms. Cordeiro, 27. “But I will be soon.”

Some historians trace the name Silva back to the Roman Empire, where there is a record of a general with the name. Others link it to noble families in the Iberian Peninsula, a region now home to Spain and Portugal, during the reign of the Kingdom of León, which formed in the 900s.

Derived from the Latin word “selva,” or wilderness, the name became common in the 11th and 12th centuries among those who lived and worked near forests in that region.

“There are many possible origins,” said Viviane Pompeu, a genealogist who runs a firm that helps Brazilians trace their ancestry. “But we notice that the root always comes from a place in the woods, in the jungle.”

The name arrived in Brazil with colonization, with the first record dating to a Portuguese settler in 1612. Notaries began tracking names about a century later and, since then, nearly 32 million Brazilians have been registered as Silva, according to data compiled for The New York Times by the national association of registrars.

Scholars say African slaves arriving in Brazil by ship were sometimes baptized by priests who gave the name Costa (“coast” in Portuguese) to those headed to coastal cities and the name Silva to those destined for plantations in the country’s wild forested regions.

Wealthy landowners named Silva also often gave the surname to people they enslaved, sometimes slipping in the preposition “da” (“of” in Portuguese) to label them as property.

“John of Silva — he belonged to someone from the family Silva,” explained Rogério da Palma, a professor at the State University of Mato Grosso do Sul and the author of a book on racism in post-abolition Brazil.

Even after Brazil abolished slavery, the number of Silvas kept swelling. Freed slaves registering for documents for the first time sometimes took the name of the landowners who had once enslaved them and continued to employ them in exchange for room and board.

“It was a way of belonging,” Dr. Palma said. “It was also loyalty he had to that slave-owning family.”

More than a century later, echoes of this past surfaced in Daniel Fermino da Silva’s own family tree.

A history buff, Mr. Fermino da Silva, 45, spent more than three years searching for traces of his ancestors in archives and libraries. He eventually discovered a family history deeply “intertwined with the history of Brazil.”

On his mother’s side, he descended from wealthy landholders from São Paulo who had once enslaved people. On his father’s side, records from the 1700s showed that his Silva ancestors had been enslaved some 500 miles away, in the mineral-rich state of Minas Gerais.

“I see my family and my ancestors as heroes,” Mr. Fermino da Silva, an engineer from the southern city of Londrina, said, referring to his father’s family.

It’s less clear how Brazil’s president, the son of illiterate farmers from the country’s impoverished northeast, inherited the nation’s most popular name.

During colonial rule, the region where Mr. Lula was born saw an influx of Jewish refugees and other migrants fleeing religious persecution in Portugal. Seeking new identities — and anonymity — historians say many new arrivals swapped their names for Silva.

Some scholars believe that might be how Mr. Lula ended up as a Silva. But genealogists have struggled to trace his roots with any certainty.

“It’s a big mystery,” said Fernando Morais, Mr. Lula’s official biographer, who has tried to piece together the president’s family history.

The president doesn’t seem to mind. A former union leader with a fifth-grade education, Mr. Lula considers himself “just another Silva,” according to Mr. Morais. “It’s the name of the people.”

Among the elite, though, Silva often tells a story of privilege. At least four Brazilian politicians and lawmakers, including a former president, had ancestors with the name who had links to slavery, according to data compiled for The New York Times by Agência Pública, a nonprofit investigative outlet that recently [*mapped the ancestry*](https://apublica.org/2024/11/projeto-escravizadores-33-brazilian-authorities-have-ancestors-linked-to-slavery/) of Brazil’s most powerful people.

In popular culture, the experience of the average Silva was long embodied by a popular 1990s funk song about a ***working-class*** man who falls victim to the violence ravaging Rio’s poor, mostly Black suburbs. “It’s just another Silva whose star doesn’t shine,” the lyrics say.

Hearing the song always moved Marcelle da Silva Oliveira, 36, whose father was killed by drug traffickers in a ***working-class*** Rio neighborhood when she was young. But, for years, she was ashamed of the surname.

“I would say, ‘I don’t know any Silva who made it in life,’” said Ms. da Silva Oliveira, a domestic worker.

But Ms. da Silva Oliveira’s view eventually shifted and she has passed the surname down to her own six children.

“We lived through so much, so much humiliation,” she said. “Our name is a sign of survival.”

PHOTOS: “Silva is a symbol of resistance,” said Fernando Santos da Silva, an antiques vendor from Rio de Janeiro, above with his partner, Tamiê Cordeiro, and their baby, Hakin Onã. “It’s a connection, both to the present and to my ancestors.”; Daniel Fermino da Silva spent more than three years searching for traces of his relatives in archives and libraries. He is descended from wealthy landholders on his mother’s side and ancestors who were enslaved on his father’s side.; Marcelle da Silva Oliveira, a domestic worker, was long ashamed of her surname: “I would say, ‘I don’t know any Silva who made it in life.’” Now, she sees it as a sign of survival, one that she has since passed down to her children. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY DADO GALDIERI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Brazil’s president, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, in São Paulo in 2022. It’s unclear how Mr. Lula inherited his country’s most popular name. He considers himself “just another Silva,” according to Fernando Morais, his official biographer. (PHOTOGRAPH BY VICTOR MORIYAMA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A4.

**Load-Date:** December 6, 2024

**End of Document**



[***A Wildly Popular New York Taqueria Nails Its Sequel***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D0B-4G81-JBG3-6112-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 17, 2024 Tuesday 00:09 EST

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**Section:** DINING

**Length:** 998 words

**Highlight:** Carnitas Ramírez, the East Village sibling of a hit restaurant in Brooklyn, turns out tacos that hark back to the dish’s ***working-class*** roots.

**Body**

Long before tacos exploded onto menus worldwide, they were quite literally explosive.

During Mexico’s economic boom in the late 18th century, tacos were the makeshift sticks of dynamite that silver miners used to excavate rock. According to a popular theory from the food historian Jeffrey Pilcher, the name entered the food canon when those miners realized that their lunches — boiled potatoes wrapped in tortillas, often with a splash of hot sauce — resembled their incendiaries.

It took about two more centuries for tacos to travel to New York, where they have settled into every kind of setting and style — street food, [*fine dining*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/04/dining/restaurant-review-cosme-in-the-flatiron-district.html), [*desserts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/04/dining/restaurant-review-cosme-in-the-flatiron-district.html), [*Indian cuisine*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/04/dining/restaurant-review-cosme-in-the-flatiron-district.html) and even as part of an [*omakase*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/04/dining/restaurant-review-cosme-in-the-flatiron-district.html).

There’s merit to all that creativity. But what makes the tacos at [*Carnitas Ramírez*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/04/dining/restaurant-review-cosme-in-the-flatiron-district.html) so special is that they are, in a way, unremarkable. They follow a classic formula that you’ll find at other taquerias: a pliable tortilla, a deftly seasoned filling and a brightly stinging salsa. Many taquerias get two out of the three elements right. Carnitas Ramírez nails them all, and goes a step further — it reminds diners that, as ubiquitous and varied as tacos may now be, they began as a staple of the ***working class***.

When the married couple who co-own the restaurant, Tania Apolinar and Giovanni Cervantes, opened their first place, [*Taqueria Ramírez*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/04/dining/restaurant-review-cosme-in-the-flatiron-district.html), four years ago in Greenpoint, Brooklyn, neither had any restaurant experience. Mr. Cervantes, the chef, spent the coronavirus lockdown teaching himself to make tacos like the ones he grew up eating in Mexico City — where thousands of New Yorkers had [*decamped*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/04/dining/restaurant-review-cosme-in-the-flatiron-district.html) during the pandemic.

The cross-pollination between those cities has stirred great interest here in the couple’s traditional approach: preparing cuts like tripe and suadero in bubbling lard inside a comal choricero. Taqueria Ramírez made many Mexicans feel at home, and others feel as if they were on vacation. The owners’ background in photography and their social media savvy certainly helped. The restaurant quickly became the most talked-about New York taqueria since [*Los Tacos No. 1*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/04/dining/restaurant-review-cosme-in-the-flatiron-district.html).

This sequel — an airy, counter-service spot in the East Village filled with abuela-coded kitsch — feels even more ambitious and so far, just as busy. In look and taste, it pays homage to what tacos were created to be: an inexpensive, satisfying food stuffed with whatever ingredients were around. (The restaurant has two additional owners, the chef Yvon de Tassigny and the manager, Kari Boden.)

Carnitas were one of the earliest taco fillings, according to Dr. Pilcher, and they included an indiscriminate mix of pork parts, not just the so-called choice cuts like pork butt.

All of those parts are on offer at Carnitas Ramírez. They come dressed with diced onion and cilantro and wrapped in supple, lard-stained tortillas that are cooked to order. The oreja (ear) is lean and gelatinous, like a chubby noodle. The cachete (cheek) arrives in rich, juicy shreds. The trompa (snout) has the slippery, fat-licked pleasure of a mushroom plucked from a bowl of ramen. The surtida taco, which includes a little bit of everything, is texture roulette: crunchy, creamy, tender and slick. The sesadilla is a fried tortilla pocket concealing a ricotta-like filling — that’s the brain.

What’s the trick to making offal this exciting? Doing the most with very little, a technique Mr. Cervantes learned from the chef Victor Fuentes of the restaurant [*Carnitas Don Pepe*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/04/dining/restaurant-review-cosme-in-the-flatiron-district.html) in Michoacán, Mexico. Mr. Cervantes sears the meatiest parts of the animal — the butt, ribs, shank, belly and head — then slowly cooks them in their own fat, along with salt and garlic. Later on, he adds the other cuts, letting them swim in the lardy liquid until tender. The cooked meat is plucked from the pot, still dripping, and placed on steam tables, then on colorful plastic plates for serving.

Some cuts can border on overly rich, so you’ll want toppings. On each of my visits, I licked my plate clean of the kicky salsa roja with guajillo and habanero chiles, and the tomatillo-avocado salsa verde. The chicharrones, available either as a side or as a crumbly topping, provide a lovely crunch.

The casual, unpretentious food is matched by the décor, including plastic pails that double as chairs. The restaurant is meant to look like “a humble, ***working-class*** home,” said Ms. Apolinar, similar to the ones she and Mr. Cervantes grew up in. In Mexico, she said, carnitas are a weekend family tradition, purchased by the kilogram and eaten on a big table with the television on in the background.

Carnitas Ramírez, accordingly, used to be open only on weekends. (This week it’ll begin serving on Wednesdays and Thursdays.) The dining room features several depictions of the [*Virgin of Guadalupe*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/04/dining/restaurant-review-cosme-in-the-flatiron-district.html), mint-green paint that is peeling by design and a small TV usually playing the telenovela “[*María la del Barrio*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/04/dining/restaurant-review-cosme-in-the-flatiron-district.html).”

The barrio, this is not. Your dining companions may include Latino families, but also East Village hipsters in vintage concert T-shirts filming TikTok videos. The next-door neighbor is a vaguely Latin-inspired restaurant where the brunch hordes slurp bottomless margaritas under pink neon signs. And the tacos at Carnitas Ramirez are $5 each. (Ms. Apolinar said the price accounts for the labor required to make the tortillas and the $18 to $22 an hour, plus tips, that the staff is paid.)

It’s not hard to find a great taco in New York, especially in neighborhoods like Sunset Park and the South Bronx. Carnitas Ramírez is just one gem in a rich landscape. Its tacos aren’t groundbreaking, but that doesn’t make them any less delicious.

Follow [*New York Times Cooking on Instagram*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/04/dining/restaurant-review-cosme-in-the-flatiron-district.html), [*Facebook*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/04/dining/restaurant-review-cosme-in-the-flatiron-district.html), [*YouTube*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/04/dining/restaurant-review-cosme-in-the-flatiron-district.html), [*TikTok*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/04/dining/restaurant-review-cosme-in-the-flatiron-district.html) and [*Pinterest*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/04/dining/restaurant-review-cosme-in-the-flatiron-district.html). [*Get regular updates from New York Times Cooking, with recipe suggestions, cooking tips and shopping advice*](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/04/dining/restaurant-review-cosme-in-the-flatiron-district.html).

PHOTOS: At Carnitas Ramírez, right, the surtida taco, above, arrives with varied textures: crunchy, creamy, tender and slick. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY COLE SALADINO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page D6.

**Load-Date:** September 18, 2024

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[***Universities Need a Reckoning***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DFG-MRR1-DXY4-X006-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 18, 2024 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 18; GUEST ESSAY

**Length:** 1323 words

**Byline:** By David W. Blight

**Body**

The worst thing we university liberals could do right now is to keep wondering why ''they'' hate us, why blue-collar workers seem to vote -- as we understand it -- against their own interests in sidling up to an authoritarian in a red tie who courts other billionaires, or why human nature itself did not come through for us and make the arc of history bend toward justice as we define it.

History has been waiting to explode our hubris; and sometimes, even as we have facts, truth and rule of law on our side, we make ourselves good targets with our jargon, our righteousness and our fragmentation. We are out of touch with ***working class*** Americans, even if the policies that Democrats have enacted work for them.

There were signs a Democratic defeat was coming: high inflation; a stubborn wage gap, especially between women with and without a college degree; and the incumbent president's low approval ratings. A brilliant Black woman opponent ran an honorable campaign about unity in a fractured political culture riddled with fierce tribalism. Donald Trump exploited our social fissures to make them deeper, uglier, ever more bitter and therefore useful. We were reminded that culture wars are won by fueling them, not by seeking harmony. Unity coalitions and kindness and joy don't win elections in a bitterly divided society where neighbors and family members are not on the same team.

In what lies ahead, liberal intellectuals will have to take the offensive in these wars on the fronts worth fighting for: saving and reviving public schools against the right's effort to kill them; a genuine, substantive national commemoration of American independence in 2026, lest we allow Trumpists to own and tell our national story; and a coherent economic plan that reaches and convinces working Americans we are on their side and not simply stuffy academic theorists. We -- a difficult pronoun in America just now -- must look in the mirror to know why we have already lost some battles and social respect and part of our democracy.

The political disaster of Mr. Trump's re-election is as potentially devastating to Democrats as 1800 was to the Federalists, or 1860 to the 19th-century Democrats, or 1874 to Reconstruction-era Republicans, or Ronald Reagan's 1980 defeat of the Democrats' New Deal coalition or Mitt Romney's defeat to the 2012 Republicans. Democrats need to be searching their souls and asking why growing swaths of Americans, especially among the ***working class***, men under 30 who appear to have voted for Trump by a 14-point margin, and those who do not attend college (more than half the country), distrust, even hate, ''us.''

My profession, professors and academia writ large, as well as those whom we have educated, need to think about the whole and not so much our parts as we interpret this election. In beautiful pluralistic America, which is nonetheless polarized in its voting patterns, and separated into rural and cosmopolitan domains, there still is a country, a nation and society to somehow grasp and preserve if we can. The ''people left behind'' in the pandemic-stressed economy may have just spoken in a small but potent majority saying they are now leaving ''us''-- universities in particular -- behind.

Is public sentiment on college campuses out of step with where the country appears to be headed? That is not necessarily a bad thing; we do not design our research or our curriculum from public opinion. Confidence, however, in universities, is at an all-time low of 36 percent across society, according to Gallup surveys (a precipitous drop from 57 percent in 2015). Americans have more faith in two-year colleges, where over 40 percent of all undergraduates are enrolled. There are many reasons for this decline in confidence in the one institution that has forged so much social mobility in post-World War II America: seemingly uncontrollable tuition costs, steady diets of negative press about alleged leftist ideological purity, opaque admission policies, the expensive obsession with professionalized athletics in colleges, prestige-driven meritocracies that create exclusive bubbles of self-importance and the hoarding of endowments at elite schools.

Universities are hugely complicated modern businesses and engines of learning; their libraries and museums preserve humankind's infinite knowledge and creativity. Our task, hard as it is, must be to translate at least some of what is known and imagined to the bulk of citizens who will never know us. If they cannot come here, we must find them.

Even the most elitist of Ivy League universities have an enormous public responsibility, not unlike their sister public schools. No institution has more democratically created a middle class and a more equalizing society than the American public school and public university. Roughly 73 percent of all students in higher education are attending a public institution; their history since World War II has been that of an engine for the professions and for social mobility. I and millions of others are direct products of this system. My B.A. and M.A. from Michigan State University and Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin made possible my evolving career as a teacher and historian.

Perhaps ''we'' need above all a moonshot for public schools, secondary and higher (not going to happen under Republicans, but we must keep the long view), founded on an aggressive, positive assertion of the values and faiths that such an education represents. The American university is a profoundly important reinvention of an ancient idea, remade in medieval times in Italy, Germany and Britain, and then recreated again in colonial America. Among Americans' most treasured values, embedded in the modern university, is that a higher education can remake one's life. As endangered as such an idea may seem, who does not want to believe in that gospel if it is available? Our herculean task is to make it work again.

''We'' need to openly recommit to learning and teaching about the whole of our knowledge -- our histories, our literature, our sciences, our social structures, as much or more than we stress our racial, ethnic and gendered parts. Those fields of study are important and established for good reasons. But the whole and the parts have to sing together or there is no democracy or broad learning or informed citizenry in the end. We could drown in the habits of our own particularities and favorite ideologies, and lose hold of how humans connect across a multitude of difference. We need answers for our critics who believe we are an ideological monolith, whether they are right or not. We may not like universals anymore, but there are some, like elections, that stun millions into despair or glee.

Election outcomes, if nothing else can, should make us aware that substantial parts of our society may like to know why history or science or art themselves even matter in their daily lives. ''We'' know they do, but ''they'' are scared by the price of milk, and tuition, and by hurricanes. Universities like the one at which I am privileged to teach, need their own reckonings that can make us look outward, to get outside of ourselves and do what we do best -- create knowledge and teach about and to the whole world, not merely to those within our own gates in language only we can hope to understand.

Trumpism is a dire threat to all that universities believe in, but let us not forget that democracies tend to die from within, not by conquest.

David W. Blight is a professor of history at Yale University. He is the author, most recently, of ''Yale and Slavery: A History.''

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/14/opinion/yale-ivy-league-liberals-democrats.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/14/opinion/yale-ivy-league-liberals-democrats.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A18.

**Load-Date:** November 18, 2024

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[***Devastated Democrats Play the Blame Game, and Stare at a Dark Future***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DC6-2RW1-DXY4-X55D-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 7, 2024 Thursday 21:41 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1739 words

**Byline:** Reid J. Epstein, Lisa Lerer and Nicholas NehamasReid J. Epstein covers campaigns and elections from Washington. Before joining The Times in 2019, he worked at The Wall Street Journal, Politico, Newsday and The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel.

**Highlight:** In interviews, lawmakers and strategists tried to explain Kamala Harris’s defeat, pointing to misinformation, the Gaza war, a toxic Democratic brand and the party’s approach to transgender issues.

**Body**

A depressed and demoralized Democratic Party is beginning the painful slog into a largely powerless future, as its leaders grapple with how deeply they underestimated Donald J. Trump’s resurgent hold on the nation.

The nationwide repudiation of the party stunned many Democrats who [*had expressed a “nauseous” confidence*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/28/us/politics/kamala-harris-donald-trump-2024-election.html) about their chances in the final weeks of the race. As they sifted through the wreckage of their defeats, they found no easy answers as to why voters so decisively rejected their candidates.

In more than two dozen interviews, lawmakers, strategists and officials offered a litany of explanations for Vice President Kamala Harris’s failure — and just about all of them fit neatly into their preconceived notions of how to win in politics.

The quiet criticism, on phone calls, in group chats and during morose team meetings, was a behind-the-scenes preview of the intraparty battle to come, with Democrats quickly falling into the ideological rifts that have defined their party for much of the Trump era.

What was indisputable was how badly Democrats did. They lost the White House, surrendered control of the Senate and appeared headed to defeat in the House. They performed worse than four years ago in cities and suburbs, rural towns and college towns. An [*early New York Times analysis*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/28/us/politics/kamala-harris-donald-trump-2024-election.html) of the results found the vast majority of the nation’s more than 3,100 counties swinging rightward since President Biden won in 2020.

The results showed that the Harris campaign, and Democrats more broadly, had failed to find an effective message against Mr. Trump and his down-ballot allies or to address voters’ unhappiness about the direction of the nation under Mr. Biden. The issues the party chose to emphasize — abortion rights and the protection of democracy — did not resonate as much as the economy and immigration, which Americans often highlighted as among their most pressing concerns.

Many Democrats were considering how to navigate a dark future, with the party unable to stop Mr. Trump from carrying out a right-wing transformation of American government. Others turned inward, searching for why the nation rejected them.

They spoke about misinformation and the struggle to communicate the party’s vision in a diminished news environment inundated with right-wing propaganda. They conceded that Ms. Harris had paid a price for not breaking from Mr. Biden’s support of Israel in the war in Gaza, which angered Arab American voters in Michigan. Some felt their party had moved too far to the left on social issues like transgender rights. Others argued that as Democrats had shifted rightward on economic issues, they had left behind the interests of the ***working class***.

They lamented a Democratic Party brand that has become toxic in many parts of the country. Several noted that the [*independent Senate candidate in Nebraska*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/28/us/politics/kamala-harris-donald-trump-2024-election.html) ran 14 percentage points ahead of Ms. Harris in the state.

And many said they were struggling to process the scale of their loss, describing their feelings as a mix of shock, mourning and panic over what might come in a second Trump administration.

“I am pretty devastated and worried,” said Representative Veronica Escobar of Texas, who served as a co-chair for the Harris campaign. “There’s real, imminent danger for people here. There is real danger here ahead for Americans — including many Americans who voted for Trump.”

Soul-searching over strategy and values

Not everyone was quite as mournful.

Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont, the longtime progressive standard-bearer, blamed what he called a party-wide emphasis on identity politics at the expense of focusing on the economic concerns of ***working-class*** voters.

“It’s not just Kamala,” he said. “It’s a Democratic Party which increasingly has become a party of identity politics, rather than understanding that the vast majority of people in this country are ***working class***. This trend of workers leaving the Democratic Party started with whites, and it has accelerated to Latinos and Blacks.”

Mr. Sanders, a political independent who has long criticized the influence of the party’s biggest donors and veteran operatives, offered a pessimistic forecast: “Whether or not the Democratic Party has the capability, given who funds it and its dependency on well-paid consultants, whether it has the capability of transforming itself, remains to be seen.”

Mr. Sanders was hardly the only one who diagnosed the party’s problem as being too beholden to the needs of its identity groups. Mr. Trump spent [*tens of millions of dollars on anti-transgender television advertising*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/28/us/politics/kamala-harris-donald-trump-2024-election.html), which went unanswered by the Harris campaign and its allies.

Representative Seth Moulton of Massachusetts, who was one of two dozen Democrats who sought the party’s presidential nomination in 2020, suggested the party should shift its approach to transgender issues.

“Democrats spend way too much time trying not to offend anyone rather than being brutally honest about the challenges many Americans face,” Mr. Moulton said. “I have two little girls, I don’t want them getting run over on a playing field by a male or formerly male athlete, but as a Democrat I’m supposed to be afraid to say that.”

But Representative Pramila Jayapal of Washington, the chair of the Congressional Progressive Caucus, said Democrats should not give in to prejudice and [*misinformation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/28/us/politics/kamala-harris-donald-trump-2024-election.html). She compared the fight for transgender rights to the struggle over gay marriage, in which public opinion shifted quickly.

“We need to create space for people’s fears and let them get to know people,” said Ms. Jayapal, who described herself as “the proud mom of a daughter who happens to be trans.”

“And we need to counter the idea that my daughter is a threat to anyone else’s children,” she said.

‘The dynamics of this race were baked in’

And then there was the blame for Mr. Biden.

Even before he announced his run for re-election, [*Democrats were whispering*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/28/us/politics/kamala-harris-donald-trump-2024-election.html) that the president, now 81, was too old to seek re-election, and polls confirmed that voters had serious reservations.

Democrats who were worried at the time now say Ms. Harris never really had a chance.

“The dynamics of this race were baked in before Kamala Harris became a candidate,” said Julián Castro, the former housing secretary who also ran for president in 2020. “She was dealt a bad hand. She was trying to get elected in the shadow of a president who was unpopular and who the public had overwhelmingly been saying should not run for re-election and took too long to step aside.”

Even David Plouffe, a veteran Democratic strategist whom Ms. Harris [*brought into her operation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/28/us/politics/kamala-harris-donald-trump-2024-election.html) after Mr. Biden dropped out, seemed to suggest that the president had put her in a difficult position.

“We dug out of a deep hole but not enough,” Mr. Plouffe wrote on X.

Mr. Biden’s defenders said it was not his fault.

Senator Chris Coons of Delaware, a top Biden ally, said he did not think the president had been a drag on Ms. Harris. She ran “a terrific campaign,” he added.

“There’s a couple of groups in the United States, young men and Latino voters, that just did not respond in a positive way to our candidate and our message and our record,” he said. “We had a gap that we didn’t close.”

For her part, Ms. Harris [*delivered a concession speech*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/28/us/politics/kamala-harris-donald-trump-2024-election.html) that urged supporters to remain vigilant about the present and optimistic about the future, and to keep fighting for their values. She did not point fingers or cast blame.

“I am so proud of the race we ran, and the way we ran it,” she said. “Hear me when I say, the light of America’s promise will always burn bright. As long as we never give up. And as long as we keep fighting.”

On Thursday, Mr. Biden addressed the nation from the Rose Garden, urging his supporters to remain optimistic and tenacious.

“Setbacks are unavoidable, but giving up is unforgivable,” he said. “We all get knocked down, but the measure of our character, as my dad would say, is how quickly we get back up.”

As they reflected on the fallout, Democratic officials compared notes about where this Election Day ranked on their list of horrible experiences.

Matt Bennett, the executive vice president for public affairs at Third Way, a centrist think tank, said the party had not faced a crisis as severe since the 1980s, when Democrats lost three straight presidential races in landslides.

To regain their grip on power, Democrats must embrace a more moderate approach, he argued. But that will not be easy, Mr. Bennett warned, since the party is facing a leadership vacuum with Mr. Biden weakened and Ms. Harris defeated.

“The one way to beat a right-wing populist is through the center,” Mr. Bennett said. “You must become the party that is more pragmatic, reasonable and more sane. That’s where we have to go.”

A leadership vacuum

Mini Timmaraju, the chief executive of Reproductive Freedom for All, said Democrats must develop a long-term plan to directly confront the sexism — both within their party and the nation — that hampered Ms. Harris and Hillary Clinton, the only women to win a major party’s presidential nomination.

“We can’t keep brushing it under the rug,” she said. “The narrative cannot be, ‘Kamala Harris somehow failed.’ There’s a bigger failure here and we have to figure it out and reckon with it.”

With Mr. Biden and Ms. Harris now political lame ducks, the Senate majority gone and without a likely House speaker in the party, Democrats in 2025 will find themselves short on clear leaders, as they did after Mr. Trump won in 2016.

The next decision party leaders face is whom to choose as the next leader of the Democratic National Committee, a post that was largely ceremonial with Mr. Biden in office but will include far more responsibilities and power without White House officials calling the shots.

Jaime Harrison, the party’s chairman since Mr. Biden installed him in the post four years ago, has said for months that he will not seek another term. A new election is set to take place early next year.

PHOTOS: The election night gathering for Vice President Kamala Harris at Howard University. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A1); As lawmakers and strategists sought to explain Vice President Kamala Harris’s defeat, many Democrats said they were struggling to process the scale of the loss — and a dark future under President-elect Donald J. Trump’s sweeping right-wing agenda. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY LOREN ELLIOTT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A22) This article appeared in print on page A1, A22.

**Load-Date:** November 9, 2024

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[***Donald Trump’s Perfect 1980s Day***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DMN-PK51-JBG3-62S8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 12, 2024 Thursday 17:34 EST

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**Section:** STYLE

**Length:** 698 words

**Byline:** Joseph BernsteinJoseph Bernstein is a Times reporter who writes feature stories for the Styles section.

**Highlight:** For a man who rose to fame in the gilded yuppie era of New York City, today’s ringing the bell to open the stock exchange, and being named Person of the Year by Time, must have a certain appeal.

**Body**

For a man who rose to fame in the gilded yuppie era of New York City, today’s ringing the bell to open the stock exchange, and being named Person of the Year by Time, must have a certain appeal.

By many standards, Donald J. Trump has lived a remarkable American life.

He’s flaunted his wealth, lost much of it, then gained it back again. He’s won a presidential election, lost one, and come back to win another. He’s been loved and hated, married and divorced, tried and convicted, shot at and lived.

But there was one symbolic milestone the president-elect and lover of all things gilded had not achieved, until this morning: ringing the opening bell of the New York Stock Exchange.

Flanked by his daughters, Ivanka and Tiffany, his wife, Melania, and his vice president-elect, JD Vance, among others, Mr. Trump opened trading at the world’s largest stock exchange to cries of “U.S.A.!” He stood against a backdrop of Time magazine’s just-announced [*Person of the Year issue*](https://time.com/7200212/person-of-the-year-2024-donald-trump/), which features, yes, Mr. Trump on the cover. Clapping lasted for more than a minute, with Mr. Trump smiling, pumping his fist and clapping along with them.

It was a red letter day for Mr. Trump, ever fond of superlatives, who built his brand on magazine covers and money.

In his remarks from the bell podium, Mr. Trump addressed both of the distinctions, calling the bell ringing “a tremendous honor” and his Person of the Year cover “better this time” (he also got the cover [*in 2016*](https://time.com/7200212/person-of-the-year-2024-donald-trump/), after his first election win.)

Given that Mr. Trump is a son of New York, closely associated with the unrestrained capitalism of the 1980s, it’s perhaps surprising that he had never before opened the trading day at the stock exchange.

The honor has been given to chief executives, star athletes, movie stars, famous musicians and, in 2019, his wife, Melania. In 1985, Ronald Reagan became [*the first sitting president*](https://time.com/7200212/person-of-the-year-2024-donald-trump/) to perform the task, telling the crowd that his policies would expand the nation’s economy and that “we’re about to turn the bull loose.”

Though Mr. Trump’s political rise has been enabled by appeals to the American ***working class***, the son of a Queens real estate developer made his name as a swaggering incarnation of high-rise Manhattan luxury — a fact that is somewhat easier to remember with Mr. Trump presiding over the nerve center of American capitalism, [*promising to slash corporate tax rates*](https://time.com/7200212/person-of-the-year-2024-donald-trump/).

And if the opening bell was sweet for Mr. Trump, doing so against a glossy image of himself on the cover of Time must have made it that much sweeter — as the president-elect has had a lifelong interest in the now-faded emblem of a gilded age of American media.

In 2016, after his first Person of the Year win, Mr. Trump said that he had grown up reading the magazine. He first appeared on its cover in 1989 with the headline, “This Man May Turn You Green With Envy — or Just Turn You Off. Flaunting It Is His Game, and Trump Is his Name.” In 2015, Mr. Trump [*expressed frustration on Twitter*](https://time.com/7200212/person-of-the-year-2024-donald-trump/) that he had not been named Person of the Year (it went to Germany’s Angela Merkel), and predicting he would never win. Then, in 2016, he did.

Still, in 2017, The Washington Post reported that [*a framed, but fake, Time cover*](https://time.com/7200212/person-of-the-year-2024-donald-trump/) featuring Mr. Trump hung in five of his golf clubs.

While many journalists have criticized the Person of the Year issue as a publicity stunt, the magazine’s editor, Sam Jacobs, told the “Today” show that Mr. Trump easily deserved the designation as the man who, “for better or for worse, had the most influence on the news in 2024.”

Mr. Trump has seemed happy of late, never more so than when the U.F.C. fighter Jon Jones handed him his heavyweight title belt [*following a win at Madison Square Garden*](https://time.com/7200212/person-of-the-year-2024-donald-trump/) in which Mr. Jones had done his own version of [*Mr. Trump’s signature dance*](https://time.com/7200212/person-of-the-year-2024-donald-trump/). Cameras showed Mr. Trump beaming.

But with today’s doubleheader of recognition, Dec. 12th, 2024, may go down in history as Donald Trump’s Perfect Day.

PHOTO: President-elect Donald J. Trump was joined by his wife, Melania, as they posed for a selfie with Jeffrey Sprecher, the chief executive of Intercontinental Exchange, at the New York Stock Exchange on Thursday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Doug Mills/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** December 13, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Socialist Plans to Challenge Adams in Primary***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D7Y-0DM1-DXY4-X3KH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 23, 2024 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2024 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 13

**Length:** 891 words

**Byline:** By Emma G. Fitzsimmons

**Body**

Zohran Mamdani, a state lawmaker from Queens, has entered the Democratic primary for mayor of New York City, joining a crowded field hoping to unseat Eric Adams.

Zohran Mamdani, a socialist New York State Assembly member from Queens, will announce on Wednesday that he is entering the race to unseat Mayor Eric Adams, who is facing growing doubts over his political future.

Mr. Mamdani is the fifth prominent Democrat to challenge Mr. Adams, who was indicted last month on federal corruption charges. His administration has fallen into crisis, and many of his top aides have resigned.

Mr. Mamdani, who has called on Mr. Adams to resign, said in an interview that the mayor had failed New Yorkers. He said that he would focus his campaign on addressing the city's affordability crisis.

''City Hall is engulfed in corruption, but it is the outrageous cost of living that most people are talking about,'' he said. ''New Yorkers are being crushed by rent and child care. Working people are getting pushed out of the city they built.''

In his campaign kickoff video, Mr. Mamdani proposes freezing rents on rent-stabilized apartments and targets both Mr. Adams and former Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo, who is considering running in the Democratic primary next June.

''Life in this city doesn't need to be this hard, but politicians like Eric Adams and Andrew Cuomo want it to be this way,'' he says in the video. ''They care about their donors, they care about themselves. They don't care about you -- the ***working class*** who keep this city running.''

Mr. Mamdani, 33, whose background includes a stint as a self-described B- or C-list rapper, said he viewed the campaign as running ''against a disgraced New York executive, whether it's the current mayor or the former governor.''

In an early version of Mr. Mamdani's campaign video, he makes no mention of his strong ties to the Democratic Socialists of America, whose New York City chapter recently endorsed him for mayor. He has been an outspoken critic of Israel and has called for raising taxes on the wealthy.

Mr. Mamdani's firm leftward stance puts him in contrast to Mayor Adams, a centrist. The assemblyman is also to the left of the four other declared candidates in the race, all of whom are considered progressive Democrats.

Mr. Mamdani introduced legislation, called the ''Not on Our Dime'' Act, last year to curtail financial support for Israeli settlements. The bill, which received support from Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, did not pass.

Mr. Mamdani said in the interview that he was proud to be a socialist and that while his campaign would focus on a local ''economic agenda,'' he would also speak to the ''tremendous anger and alienation'' that many voters feel over ''our tax dollars going to fund a genocide in Palestine.''

He formed a campaign committee on Monday and will have to move quickly to raise money for the race and to introduce himself to New Yorkers beyond his district, which overlaps with parts of Ms. Ocasio-Cortez's district and is sometimes jokingly called ''the People's Republic of Astoria.''

Mr. Mamdani's video mentions several proposals to help ***working-class*** New Yorkers, including making all buses ''fast and free.'' He has focused in Albany on improving bus service and sponsored legislation that created a pilot program that made one bus route in each borough free last fall.

Michael Gianaris, the deputy majority leader of the State Senate who worked with Mr. Mamdani on the bus program, called him a ''very smart and very hard-working'' lawmaker.

''When you agree, he's a very strong and good ally to have,'' he said. ''When you don't agree, he's very upfront about his beliefs and wears them on his sleeve.''

Mr. Mamdani said he was open to cross-endorsing other progressive candidates under the city's relatively new ranked-choice voting system, which allows voters to choose up to five candidates in order of preference. Rather than splitting the vote, he argued that multiple campaigns could ''speak to the breadth of the city'' while highlighting different proposals to address inequality.

Amanda Septimo, an assemblywoman from the Bronx who was first elected to the State Legislature the same year as Mr. Mamdani, said they did not agree on everything but had found common ground on transit issues and helping taxi drivers.

''He has a really unique ability to boil very complex policy ideas and solutions down to plain English, which is a superpower that you need in this day and age to get regular New Yorkers to buy into why policies matter to them,'' she said.

Mr. Mamdani was born in Kampala, Uganda, and raised in New York City. He was elected in 2020 as part of a progressive wave of victories in state races and became the third Muslim to serve in the Assembly. If elected, Mr. Mamdani would be the first Muslim mayor of New York.

When he was a rapper, he went by Mr. Cardamom and released music honoring his grandmother and the greasy splendor of Ugandan-style chapati. He said that ''strangely enough,'' his music career had prepared him well for politics.

''Once you've tried to sell your mixtape to people who are just trying to get on the bus to go home, you're well prepared to get rejected when you're trying to get New Yorkers to sign your petition to get on the ballot at 6 a.m. at the subway station,'' he said.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/22/nyregion/zohran-mamdani-mayor.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/22/nyregion/zohran-mamdani-mayor.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Zohran Mamdani, an assemblyman from Queens, is the most left-leaning candidate to enter the race for New York City mayor. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CINDY SCHULTZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Mr. Mamdani has called for the resignation of Mayor Eric Adams, above, who has been indicted on federal corruption charges. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DAVE SANDERS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A13.

**Load-Date:** October 23, 2024

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[***Voters to Elites: Do You See Me Now?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCB-P411-DXY4-X0XC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 8, 2024 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 22; DAVID BROOKS

**Length:** 1113 words

**Byline:** By David Brooks

**Body**

We have entered a new political era. For the past 40 years or so, we lived in the information age. Those of us in the educated class decided, with some justification, that the postindustrial economy would be built by people like ourselves, so we tailored social policies to meet our needs.

Our education policy pushed people toward the course we followed -- four-year colleges so that they would be qualified for the ''jobs of the future.'' Meanwhile, vocational training withered. We embraced a free trade policy that moved industrial jobs to low-cost countries overseas so that we could focus our energies on knowledge economy enterprises run by people with advanced degrees. The financial and consulting sector mushroomed while manufacturing employment shriveled.

Geography was deemed unimportant -- if capital and high-skill labor wanted to cluster in Austin, San Francisco and Washington, it didn't really matter what happened to all those other communities left behind. Immigration policies gave highly educated people access to low-wage labor while less-skilled workers faced new competition. We shifted toward green technologies favored by people who work in pixels, and we disfavored people in manufacturing and transportation whose livelihoods depend on fossil fuels.

That great sucking sound you heard was the redistribution of respect. People who climbed the academic ladder were feted with accolades, while those who didn't were rendered invisible. The situation was particularly hard on boys. By high school two-thirds of the students in the top 10 percent of the class are girls, while about two-thirds of the students in the bottom decile are boys. Schools are not set up for male success; that has lifelong personal, and now national, consequences.

Society worked as a vast segregation system, elevating the academically gifted above everybody else. Before long, the diploma divide became the most important chasm in American life. High school graduates die nine years sooner than college-educated people. They die of opioid overdoses at six times the rate. They marry less and divorce more and are more likely to have a child out of wedlock. They are more likely to be obese. A recent American Enterprise Institute study found that 24 percent of people who graduated from high school at most have no close friends. They are less likely than college grads to visit public spaces or join community groups and sports leagues. They don't speak in the right social justice jargon or hold the sort of luxury beliefs that are markers of public virtue.

The chasms led to a loss of faith, a loss of trust, a sense of betrayal. Nine days before the elections, I visited a Christian nationalist church in Tennessee. The service was illuminated by genuine faith, it is true, but also a corrosive atmosphere of bitterness, aggression, betrayal. As the pastor went on about the Judases who seek to destroy us, the phrase ''dark world'' popped into my head -- an image of a people who perceive themselves to be living under constant threat and in a culture of extreme distrust. These people, and many other Americans, weren't interested in the politics of joy that Kamala Harris and the other law school grads were offering.

The Democratic Party has one job: to combat inequality. Here was a great chasm of inequality right before their noses and somehow many Democrats didn't see it. Many on the left focused on racial inequality, gender inequality and L.G.B.T.Q. inequality. I guess it's hard to focus on class inequality when you went to a college with a multibillion-dollar endowment and do environmental greenwashing and diversity seminars for a major corporation. Donald Trump is a monstrous narcissist, but there's something off about an educated class that looks in the mirror of society and sees only itself.

As the left veered toward identitarian performance art, Donald Trump jumped into the class war with both feet. His Queens-born resentment of the Manhattan elites dovetailed magically with the class animosity being felt by rural people across the country. His message was simple: These people have betrayed you, and they are morons to boot.

In 2024, he built the very thing the Democratic Party once tried to build -- a multiracial, ***working-class*** majority. His support surged among Black and Hispanic workers. He recorded astonishing gains in places like New Jersey, the Bronx, Chicago, Dallas and Houston. According to the NBC exit polls, he won a third of voters of color. He's the first Republican to win a majority of the votes in 20 years.

The Democrats obviously have to do some major rethinking. The Biden administration tried to woo the ***working class*** with subsidies and stimulus, but there is no economic solution to what is primarily a crisis of respect.

There will be some on the left who will say Trump won because of the inherent racism, sexism and authoritarianism of the American people. Apparently, those people love losing and want to do it again and again and again.

The rest of us need to look at this result with humility. American voters are not always wise, but they are generally sensible, and they have something to teach us. My initial thought is that I have to re-examine my own priors. I'm a moderate. I like it when Democratic candidates run to the center. But I have to confess that Harris did that pretty effectively and it didn't work. Maybe the Democrats have to embrace a Bernie Sanders-style disruption -- something that will make people like me feel uncomfortable.

Can the Democratic Party do this? Can the party of the universities, the affluent suburbs and the hipster urban cores do this? Well, Donald Trump hijacked a corporate party, which hardly seemed like a vehicle for proletarian revolt, and did exactly that. Those of us who condescend to Trump should feel humbled -- he did something none of us could do.

But we are entering a period of white water. Trump is a sower of chaos, not fascism. Over the next few years, a plague of disorder will descend upon America, and maybe the world, shaking everything loose. If you hate polarization, just wait until we experience global disorder. But in chaos there's opportunity for a new society and a new response to the Trumpian political, economic and psychological assault. These are the times that try people's souls, and we'll see what we are made of.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/opinion/trump-elites-****working-class****.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/opinion/trump-elites-working-class.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A22.

**Load-Date:** November 8, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Here to Help; Spooky Video Games to Play for Halloween***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D8T-S731-DXY4-X2RX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 27, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Metropolitan Desk; Pg. 3

**Length:** 394 words

**Body**

What better way to celebrate Halloween than with a spooky video game? Here are some of our favorite spine tinglers for pretty much everyone. WIRECUTTER STAFF

Alien: Isolation

The titular Alien is hunting you in this relentlessly moody, period-faithful horror game. It's all about the little details, combining '70s-style imaginings of future tech that looks quaintly dated now with a ***working-class*** industrial aesthetic. This game wants you to feel just like the characters in the original film felt: hunted. ARTHUR GIES

Dead Rising Deluxe Remaster

What's Halloween without some zombies -- and what's a zombie story without a shopping mall? The game puts you behind the camera of the freelance photographer Frank West, who's dropped into the middle of an American town with a giant mall and a growing zombie problem. You have three days to solve the zombie mystery and get out alive, and what you do in those three days is mostly up to you. ARTHUR GIES

Luigi's Mansion 3

Luigi doesn't get to star in his own games very often. And it's just his luck that when he does, they're full of ghosts. Luigi's Mansion 3 (above right) finds the taller Mario brother hunting specters with his trusty vacuum in one of the Nintendo Switch's best-looking games. Full of spooky-but-cute ghosts (plus some ghostly versions of Mario Bros. standbys), it's a perfect all-ages option. ARTHUR GIES

Mika and the Witch's Mountain

This cozy adventure is about a young witch moonlighting as a postal worker. You start off with a basic broom for your deliveries, but as you progress, you earn upgrades like height boosts and larger carrying capacities. Each parcel you accept has different handling requirements that you need to be mindful of in order to get paid. Flying feels intuitive, but achieving a perfect delivery still poses a fun challenge. HALEY PERRY

Witchtastic

If you've ever played a game like Overcooked, you'll recognize the setup of Witchtastic, which tasks you and your team of witches with brewing potions as quickly as possible. Players must work together to gather and prepare ingredients, stir them into a cauldron and deliver the elixir before time runs out. It sounds simple, but each level poses new challenges. HALEY PERRYWirecutter is a product recommendation site owned by The New York Times Company. For picks and insights, visit nytimes.com/wirecutter.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/24/pageoneplus/27a3\_help.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/24/pageoneplus/27a3_help.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY NINTENDO) This article appeared in print on page A3.

**Load-Date:** October 27, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Trump Voters Are Big Target For Democrat In Maine Race***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D96-TM01-DXY4-X55T-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 29, 2024 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2024 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 14

**Length:** 1577 words

**Byline:** By Maya C. Miller

**Body**

To win his toughest re-election bid yet, Representative Jared Golden needs Trump voters to back him over a young Republican prospect, a former NASCAR driver.

On a recent Sunday morning, Representative Jared Golden sat perched atop a bar stool inside a small-town Maine brewery, greeting supporters who had gathered to watch the New England Patriots game and meet their congressman.

Wearing his Julian Edelman jersey, Mr. Golden, one of Democrats' most battle-tested and vulnerable incumbents, sipped a stein of dark lager and waited calmly for people to approach him. He did not work the room, no campaign signs adorned the walls, and his staff did not foist yard signs or buttons on attendees as they left.

Even with the election less than two weeks away, Mainers won't find Mr. Golden making his closing argument at what he calls ''big rah-rah rallies,'' or appearing alongside high-profile Democratic Party figures.

Instead, as he seeks a fourth term in a district that Donald J. Trump won handily in 2016 and 2020, Mr. Golden is going to great lengths to distance himself from his own party. He has declined to endorse Vice President Kamala Harris and not only refrained from attacking Mr. Trump but gone out of his way to pitch himself as a potential governing partner with the former president.

As a conservative-leaning Democrat in a swing district, Mr. Golden, 42, has always had an uphill battle to election. But this year he is facing perhaps his most formidable challenger yet: Austin Theriault, 30, a former NASCAR driver and northern Maine native who was recruited by House Republicans.

A first-term state representative, Mr. Theriault says Mr. Golden has ''gone Washington'' and lost touch with his district, the largest east of the Mississippi River, which stretches from the eastern edge of New Hampshire to the western border of New Brunswick, Canada. And he has hammered the Democrat, one of the few members of Congress in his party who routinely opposes gun control measures, for coming out in favor of an assault weapons ban shortly after a mass shooting last year in Lewiston.

The outcome of the contest will almost certainly help determine which party controls the House, which Republicans now hold by a razor-thin margin.

Mr. Golden, a tattooed combat veteran who left college to enlist in the Marines shortly after the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, has toiled to pitch himself to voters as someone who could work effectively with a second Trump administration. Last month he introduced a bill to impose 10 percent tariffs on all imports, an economic proposal that aligns more with Mr. Trump than with Ms. Harris.

Long before Democrats like Senators Tammy Baldwin of Wisconsin and Bob Casey of Pennsylvania started name-dropping Mr. Trump in their advertisements to curry favor with conservatives, Mr. Golden would frequently highlight how he worked with the Trump administration and voted against the Biden-Harris agenda. And while Mr. Golden has said he will not vote for Mr. Trump, he has also refused to say whether he plans to vote for Ms. Harris.

''It's important for people to know that I don't care who's in the White House,'' Mr. Golden said in an interview. ''I want them to vote for me, not for the Democratic Party, which I happen to be a member of.''

Mr. Golden, whose seat Republicans have targeted for years, is one of just five Democratic incumbents running for re-election in districts Mr. Trump won in 2020 -- all largely white, rural and ***working-class*** areas.

He has helped shape the playbook for the tiny group, all of whom are running with a hyperlocal focus and a nonpartisan message aimed at working people.

In southwest Washington state, Representative Marie Gluesenkamp Perez, a Democrat who flipped her district blue two years ago and helps chair the centrist Blue Dog Caucus with Mr. Golden, has leaned heavily into her blue-collar background as an auto mechanic in her rematch against Republican Joe Kent. Further north in Alaska, the other Blue Dog chair Representative Mary Peltola has emphasized her ***working-class*** bona fides -- she recently announced she was skipping a week of votes in Washington to prepare fish with her family for winter storage -- while accusing her opponent of outsourcing Alaska jobs overseas.

And in the southwest corner of Wisconsin, a key battleground state where Mr. Trump and Ms. Harris are in a dead heat, Democrat Rebecca Cooke -- a recruit backed by Mr. Golden and the Blue Dogs -- is working to defeat Republican Representative Derrick Van Orden, a right-wing firebrand. Ms. Cooke, a small-business owner who grew up on a dairy farm and works part time as a waitress to make ends meet, has forced House Republicans to dump more than a million dollars into the race in just the last week.

''I feel like this is what the Democratic Party has always been known as -- like, going to bat for the little guy,'' Mr. Golden said. ''I do think sometimes it's slipping away from that.''

Mr. Golden's message has delivered him victory after victory, even in 2020 when Mr. Trump won his district by seven percentage points. But this year, Mr. Theriault has kept the race competitive even while being significantly outspent by Mr. Golden; limited polling indicates the contest is a dead heat.

Mr. Theriault, who grew up in Fort Kent at the northernmost tip of Maine, also portrays himself as a ''true Mainer'' and unlike Mr. Golden's previous opponents, dresses not in suits, but in jeans, baseball caps and a puffer vest over a button-down shirt.

He has the full-throated support of Mr. Trump and House Republican leaders, including Speaker Mike Johnson of Louisiana, who joined him at an August rally to open a new campaign office.

Mr. Theriault has largely avoided committing to any policy positions, hoping his relative anonymity will make up for his thin résumé in politics. But his campaign has seized on Mr. Golden's reversal on a federal assault-weapons ban and is using it to brand the Democrat a ''flip-flop.''

Mr. Golden, one of the few Democrats in Congress who routinely opposes gun control measures, changed his position after the shooting one year ago in Lewiston, his hometown, which left 18 people dead and several others wounded.

In Maine, where open carry is legal and airports make routine announcements reminding passengers to not bring their firearms through security, Mr. Golden's decision came at a steep cost: The National Rifle Association and the Sportsman's Alliance of Maine, which both used to support him, now back Mr. Theriault.

The shooting has also become something of an emotional subplot in the race. Mr. Theriault made a splashy announcement in August pledging to raise $50,000 to support community rebuilding in Lewiston and hold a charity car race to benefit the area. Mr. Golden's campaign donated the $50,000 the next day, and the Republican has said little about the issue since.

Still, on a recent Saturday afternoon, Mr. Theriault was at the Oxford Plains Speedway, about 30 miles west of Lewiston, preparing for the charity race. As engines revved and the slight breeze carried pungent odors of gasoline, exhaust and burned rubber, Mr. Theriault dispatched an aide to say he would not be able to speak with a reporter from The New York Times who had approached him for an interview because of the ''need to focus'' on the car race. His campaign also did not respond to several other requests for an interview.

Mr. Theriault's campaign has extended the ''flip-flop'' charge beyond guns in an effort to tie Mr. Golden to the Biden-Harris administration and national Democrats. He posts liberally on social media using flip-flop emojis and criticisms such as: ''Jared Golden flip-flopped on our inflation crisis,'' a reference to the Democrat's vote in 2022 in favor of the Inflation Reduction Act, which Mr. Theriault said is incentivizing offshore wind development at the expense of lobstermen.

He has drawn strong backing from loyal Republicans in the district -- even some who expressed personal affection for Mr. Golden -- who are eager to have someone from their own party represent them.

Mr. Golden is ''not somebody I would vote for, but I like him personally,'' said Stephen Hall, a pastor who was shopping at a local farmer's market in Hampden.

It is less clear, though, whether Mr. Theriault is winning over the critical group of swing voters who are likely to decide the race.

In recent interviews around the district, several voters -- even those supporting Mr. Trump -- said their congressman was down-to-earth, approachable and an authentic Mainer.

''He genuinely feels like he came from the ***working class*** and moved up the ranks,'' said Jonathan Sylvia, a Lewiston resident who described himself as ''pretty conservative'' and plans to vote for Mr. Trump and Mr. Golden. ''I mean, if he's doing the job and he's doing it right, why replace him?''

At the Hampden market, Jen Blake, a meat vendor from Winterport, also says she plans to vote for Mr. Trump even though his personality is ''absolutely annoying'' and she ''cannot stand him.'' She said she ''hates politics'' and career politicians who ''lose touch with real people'' -- but sees no reason to vote out Mr. Golden.

''He's relatable. He doesn't feel like a politician. He feels genuine, and he seems to actually care about everyday people,'' Ms. Blake said. ''And he's not wishy-washy. He tells you what he believes, and he sticks to it.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/26/us/elections/jared-golden-maine.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/26/us/elections/jared-golden-maine.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Representative Jared Golden at a brewery in Wilton, Maine, above, greeting supporters who had gathered to watch the New England Patriots game. Below left, the ruins of a demolished mill in Livermore Falls. Logging and mills were once a driving economic force in the state's 2nd Congressional District.

JARED GOLDEN, a conservative-leaning Democrat in a swing district in Maine, is one of just five Democratic incumbents running for re-election in districts Mr. Trump won in 2020.

Austin Theriault, a former NASCAR driver, at a charity race in Maine, earlier this month. Mr. Theriault, a northern Maine native, was recruited by House Republicans to run against Mr. Golden. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY RYAN DAVID BROWN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A14.

**Load-Date:** October 29, 2024

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[***How Trump Won, Again***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DBY-HFV1-DXY4-X3Y4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 6, 2024 Wednesday 23:07 EST

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**Section:** UPSHOT

**Length:** 1093 words

**Byline:** Nate CohnNate Cohn is The Times&amp;#8217;s chief political analyst. He covers elections, public opinion, demographics and polling.

**Highlight:** He made gains in every corner of the country and with nearly every demographic group.

**Body**

He made gains in every corner of the country and with nearly every demographic group.

When Donald J. Trump won the presidency eight years ago, it was easy to cast his victory as a narrow one — or even dismiss it as a fluke.

Not this time.

Despite Jan. 6, the end of Roe v. Wade and a felony conviction, Mr. Trump [*won a clear victory*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html). He is on track to win all seven battleground states. He made gains in every corner of the country and with nearly every demographic group: If you look at [*The Times’s map of what has changed since 2020*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html), you’ll see a sea of red.

According to our estimates, Mr. Trump is also on track to become the first Republican to win the national popular vote in 20 years.

At the same time, the scope of his victory shouldn’t be overstated. This was no landslide. A one- or two-percentage-point victory in the national popular vote with roughly 312 electoral votes is not unusual. It’s not as large as Barack Obama’s modest [*win in*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html) 2012, and falls far short of “change” elections like Mr. Obama’s in 2008 or Bill Clinton’s in 1992.

But Mr. Trump is not any ordinary candidate. As a consequence, an ordinary victory says a lot more than it usually would. A felon who sought to overturn an election wouldn’t usually be considered viable in a presidential election. But not only was he viable — he won somewhat convincingly.

Despite his victory, most voters found Mr. Trump to be an unappealing candidate. CNN’s [*exit poll*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html) found that just 44 percent of voters had a favorable view of him, compared with 54 percent who had an unfavorable view. A majority of voters, 55 percent, said his views are too extreme. Obviously, there are many aspects of Mr. Trump’s appeal that these simple questions do not easily measure. But Mr. Trump’s victory may say more about the Democrats and the public’s desire for change than it does about the president-elect himself.

After all, on paper, Democrats weren’t in a sound position to win this election. No party has ever retained the White House when the president’s approval rating was as low as it is today and when so many Americans thought the country was on the wrong track.

The signs that voters had soured on Democrats were everywhere. Most obviously, there was President Biden’s failed re-election campaign, which was predicated on the idea that voters found Mr. Trump so distasteful they would look past any misgivings about the incumbent. This assumption publicly collapsed with the first presidential debate, even though voters had been [*telling pollsters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html) well before then how dissatisfied they were with Mr. Biden.

And the signs of building Republican strength were everywhere. Not only did Mr. Trump [*lead Mr. Biden*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html) in the polls even as the felony indictments piled up, but the polls also showed Republicans overtaking Democrats on party identification for the first time in two decades. Republican registration numbers surged. Mr. Trump was even gaining among young, Black and Hispanic voters — groups historically assumed to be vehemently anti-Trump.

All of this occurred against the backdrop of political upheaval across the industrial world. In the wake of the pandemic and surging prices, voters in country after country in election after election have voted against the party in power. More broadly, the past two decades have featured the rise of right-wing populist parties and a corresponding decline in the strength of the center-left among ***working-class*** voters.

Despite all this, Democrats had a real chance anyway. The Supreme Court’s decision to overturn Roe, Mr. Trump’s personal unpopularity and his actions on Jan. 6, 2021, gave the Democrats powerful arguments — arguments that seemed as if they might be enough to let them win an election that they entered with a disadvantage.

Kamala Harris herself probably helped give Democrats a chance. She was not a perfect candidate — she brought major liabilities from her time in the Biden administration and her campaign for the 2020 Democratic nomination — but she [*revitalized her party*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html), won the debate against Mr. Trump in September and avoided major missteps.

Nonetheless, election night ended in a stinging rebuke of Democrats. This was not like 2016, when Mr. Trump made gains among a single demographic group, ***working-class*** white voters, who happened to be disproportionately concentrated in the key battleground states. Instead, Mr. Trump gained across the board — including among the voters who seemed most skeptical of him eight years ago, from Hispanic voters in New York City to technology workers in San Francisco.

Perhaps the most striking evidence of the rebuke came from blue America. Mr. Trump made big gains in New York City, where he improved on his 2020 margin by more than 10 points. As of Wednesday morning, Ms. Harris was on track [*to win*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html) New Jersey by only five points.

In California, the early returns showed Ms. Harris up [*by only 18 points*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html) in her home state, compared with a [*29-point victory*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html) for Mr. Biden four years ago. Mr. Trump appeared to make gains even in liberal bastions like San Francisco and Alameda County, home to Berkeley and Oakland.

The early results in Dearborn, Mich., home to the nation’s largest Arab American population (and a place Mr. Biden won by 39 points), showed Mr. Trump well ahead, with Ms. Harris only narrowly leading the Green Party candidate, Jill Stein, for second place.

Mr. Trump appeared to make his largest gains among Hispanic voters, whether in the exit polls or in the results of counties with lots of Hispanic voters. Miami-Dade County in Florida voted for Mr. Trump by 11 points, compared with Mr. Biden’s seven-point victory in 2020 and Hillary Clinton’s 29-point victory in 2016. The once reliably Democratic bastions along the Rio Grande in Texas were all red — an astonishing shift from eight years ago, when Mrs. Clinton won 70 to 80 percent of the vote.

In the end, there just weren’t many parts of the country where Ms. Harris fared better than Mr. Biden did in 2020. There were a handful of outer ring counties around Atlanta and Dallas, where demographic change drove Democratic gains, but otherwise it was mostly a scattering of rural, white counties, often in the Great Plains and the interior West.

None of this is what Democrats would have imagined a decade ago, when many of them assumed that demographic and generational change would bring a new Democratic majority. Instead, many of the voters whom Democrats viewed as the bedrock of their coalition grew so frustrated with the status quo that they decided to back Mr. Trump instead.

This article appeared in print on page A13.

**Load-Date:** November 6, 2024

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[***Trump Wins Pennsylvania, a Key Swing State Prize***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DBX-PGT1-JBG3-63VW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 6, 2024 Wednesday 07:56 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 458 words

**Byline:** Jonathan WeismanJonathan Weisman is a politics writer, covering campaigns with an emphasis on economic and labor policy. He is based in Chicago.

**Highlight:** Both Donald J. Trump and Kamala Harris fought hard for Pennsylvania’s 19 electoral votes, dumping more money into the state than any other by far.

**Body**

Both Donald J. Trump and Kamala Harris fought hard for Pennsylvania’s 19 electoral votes, dumping more money into the state than any other by far.

Former President Donald J. Trump has won Pennsylvania and its 19 electoral votes, according to The Associated Press, flipping the crucial swing state back to his column after President Biden’s victory there in 2020.

Pennsylvania was the largest prize among the swing states, and its trove of electoral votes was vital to Vice President Kamala Harris’s quest to hold the three “blue wall” states skirting the Great Lakes, a group that includes Michigan and Wisconsin.

Of all the battlegrounds, Pennsylvania’s diversity and size made it unique, a testing ground for appeals to rural and urban voters, industrial towns and sophisticated suburbs, and Black, Hispanic, white and Asian voters.

The stakes were made clear by recent history: Mr. Trump’s victory in Pennsylvania and in the Upper Midwest in 2016 sealed his startling upset of Hillary Clinton. Four years later, [*Mr. Biden’s triumph there ended the 2020 election*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/results-pennsylvania.html), securing Mr. Trump’s defeat and the end of his presidency.

Both Mr. Trump and Ms. Harris [*made Pennsylvania their top prize*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/results-pennsylvania.html), dumping more money into it than any other state by far. And it was in rural Butler, Pa., that a would-be assassin nearly took Mr. Trump’s life in July, an event that had an instant impact in Pennsylvania and beyond. Mr. Trump returned to Butler in October with Elon Musk, his billionaire benefactor, and in the closing weeks of the campaign, the former president held rallies in Erie, Allentown and, on Monday, Reading and Pittsburgh.

Republicans made significant gains across Pennsylvania in Tuesday’s election, holding or pushing key rural counties — Mr. Trump’s core base in the state — further right.

But Mr. Trump also won a sizable number of votes in key urban areas where Ms. Harris needed to count on high Democratic turnout. Lackawanna and Lehigh Counties shifted more than five percentage points toward Mr. Trump compared with his support in 2020. The counties contain the crucial eastern Pennsylvania cities of Scranton, Mr. Biden’s hometown, and Allentown. As of early Wednesday morning, Ms. Harris was leading in each county, but by a margin over five points slimmer than Mr. Biden’s in 2020.

Even Pennsylvania’s junior senator, John Fetterman, a Democrat with strong ***working-class*** appeal, acknowledged the bond that Pennsylvanians had with Mr. Trump.

“You can see the intensity,” Mr. Fetterman said a week before the election. “It’s astonishing.”

Simon J. Levien contributed reporting.

Simon J. Levien contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Waiting to vote in Philadelphia on Tuesday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Michelle Gustafson for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 6, 2024

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[***As Harris Courts Sun Belt, Housing Costs Stand in Her Way***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D7J-R6G1-JBG3-6424-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 21, 2024 Monday 07:55 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1518 words

**Byline:** Jennifer MedinaJennifer Medina is a Los Angeles-based political reporter for The Times, focused on political attitudes and demographic change.

**Highlight:** Shuttered factories and trade deals helped turn ***working-class*** Midwesterners against Democrats. Will the high cost of housing do the same in the Sun Belt?

**Body**

Shuttered factories and trade deals helped turn ***working-class*** Midwesterners against Democrats. Will the high cost of housing do the same in the Sun Belt?

The promise of the American dream has shimmered in Las Vegas for as long as the city has existed. That hope of a stable middle-class life has attracted would-be homeowners from California, sun-seekers from the East and immigrants from all over the world.

But for many voters here, it now feels like a mirage. In a state that relies on hourly wage workers in tourism and service jobs, many cannot find an affordable place to live.

The result is a well of cynicism, frustration and anger — with national consequences.

Presidential elections have long been shaped by economic discontent in the emptying, industrial towns of the Midwest.

This year could be the first in decades to turn on the Sun Belt version.

It’s not the exodus of steel companies or auto manufacturers that has left workers reeling, but a long-festering housing problem that is yielding the same result: Many ***working-class*** voters say a promise has been broken, and they are looking for someone to blame.

In the final weeks of a deadlocked presidential campaign, there is no better place to observe this restlessness than the stuccoed neighborhoods that snake into the desert around Las Vegas. The median home price is $445,000, an increase of more than 50 percent compared with five years ago, and well out of reach for many in a region where the median income hovers around $70,000. Rents average $2,000 in a city where many workers make less than $20 an hour.

Many once-reliable Democrats say the issue has eroded their trust in politicians. In the state’s Democratic hub, that means turning away from Vice President Kamala Harris.

“When we got the new president, I didn’t hear nothing, I didn’t see any changes,” Maria Ocampo, 54, who has voted Democratic for decades, said of the Biden administration. This year, she does not plan to vote at all.

Ms. Ocampo moved to Las Vegas three decades ago and quickly bought a modest home with her husband. But they have since divorced, and Ms. Ocampo watched as her rent kept climbing over the last few years, even as her business selling dried chiles and candy at a local swap meet struggled.

At one point, she said, her landlord more than doubled the rent to $2,800 a month.

After her business shut down for several months in 2020, sales briefly picked up as the coronavirus pandemic began to ease. But now Ms. Ocampo said her family’s dozen stands made a tiny fraction of what they did in 2019.

“They just promise things,” she said. “But I don’t see nothing coming out for us.”

In interviews with dozens of voters in and around Las Vegas, the rising cost of housing was routinely cited as the most persistent financial difficulty weighing on their minds. That was particularly true for Black and Latino blue-collar workers, voters who have moved away from Democrats, [*according to recent polls*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/14/us/politics/harris-democratic-coalition.html).

In Nevada, that group makes up one of the fastest-growing parts of the electorate and is being fiercely fought over by both parties in the final weeks of the campaign.

And while the problem is particularly acute in Nevada, anxiety about finding an affordable place to live is evident in many swing states, in Philadelphia, Phoenix and [*Kalamazoo, Mich*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/14/us/politics/harris-democratic-coalition.html). In Maricopa County, which surrounds Phoenix, the average price of a home is now [*$470,000*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/14/us/politics/harris-democratic-coalition.html), up about 50 percent since the pandemic.

Both presidential candidates have tried to speak to these worries. Ms. Harris made one of her first policy proposals [*a plan for three million new housing units*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/14/us/politics/harris-democratic-coalition.html) across the country in the next four years and a $25,000 tax credit for first-time home buyers. Her plan would require support from Congress.

But in Nevada, few persuadable voters said they had heard of Ms. Harris’s idea. Some who had viewed it with scorn — another example of a soon-to-be-broken election year promise.

Many of these voters were equally skeptical of the Republican nominee, former President Donald J. Trump. He has said his plan to deport immigrants [*will free up affordable housing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/14/us/politics/harris-democratic-coalition.html). Economists, however, widely agree that plan would worsen the housing crisis because it would hamper the construction industry.

[*Polls show*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/14/us/politics/harris-democratic-coalition.html) the race in the state is tied.

Nevada’s six electoral votes have been fought over for the last 20 years. While Democrats have eked out victories in the state in the last several elections, the margins have shrunk, leaving party officials anxious about any further erosion.

Like so many Las Vegas residents, Shakriyah Uwoloh moved to Las Vegas from Los Angeles because of the high cost of living in California. But her income has not kept pace with her bills. The rent on her two-bedroom apartment was $700 a month a year ago. Now, it is $1,200.

“It has just skyrocketed,” she said. Though she voted for President Barack Obama twice before, she has no intention of voting this year. “To be honest, I don’t see too much happening.”

Mr. Obama won a whopping 55 percent of the vote in 2008, when he campaigned vigorously in Nevada and spent hours courting the state’s powerful Culinary Workers Union and repeating its slogan about “the Las Vegas Dream.”

But the Great Recession and the foreclosure crisis changed everything. Thousands lost their homes or abandoned them altogether. [*Wall Street-backed firms bought thousands of*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/14/us/politics/harris-democratic-coalition.html) properties for under $100,000. Now, many are rented for several thousands of dollars a month to the same type of workers who once owned them — people who work in sprawling distribution warehouses or serve tourists in the glittering casinos.

The pandemic eviscerated the economy again. And although the tourism industry has climbed back, voters still feel rattled.

When Armando Garcia, now 26, was growing up in Las Vegas, his parents urged him over and over to do what they had not been able to — buy a home. For years, Mr. Garcia tried to make the numbers work, but during the pandemic he fell behind on bills, paying for basic groceries with his credit card and struggling to make the rent he splits with four roommates.

Eventually, they were threatened with eviction. Mr. Garcia, who earns $20 an hour working for a betting company, cobbled together a loan from several family members, allowing them to stay.

But the experience shook them. Even two months later, several belongings remain in the garage and boxes are scattered around their living room, packed up in a panic. One roommate cried every day for two weeks, Mr. Garcia said, imagining couch surfing or living out of her car.

“The dream of having my own home is not a dream I’ve had since I was 21,” Mr. Garcia said, sitting in his mostly barren living room, adding that it “feels too bold” now. “It just feels unrealistic. It doesn’t feel like I can, like, daydream about it for very long because it just feels like I have realism around me all the time.”

Mr. Garcia is unlikely to vote for Ms. Harris next month, he said, though he will support local Democrats, and instead will write in another candidate or simply not cast a presidential ballot. He said there was “zero percent chance” he would vote for Mr. Trump, who he said would do more to favor the wealthy and endanger immigrants.

Like Mr. Garcia, many voters in Las Vegas blame wealthy California transplants who [*flocked to southern Nevada during the pandemic*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/14/us/politics/harris-democratic-coalition.html) and out-of-state investors for driving up prices. There are also other factors: Higher interest rates have made borrowing more expensive, wages have not kept up with rents and there is a shortage of affordable units.

Josefina Hurtado, a 47-year-old server at the Westgate casino, sold her three-bedroom home with a $500 monthly mortgage amid a divorce several years ago. She assumed she’d be able to save up and find a similar modest ranch house within a year or two.

But she lost hours and income during the pandemic and now rents a house on the farthest southern outskirts of Las Vegas for $2,000 a month. She has taken a second job doing medical billing. Her landlord is now selling that home for $490,000 — far more than Ms. Hurtado could ever dream of paying.

“Nowadays you have to make at least six figures just to live comfortably here, just to buy your food and pay your bills,” Ms. Hurtado said. Like many other women she works with, she has frequently taken in family members who cannot afford rent at all. “The idea of a middle class seems like a struggle,” she said.

Still, Ms. Hurtado is convinced that a Harris administration will do more to help people like her, and she has spent the last several weeks knocking on doors to persuade other voters. She is less focused on policy specifics than on Ms. Harris’s own life story.

“Her mom was a single parent, she knows what a struggle is,” she said. “She’s seen us. She can be the one to make a difference.”

PHOTOS: Home construction in Henderson, Nev., above, and a Harris rally in Las Vegas in August. Many Democrats have said the scarcity of affordable housing has eroded their trust in politicians. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MORGAN LIEBERMAN/THE NEW YORK TIMES; BRIDGET BENNETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A16.

**Load-Date:** October 23, 2024

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[***Voters to Elites: Do You See Me Now?; David Brooks***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DC3-F7Y1-DXY4-X47G-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 6, 2024 Wednesday 19:56 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1123 words

**Byline:** David BrooksDavid Brooks is an Opinion columnist for The Times, writing about political, social and cultural trends.

**Highlight:** Donald Trump is a monstrous narcissist, but there’s something off about an educated class that looks in the mirror of society and sees only itself.

**Body**

We have entered a new political era. For the past 40 years or so, we lived in the information age. Those of us in the educated class decided, with some justification, that the postindustrial economy would be built by people like ourselves, so we tailored social policies to meet our needs.

Our education policy pushed people toward the course we followed — four-year colleges so that they would be qualified for the “jobs of the future.” Meanwhile, vocational training withered. We embraced a free trade policy that moved industrial jobs to low-cost countries overseas so that we could focus our energies on knowledge economy enterprises run by people with advanced degrees. The financial and consulting sector mushroomed while manufacturing employment shriveled.

Geography was deemed unimportant — if capital and high-skill labor wanted to cluster in Austin, San Francisco and Washington, it didn’t really matter what happened to all those other communities left behind. Immigration policies gave highly educated people access to low-wage labor while less-skilled workers faced new competition. We shifted toward green technologies favored by people who work in pixels, and we disfavored people in manufacturing and transportation whose livelihoods depend on fossil fuels.

That great sucking sound you heard was the redistribution of respect. People who climbed the academic ladder were feted with accolades, while those who didn’t were rendered invisible. The situation was particularly hard on boys. By high school two-thirds of the students in the top 10 percent of the class are girls, while about two-thirds of the students in the bottom decile are boys. Schools are not set up for male success; that has lifelong personal, and now national, consequences.

Society worked as a vast segregation system, elevating the academically gifted above everybody else. Before long, the diploma divide became the most important chasm in American life. High school graduates die nine years sooner than college-educated people. They die of opioid overdoses at six times the rate. They marry less and divorce more and are more likely to have a child out of wedlock. They are more likely to be obese. A recent American Enterprise Institute [*study*](https://www.americansurveycenter.org/research/disconnected-places-and-spaces/) found that 24 percent of people who graduated from high school at most have no close friends. They are less likely than college grads to visit public spaces or join community groups and sports leagues. They don’t speak in the right social justice jargon or hold the sort of luxury beliefs that are markers of public virtue.

The chasms led to a loss of faith, a loss of trust, a sense of betrayal. Nine days before the elections, I visited a Christian nationalist church in Tennessee. The service was illuminated by genuine faith, it is true, but also a corrosive atmosphere of bitterness, aggression, betrayal. As the pastor went on about the Judases who seek to destroy us, the phrase “dark world” popped into my head — an image of a people who perceive themselves to be living under constant threat and in a culture of extreme distrust. These people, and many other Americans, weren’t interested in the politics of joy that Kamala Harris and the other law school grads were offering.

The Democratic Party has one job: to combat inequality. Here was a great chasm of inequality right before their noses and somehow many Democrats didn’t see it. Many on the left focused on racial inequality, gender inequality and L.G.B.T.Q. inequality. I guess it’s hard to focus on class inequality when you went to a college with a multibillion-dollar endowment and do environmental greenwashing and diversity seminars for a major corporation. Donald Trump is a monstrous narcissist, but there’s something off about an educated class that looks in the mirror of society and sees only itself.

As the left veered toward identitarian performance art, Donald Trump jumped into the class war with both feet. His Queens-born resentment of the Manhattan elites dovetailed magically with the class animosity being felt by rural people across the country. His message was simple: These people have betrayed you, and they are morons to boot.

In 2024, he built the very thing the Democratic Party once tried to build — a multiracial, ***working-class*** majority. His support surged among Black and Hispanic workers. He recorded astonishing gains in places like New Jersey, the Bronx, Chicago, Dallas and Houston. According to the NBC exit polls, he won a third of voters of color. He’s the first Republican to win a majority of the votes in 20 years.

The Democrats obviously have to do some major rethinking. The Biden administration tried to woo the ***working class*** with subsidies and stimulus, but there is no economic solution to what is primarily a crisis of respect.

There will be some on the left who will say Trump won because of the inherent racism, sexism and authoritarianism of the American people. Apparently, those people love losing and want to do it again and again and again.

The rest of us need to look at this result with humility. American voters are not always wise, but they are generally sensible, and they have something to teach us. My initial thought is that I have to re-examine my own priors. I’m a moderate. I like it when Democratic candidates run to the center. But I have to confess that Harris did that pretty effectively and it didn’t work. Maybe the Democrats have to embrace a Bernie Sanders-style disruption — something that will make people like me feel uncomfortable.

Can the Democratic Party do this? Can the party of the universities, the affluent suburbs and the hipster urban cores do this? Well, Donald Trump hijacked a corporate party, which hardly seemed like a vehicle for proletarian revolt, and did exactly that. Those of us who condescend to Trump should feel humbled — he did something none of us could do.

But we are entering a period of white water. Trump is a sower of chaos, not fascism. Over the next few years, a plague of disorder will descend upon America, and maybe the world, shaking everything loose. If you hate polarization, just wait until we experience global disorder. But in chaos there’s opportunity for a new society and a new response to the Trumpian political, economic and psychological assault. These are the times that try people’s souls, and we’ll see what we are made of.

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A22.

**Load-Date:** November 7, 2024

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[***These 8 Counties Could Hint at Where the Election Is Headed***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DBR-J941-JBG3-62HR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 5, 2024 Tuesday 16:07 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1095 words

**Byline:** Maggie Astor and Nate CohnMaggie Astor covers politics for The Times, focusing on breaking news, policies, campaigns and how underrepresented or marginalized groups are affected by political systems.

**Highlight:** While the nation awaits statewide results after the polls close on Election Day, a number of counties could offer insight into whether different demographic groups are voting for Kamala Harris or Donald J. Trump.

**Body**

While the nation awaits statewide results after the polls close on Election Day, a number of counties could offer insight into whether different demographic groups are voting for Kamala Harris or Donald J. Trump.

When the polls close on Tuesday, we will be watching, of course, for statewide outcomes in the presidential battlegrounds. But as we wait for calls, there will be individual counties you can look to for clues — though not definitive ones — to the contours of the vote.

Here are some counties whose results may speak to whether different demographic groups are trending toward Vice President Kamala Harris or former President Donald J. Trump.

Macomb County, Mich.

Macomb County, a stretch of suburbs and exurbs north of Detroit, is home to large numbers of the ***working-class*** white voters who broke the so-called Blue Wall in 2016, flipping Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin to Republicans for the first time in more than a quarter-century and winning Mr. Trump the presidency.

Four years later, just enough of them returned to vote Democratic, helping Joseph R. Biden Jr. flip those states back. How those voters break this year could be decisive again.

In 2020, Mr. Trump won 53.4 percent of the vote in Macomb County, so if his total is exceeding that today, it would be a good sign for the former president.

Chester County, Pa.

Chester County, an affluent area west of Philadelphia, is filled with the sort of highly educated suburban voters who have shifted toward voting for Democrats since 2016, one of the more electorally significant realignments of the Trump era.

Educated suburban voters, especially women, helped fuel Democratic victories in 2018, 2020 and 2022. Abortion has been a motivating issue for suburban women, and if we see a big “Dobbs effect” of backlash to the overturning of Roe v. Wade, this is one place where it could be visible.

In 2020, Mr. Biden won 57.8 percent of the vote in Chester County. The Harris campaign is hoping for a similar result.

Fulton County, Ga.

Black voters are a powerful bloc in Fulton County, home to Atlanta, and Mr. Trump has been trying to cut into the Democrats’ advantage there.

Democrats have historically relied on huge margins in heavily Black metropolitan areas in order to win states that, on a traditional results map, appear mostly red because of strong Republican support in geographically large but less populated areas. This was a big part of what enabled Mr. Biden to win Georgia, Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin.

In 2020, Mr. Biden won 72.6 percent of the vote in Fulton County. Ms. Harris, who has underperformed Mr. Biden’s support with Black voters, [*according to polls,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/12/us/politics/poll-black-voters-harris-trump.html) would need major turnout here again.

Yuma County, Ariz.

Yuma County, in the southwestern corner of Arizona along the border with Mexico, is about two-thirds Latino and has been at the center of debates over the effects of illegal immigration. How it votes will offer some indication of how Latino voters are weighing that issue, though it’s important to note that there is also a sizable minority of white ***working-class*** voters here.

Another word of caution: It’s tough to identify bellwethers for Latino voters at large, in part because Latinos are so diverse. Cuban Americans in Florida, for instance, are politically distinct from Mexican Americans in Arizona.

In 2020, Mr. Trump won 52.2 percent of the vote in Yuma County. That was a greater share than the 48.1 percent he had [*notched there in 2016,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/12/us/politics/poll-black-voters-harris-trump.html) and his campaign is hoping to extend that momentum.

Wayne County, Mich.

Wayne County is home to Detroit, a heavily Black city, but it’s also home to Dearborn, a majority-Arab suburb that has been an epicenter of anger at the Biden administration’s and Harris campaign’s support for Israel in its war against Hamas.

Many voters here have historically backed Democrats but are disillusioned with Ms. Harris because she says she would continue to provide weapons to Israel. Some have said they will reluctantly vote for her anyway, but others plan to vote for Mr. Trump or a third-party candidate, or not to vote at all. Victory margins and turnout numbers will both be significant.

In 2020, Mr. Biden won 68.4 percent of the vote in Wayne County. The Harris camp is hoping that it can keep the county blue despite the tension over Middle East policy.

Montgomery County, Pa.

Montgomery County is home to significant Jewish populations, particularly in Lower Merion Township, west of Philadelphia. It is an imperfect bellwether — no county is majority Jewish, and many places with the largest Jewish minorities, like New York City, aren’t in battleground states — but it will help show another piece of the electoral impact of Israel’s war in Gaza.

Mr. Trump has been trying to woo Jewish voters, saying his support of Israel would be uncompromising compared with that of Ms. Harris, who has sometimes criticized it. In doing so, though, he has often used antisemitic tropes.

In 2020, Mr. Biden won 62.6 percent of the vote in Montgomery County. Both the Harris and Trump campaigns see Pennsylvania as crucial to securing victory, so a win in the county would be a hopeful sign.

Dane County, Wis.

Dane County is home to the University of Wisconsin-Madison, and like other counties with large college campuses, it will point to trends among young people, including first-time voters.

Young voters have historically been an important constituency for Democrats, and Ms. Harris has drawn more enthusiasm from them than Mr. Biden was drawing earlier this year. But there are still questions surrounding her support, especially because of Israel, and there is [*evidence of a growing gender gap*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/12/us/politics/poll-black-voters-harris-trump.html) caused by young men moving to the right.

In 2020, Mr. Biden won 75.5 percent of the vote in Dane County. The Harris campaign is hoping that a win here would signal that its strategy of targeting younger voters is paying off.

Peach County, Ga.

It’s hard to choose one bellwether county for rural voters because they are spread across such a vast number of counties, most of which are heavily Republican.

But one option is Peach County, a swath of central Georgia that — unlike most rural counties — is closely split between white and Black voters. It has swung back and forth between Republicans and Democrats in past elections.

In 2020, Mr. Trump won 51.8 percent of the vote in Peach County. A strong pro-Trump turnout here would be a sign that his campaign’s bet on rural voters could tip the state back in his favor.

PHOTO: Voters cast ballots in Dearborn, Mich., on Sunday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Nick Hagen for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 19, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Universities Like Yale Need a Reckoning; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DDM-WGK1-JBG3-6055-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 14, 2024 Thursday 19:20 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1323 words

**Byline:** David W. Blight

**Highlight:** We must look in the mirror to know why we have already lost some battles and social respect and part of our democracy

**Body**

The worst thing we university liberals could do right now is to keep wondering why “they” hate us, why blue-collar workers seem to vote — as we understand it — against their own interests in sidling up to an authoritarian in a red tie who courts other billionaires, or why human nature itself did not come through for us and make the arc of history bend toward justice as we define it.

History has been waiting to explode our hubris; and sometimes, even as we have facts, truth and rule of law on our side, we make ourselves good targets with our jargon, our righteousness and our fragmentation. We are out of touch with ***working class*** Americans, even if the policies that Democrats have enacted work for them.

There were signs a Democratic defeat was coming: high inflation; a stubborn wage gap, especially between women with and without a college degree; and the incumbent president’s low approval ratings. A brilliant Black woman opponent ran an honorable campaign about unity in a fractured political culture riddled with fierce tribalism. Donald Trump exploited our social fissures to make them deeper, uglier, ever more bitter and therefore useful. We were reminded that culture wars are won by fueling them, not by seeking harmony. Unity coalitions and kindness and joy don’t win elections in a bitterly divided society where neighbors and family members are not on the same team.

In what lies ahead, liberal intellectuals will have to take the offensive in these wars on the fronts worth fighting for: saving and reviving public schools against the right’s effort to kill them; a genuine, substantive national commemoration of American independence in 2026, lest we allow Trumpists to own and tell our national story; and a coherent economic plan that reaches and convinces working Americans we are on their side and not simply stuffy academic theorists. We — a difficult pronoun in America just now — must look in the mirror to know why we have already lost some battles and social respect and part of our democracy.

The political disaster of Mr. Trump’s re-election is as potentially devastating to Democrats as 1800 was to the Federalists, or 1860 to the 19th-century Democrats, or 1874 to Reconstruction-era Republicans, or Ronald Reagan’s 1980 defeat of the Democrats’ New Deal coalition or Mitt Romney’s defeat to the 2012 Republicans. Democrats need to be searching their souls and asking why growing swaths of Americans, especially among the ***working class***, men under 30 who [*appear to have voted*](https://circle.tufts.edu/2024-election#youth-vote-+6-for-harris,-but-young-men-+14-for-trump) for Trump by a 14-point margin, and those who do not attend college (more than half the country), distrust, even hate, “us.”

My profession, professors and academia writ large, as well as those whom we have educated, need to think about the whole and not so much our parts as we interpret this election. In beautiful pluralistic America, which is nonetheless polarized in its voting patterns, and separated into rural and cosmopolitan domains, there still is a country, a nation and society to somehow grasp and preserve if we can. The “people left behind” in the pandemic-stressed economy may have just spoken in a small but potent majority saying they are now leaving “us”— universities in particular — behind.

Is public sentiment on college campuses out of step with where the country appears to be headed? That is not necessarily a bad thing; we do not design our research or our curriculum from public opinion. Confidence, however, in universities, is at an all-time low of 36 percent across society, [*according to Gallup surveys*](https://circle.tufts.edu/2024-election#youth-vote-+6-for-harris,-but-young-men-+14-for-trump) (a precipitous drop from 57 percent in 2015). Americans have more faith in two-year colleges, where [*over 40 percent*](https://circle.tufts.edu/2024-election#youth-vote-+6-for-harris,-but-young-men-+14-for-trump) of all undergraduates are enrolled. There are many reasons for this decline in confidence in the one institution that has forged so much social mobility in post-World War II America: seemingly uncontrollable tuition costs, steady diets of negative press about alleged leftist ideological purity, opaque admission policies, the expensive obsession with professionalized athletics in colleges, prestige-driven meritocracies that create exclusive bubbles of self-importance and the hoarding of endowments at elite schools.

Universities are hugely complicated modern businesses and engines of learning; their libraries and museums preserve humankind’s infinite knowledge and creativity. Our task, hard as it is, must be to translate at least some of what is known and imagined to the bulk of citizens who will never know us. If they cannot come here, we must find them.

Even the most elitist of Ivy League universities have an enormous public responsibility, not unlike their sister public schools. No institution has more democratically created a middle class and a more equalizing society than the American public school and public university. Roughly 73 percent of all students in higher education [*are attending a public institution*](https://circle.tufts.edu/2024-election#youth-vote-+6-for-harris,-but-young-men-+14-for-trump); their history since World War II has been that of an engine for the professions and for social mobility. I and millions of others are direct products of this system. My B.A. and M.A. from Michigan State University and Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin made possible my evolving career as a teacher and historian.

Perhaps “we” need above all a moonshot for public schools, secondary and higher (not going to happen under Republicans, but we must keep the long view), founded on an aggressive, positive assertion of the values and faiths that such an education represents. The American university is a profoundly important reinvention of an ancient idea, remade in medieval times in Italy, Germany and Britain, and then recreated again in colonial America. Among Americans’ most treasured values, embedded in the modern university, is that a higher education can remake one’s life. As endangered as such an idea may seem, who does not want to believe in that gospel if it is available? Our herculean task is to make it work again.

“We” need to openly recommit to learning and teaching about the whole of our knowledge — our histories, our literature, our sciences, our social structures, as much or more than we stress our racial, ethnic and gendered parts. Those fields of study are important and established for good reasons. But the whole and the parts have to sing together or there is no democracy or broad learning or informed citizenry in the end. We could drown in the habits of our own particularities and favorite ideologies, and lose hold of how humans connect across a multitude of difference. We need answers for our critics who believe we are an ideological monolith, whether they are right or not. We may not like universals anymore, but there are some, like elections, that stun millions into despair or glee.

Election outcomes, if nothing else can, should make us aware that substantial parts of our society may like to know why history or science or art themselves even matter in their daily lives. “We” know they do, but “they” are scared by the price of milk, and tuition, and by hurricanes. Universities like the one at which I am privileged to teach, need their own reckonings that can make us look outward, to get outside of ourselves and do what we do best — create knowledge and teach about and to the whole world, not merely to those within our own gates in language only we can hope to understand.

Trumpism is a dire threat to all that universities believe in, but let us not forget that democracies tend to die from within, not by conquest.

David W. Blight is a professor of history at Yale University. He is the author, most recently, of “Yale and Slavery: A History.”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://circle.tufts.edu/2024-election#youth-vote-+6-for-harris,-but-young-men-+14-for-trump) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://circle.tufts.edu/2024-election#youth-vote-+6-for-harris,-but-young-men-+14-for-trump). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://circle.tufts.edu/2024-election#youth-vote-+6-for-harris,-but-young-men-+14-for-trump).

Follow the New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://circle.tufts.edu/2024-election#youth-vote-+6-for-harris,-but-young-men-+14-for-trump), [*Instagram*](https://circle.tufts.edu/2024-election#youth-vote-+6-for-harris,-but-young-men-+14-for-trump), [*TikTok*](https://circle.tufts.edu/2024-election#youth-vote-+6-for-harris,-but-young-men-+14-for-trump), [*WhatsApp*](https://circle.tufts.edu/2024-election#youth-vote-+6-for-harris,-but-young-men-+14-for-trump), [*X*](https://circle.tufts.edu/2024-election#youth-vote-+6-for-harris,-but-young-men-+14-for-trump) and [*Threads*](https://circle.tufts.edu/2024-election#youth-vote-+6-for-harris,-but-young-men-+14-for-trump).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Anson Chan FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 18, 2024

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[***New Yorkers Pay High Prices for Groceries. Could City-Owned Stores Help?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DN1-MH81-JBG3-602M-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 14, 2024 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 851 words

**Byline:** By Emma G. Fitzsimmons

**Body**

A New York City mayoral candidate wants the city to open its own, more affordable grocery stores. The idea has gained momentum in Chicago and other cities.

It is no secret that many Americans are worried about inflation and the high cost of groceries, and those concerns were a driving factor in Donald J. Trump's victory.

Now a Democratic candidate for mayor of New York City is seizing on that anxiety and proposing that the city open its own grocery stores to bring down costs.

The idea has gained momentum in other cities as a way to address so-called food deserts, where supermarkets are scarce. Chicago and Atlanta are moving forward with proposals, and there are already city-owned grocery stores in Kansas and Wisconsin.

Zohran Mamdani, a democratic socialist state lawmaker who is running for mayor of New York City, will announce a plan on Thursday to build five municipal grocery stores -- one in each borough.

''Everywhere I go, I hear New Yorkers talking about the outrageous prices of groceries,'' he said in an interview. ''This is a bold and workable plan.''

Mr. Mamdani released a video last month, which went viral, featuring voters in ***working-class*** neighborhoods who supported Mr. Trump. Many expressed concerns about the cost of living, reflecting a feeling that is evident across the nation.

Municipal grocery stores could lower costs by using city land or buildings, buying food wholesale and being exempt from property taxes, supporters say. The approach is part of a broader push by progressive groups to offer public options for banking, broadband and housing.

In New York, the Democrats who are running against Mayor Eric Adams in the June primary have released a flurry of proposals to distinguish themselves in a crowded field and address affordability.

Jessica Ramos, a state senator from Queens, has focused on universal child care and raising the minimum wage. Zellnor Myrie, a state senator from Brooklyn, released a plan to build one million homes and supports free universal after-school programs.

Brad Lander, the city comptroller, has called for more affordable housing, based on a plan he supported in the Gowanus neighborhood. Jim Walden, a former prosecutor, will release a housing plan next week that calls for utilizing 30,000 low-income and rent-stabilized units that are not currently available.

Roughly 43 percent of New York voters named cost of living as their top concern for state lawmakers -- more than crime or immigration, according to a Siena College poll this week.

Mr. Adams, who is running for a second term while facing a federal corruption trial in April, has focused on affordability as a re-election campaign theme. He recently rolled out a series of proposals and announcements designed to make living in the city more manageable, including a proposed tax cut for low-wage earners.

Mr. Mamdani said that his grocery store plan was in line with his other proposals to make buses free and to halt rent increases on rent-stabilized apartments. He said that he was not surprised that voters had drifted to the Republican Party because Democrats had not provided a compelling alternative.

''If we want to bring these New Yorkers back to the Democratic Party, then we have to show them that we're serious about making their life more affordable,'' he said.

Andrew Lamas, an urban studies professor at the University of Pennsylvania, said that Mr. Mamdani's proposal was laudable, but that the logistics of running grocery stores were complicated and the city should examine different models like cooperatives.

''The city can play a very important role in catalyzing the development of supermarkets, but it has a lot of options about how to do that, and some pose more risks and challenges,'' he said.

In Chicago, Mayor Brandon Johnson, a progressive Democrat, is finalizing a plan for city-owned grocery stores. A 105-page feasibility study found that the idea was ''necessary, feasible and implementable.''

The city could provide subsidies to a store through discounted rent, free utility bills and direct funding to cover shortfalls, according to the study. The upfront costs to create three stores in Chicago could be about $26 million.

S. Mayumi Grigsby, Chicago's chief policy officer, said in an interview that neighborhoods on the city's south and west sides needed more options because many grocery stores had closed in recent years.

In Madison, Wis., the first grocery store is opening in the first floor of a mixed-use affordable housing building owned by the city. There is a city-owned supermarket in St. Paul, Kan., a city with 600 residents, where full-time supermarket workers received city-funded benefits.

In Atlanta, Mayor Andre Dickens plans to open the city's first municipally subsidized grocery store next year. He has expressed frustration that larger chains were not interested in helping the city address food deserts.

''We've reached out to grocery chains and even offered incentives -- no takers,'' Mr. Dickens said on social media earlier this year. ''So we will make it happen for the people directly!''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/nyregion/grocery-stores-city-owned.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/nyregion/grocery-stores-city-owned.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Shopping in the East Village. A mayoral candidate wants the city to open its own groceries, like other cities have done. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HIROKO MASUIKE/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A10.

**Load-Date:** December 14, 2024

**End of Document**



[***In Maine Battleground, Democrat Golden Grasps to Win Over Trump Voters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D8M-5K21-DXY4-X2BG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 26, 2024 Saturday 00:41 EST

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**Section:** US; elections

**Length:** 1656 words

**Byline:** Maya C. MillerMaya C. Miller covers Congress and is a , a program for journalists early in their careers. She is based in Washington.

**Highlight:** To win his toughest re-election bid yet, Representative Jared Golden needs Trump voters to back him over a young Republican prospect, a former NASCAR driver.

**Body**

To win his toughest re-election bid yet, Representative Jared Golden needs Trump voters to back him over a young Republican prospect, a former NASCAR driver.

On a recent Sunday morning, Representative Jared Golden sat perched atop a bar stool inside a small-town Maine brewery, greeting supporters who had gathered to watch the New England Patriots game and meet their congressman.

Wearing his Julian Edelman jersey, Mr. Golden, one of Democrats’ most battle-tested and vulnerable incumbents, sipped a stein of dark lager and waited calmly for people to approach him. He did not work the room, no campaign signs adorned the walls, and his staff did not foist yard signs or buttons on attendees as they left.

Even with the election less than two weeks away, Mainers won’t find Mr. Golden making his closing argument at what he calls “big rah-rah rallies,” or appearing alongside high-profile Democratic Party figures.

Instead, as he seeks a fourth term in a district that Donald J. Trump won handily in 2016 and 2020, Mr. Golden is going to great lengths to distance himself from his own party. He has declined to endorse Vice President Kamala Harris and not only refrained from attacking Mr. Trump but gone out of his way to pitch himself as a potential governing partner with the former president.

As a conservative-leaning Democrat in a swing district, Mr. Golden, 42, has always had an uphill battle to election. But this year he is facing perhaps his most formidable challenger yet: Austin Theriault, 30, a former NASCAR driver and northern Maine native who was recruited by House Republicans.

A first-term state representative, Mr. Theriault says Mr. Golden has “gone Washington” and lost touch with his district, the largest east of the Mississippi River, which stretches from the eastern edge of New Hampshire to the western border of New Brunswick, Canada. And he has hammered the Democrat, one of the few members of Congress in his party who routinely opposes gun control measures, for coming out in favor of an assault weapons ban shortly after a mass shooting last year in Lewiston.

The outcome of the contest will almost certainly help determine which party controls the House, which Republicans now hold by a razor-thin margin.

Mr. Golden, a tattooed combat veteran who left college to enlist in the Marines shortly after the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, has toiled to pitch himself to voters as someone who could work effectively with a second Trump administration. Last month he introduced a bill to [*impose 10 percent tariffs on all imports*](https://www.bangordailynews.com/2024/09/26/opinion/opinion-contributor/jared-golden-universal-tariff-imports-bill-sponsor/), an economic proposal that aligns more with Mr. Trump than with Ms. Harris.

Long before Democrats like Senators Tammy Baldwin of Wisconsin and Bob Casey of Pennsylvania started [*name-dropping Mr. Trump in their advertisements*](https://www.bangordailynews.com/2024/09/26/opinion/opinion-contributor/jared-golden-universal-tariff-imports-bill-sponsor/) to curry favor with conservatives, Mr. Golden would frequently highlight how he worked with the Trump administration and voted against the Biden-Harris agenda. And while Mr. Golden has said he will not vote for Mr. Trump, he has also refused to say whether he plans to vote for Ms. Harris.

“It’s important for people to know that I don’t care who’s in the White House,” Mr. Golden said in an interview. “I want them to vote for me, not for the Democratic Party, which I happen to be a member of.”

Mr. Golden, whose seat Republicans have targeted for years, is one of just five Democratic incumbents running for re-election in districts Mr. Trump won in 2020 — all largely white, rural and ***working-class*** areas.

He has helped shape the playbook for the tiny group, all of whom are running with a hyperlocal focus and a nonpartisan message aimed at working people.

In southwest Washington state, Representative Marie Gluesenkamp Perez, a Democrat who [*flipped her district blue*](https://www.bangordailynews.com/2024/09/26/opinion/opinion-contributor/jared-golden-universal-tariff-imports-bill-sponsor/) two years ago and helps chair the centrist Blue Dog Caucus with Mr. Golden, has leaned heavily into her blue-collar [*background as an auto mechanic*](https://www.bangordailynews.com/2024/09/26/opinion/opinion-contributor/jared-golden-universal-tariff-imports-bill-sponsor/) in her rematch against Republican Joe Kent. Further north in Alaska, the other Blue Dog chair Representative Mary Peltola has emphasized her ***working-class*** bona fides — she recently announced she was skipping a week of votes in Washington to prepare fish with her family for winter storage — while accusing her opponent of outsourcing Alaska jobs overseas.

And in the southwest corner of Wisconsin, a key battleground state where Mr. Trump and Ms. Harris are in a dead heat, Democrat Rebecca Cooke — a recruit backed by Mr. Golden and the Blue Dogs — is working to defeat Republican Representative Derrick Van Orden, a right-wing firebrand. Ms. Cooke, a small-business owner who grew up on a dairy farm and works part time as a waitress to make ends meet, has forced House Republicans to dump more than a million dollars into the race in just the last week.

“I feel like this is what the Democratic Party has always been known as — like, going to bat for the little guy,” Mr. Golden said. “I do think sometimes it’s slipping away from that.”

Mr. Golden’s message has delivered him victory after victory, even in 2020 when Mr. Trump won his district by seven percentage points. But this year, Mr. Theriault has kept the race competitive even while being significantly outspent by Mr. Golden; limited polling [*indicates the contest is a dead heat*](https://www.bangordailynews.com/2024/09/26/opinion/opinion-contributor/jared-golden-universal-tariff-imports-bill-sponsor/).

Mr. Theriault, who grew up in Fort Kent at the northernmost tip of Maine, also portrays himself as a “true Mainer” and unlike Mr. Golden’s previous opponents, dresses not in suits, but in jeans, baseball caps and a puffer vest over a button-down shirt.

He has the full-throated support of Mr. Trump and House Republican leaders, including Speaker Mike Johnson of Louisiana, who joined him at an August rally to open a new campaign office.

Mr. Theriault has largely avoided committing to any policy positions, hoping his relative anonymity will make up for his thin résumé in politics. But his campaign has seized on Mr. Golden’s [*reversal on a federal assault-weapons ban*](https://www.bangordailynews.com/2024/09/26/opinion/opinion-contributor/jared-golden-universal-tariff-imports-bill-sponsor/) and is using it to brand the Democrat a “flip-flop.”

Mr. Golden, one of the few Democrats in Congress who routinely opposes gun control measures, changed his position after the shooting one year ago in Lewiston, his hometown, which left 18 people dead and several others wounded.

In Maine, where open carry is legal and airports make routine announcements reminding passengers to not bring their firearms through security, Mr. Golden’s decision came at a steep cost: The National Rifle Association and the Sportsman’s Alliance of Maine, which both used to support him, now back Mr. Theriault.

The shooting has also become something of an emotional subplot in the race. Mr. Theriault made a splashy announcement in August pledging to raise $50,000 to support community rebuilding in Lewiston and hold a charity car race to benefit the area. Mr. Golden’s campaign donated the $50,000 the next day, and the Republican has said little about the issue since.

Still, on a recent Saturday afternoon, Mr. Theriault was at the Oxford Plains Speedway, about 30 miles west of Lewiston, preparing for the charity race. As engines revved and the slight breeze carried pungent odors of gasoline, exhaust and burned rubber, Mr. Theriault dispatched an aide to say he would not be able to speak with a reporter from The New York Times who had approached him for an interview because of the “need to focus” on the car race. His campaign also did not respond to several other requests for an interview.

Mr. Theriault’s campaign has extended the “flip-flop” charge beyond guns in an effort to tie Mr. Golden to the Biden-Harris administration and national Democrats. He posts liberally on social media using flip-flop emojis and criticisms such as: “Jared Golden flip-flopped on our inflation crisis,” a reference to the Democrat’s vote in 2022 in favor of the Inflation Reduction Act, which Mr. Theriault said is incentivizing offshore wind development at the expense of lobstermen.

He has drawn strong backing from loyal Republicans in the district — even some who expressed personal affection for Mr. Golden — who are eager to have someone from their own party represent them.

Mr. Golden is “not somebody I would vote for, but I like him personally,” said Stephen Hall, a pastor who was shopping at a local farmer’s market in Hampden.

It is less clear, though, whether Mr. Theriault is winning over the critical group of swing voters who are likely to decide the race.

In recent interviews around the district, several voters — even those supporting Mr. Trump — said their congressman was down-to-earth, approachable and an authentic Mainer.

“He genuinely feels like he came from the ***working class*** and moved up the ranks,” said Jonathan Sylvia, a Lewiston resident who described himself as “pretty conservative” and plans to vote for Mr. Trump and Mr. Golden. “I mean, if he’s doing the job and he’s doing it right, why replace him?”

At the Hampden market, Jen Blake, a meat vendor from Winterport, also says she plans to vote for Mr. Trump even though his personality is “absolutely annoying” and she “cannot stand him.” She said she “hates politics” and career politicians who “lose touch with real people” — but sees no reason to vote out Mr. Golden.

“He’s relatable. He doesn’t feel like a politician. He feels genuine, and he seems to actually care about everyday people,” Ms. Blake said. “And he’s not wishy-washy. He tells you what he believes, and he sticks to it.”

PHOTOS: Representative Jared Golden at a brewery in Wilton, Maine, above, greeting supporters who had gathered to watch the New England Patriots game. Below left, the ruins of a demolished mill in Livermore Falls. Logging and mills were once a driving economic force in the state’s 2nd Congressional District.; JARED GOLDEN, a conservative-leaning Democrat in a swing district in Maine, is one of just five Democratic incumbents running for re-election in districts Mr. Trump won in 2020. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY RYAN DAVID BROWN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A14.

**Load-Date:** October 29, 2024

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[***Former Obama Aide Enters the New York City Mayor’s Race***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DGS-8251-DXY4-X2TH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 24, 2024 Sunday 20:15 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 604 words

**Byline:** Emma G. FitzsimmonsEmma G. Fitzsimmons is the City Hall bureau chief for The Times, covering Mayor Eric Adams and his administration.

**Highlight:** Michael Blake, a former state assemblyman and a veteran of the Obama administration, joins a crowded field of candidates running against Mayor Eric Adams.

**Body**

Michael Blake, a former state assemblyman and a veteran of the Obama administration, joins a crowded field of candidates running against Mayor Eric Adams.

Michael Blake, a former New York State assemblyman from the Bronx and a veteran of the Obama administration, is entering the crowded race to unseat Mayor Eric Adams.

He is the [*seventh prominent candidate*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-nyc-mayor-succession.html) to challenge Mr. Adams, a Democrat who was [*indicted in September on federal corruption charges*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-nyc-mayor-succession.html). Mr. Blake created an exploratory committee on Friday and put up a [*campaign website*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-nyc-mayor-succession.html) on Sunday.

In his first interview as a mayoral candidate, Mr. Blake said that his campaign would focus on addressing the high cost of living in New York City and quality of life issues.

“New Yorkers clearly do not feel that their lives are getting better under his administration,” he said. “Whether it be loss of funds in their pocket or loss of hope and trust, it is hard to see how the city moves forward given the current mayor.”

Mr. Blake, 41, a former vice chair of the Democratic National Committee, served in the State Assembly for six years and in the Obama White House for two years.

Many of the candidates who are running in the Democratic primary in June are to the left of Mr. Adams, most more so than Mr. Blake. He said that he had implemented both progressive and moderate policies and viewed himself as a “responsible leader who is finding solutions in the middle.” As mayor, he said that he would support policies such as universal child care and paying nonprofits faster.

Other candidates, including former Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo, [*could enter*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-nyc-mayor-succession.html) the mayoral race in the coming months.

Mr. Blake said that he was also considering running for a [*leadership role at the Democratic National Committee*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-nyc-mayor-succession.html) as the party searches for a path forward following the victory of President-elect Donald J. Trump.

Mr. Blake ran unsuccessfully for Congress in 2020, losing to Representative Ritchie Torres in the Democratic primary. A year earlier, he finished fourth among 17 candidates in a special election for New York City public advocate, a race [*won by Jumaane Williams*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-nyc-mayor-succession.html). Mr. Blake will have to move quickly to raise money for the race and to reintroduce himself to voters across the city.

Mr. Blake, whose parents are from Jamaica, plans to highlight his ***working-class*** biography and his roots in the Bronx. His father was a maintenance worker at a hospital, he said, and his mother worked at a manufacturing plant.

He said that he was proud of his work as a state lawmaker on issues such as [*the “Raise the Age” law*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-nyc-mayor-succession.html) that stopped 16- and 17-year-olds from being tried as adults in criminal court. He received scrutiny for accepting and then [*declining a job at a political consulting firm*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-nyc-mayor-succession.html) while serving in the Legislature.

Since leaving office, he has worked as a political consultant, [*runs a nonprofit*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-nyc-mayor-succession.html) and serves as an associate pastor at a church in the Bronx.

Mr. Blake, who worked on the Obama campaign in 2012, said that he had not talked to the former president about running for mayor. He said he was still friendly with Mr. Obama and spoke with him in October for a “Win With Black Men” event for Vice President Kamala Harris’s presidential campaign.

Brian Cunningham, a state assemblyman from Brooklyn, said that Mr. Blake would be a great candidate for mayor and had made “meaningful investments in underserved communities.”

“He understands how to lift everyone around him,” he said.

PHOTO: Michael Blake becomes the seventh prominent candidate to challenge Mayor Eric Adams’s bid for re-election. (PHOTOGRAPH BY GABRIELA BHASKAR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A18.

**Load-Date:** November 24, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Springsteen Is Fighting Back the Darkness at the Edge of America; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DB3-CVW1-DXY4-X07P-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 2, 2024 Saturday 11:06 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1095 words

**Byline:** Mitchell Duneier

**Highlight:** His music offers a model of how we all might just get through this.

**Body**

A few days before the opening of the Democratic National Convention, I flew to Pittsburgh for the opening concert of the last American leg of Bruce Springsteen’s 2024 world tour. I have been to more than a hundred of his concerts in my life, but I wanted to see this performance in a city and state that could determine the outcome of the presidential election.

In the parking lot, I passed pickup trucks with American flags lined up side by side with BMWs and Lexuses, and I thought of the powerful place the automobile has in so much of Mr. Springsteen’s music about freedom and escape. I thought of how many of his songs focus on life in that region of the country — songs about steel mills, economic hardship, ***working-class*** family life and the decline of the American dream. And I wondered if he would use any of those songs to explicitly address the choice his audience would soon confront.

I can’t think of a figure in America today who better embodies the contradictions and complexity of this country’s politics. He is a die-hard progressive who sings about a demographic that is now a core element of Donald Trump’s base. His audience is almost completely white, but he often sings songs that take up racism and the plight of immigrants. That night at the PPG Paints Arena, I found myself standing next to a couple of workers who were wearing T-shirts from the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and drinking large cans of Iron City Beer, while directly in front of us were two couples drinking cocktails and wearing expensive eyeglasses.

Mr. Springsteen didn’t mention politics in that show, but he has since come out in full voice — as everyone knew he would — for Kamala Harris and Tim Walz. A month ago, he released an [*Instagram video endorsing them*](https://www.instagram.com/springsteen/reel/DArLPGnIJD3/?hl=en), calling Mr. Trump “the most dangerous candidate for president in my lifetime” and praising Ms. Harris and Mr. Walz for wanting to expand the economy to benefit everyone, “not just a few like me at the top.” More recently he has been appearing with Barack Obama and others at rallies for the Harris-Walz ticket.

Many artists worry that taking a political position will alienate part of their audience. But I don’t think that fans are loyal to Mr. Springsteen despite the contradictions that his music and his presence represent. I think that many of them are loyal to him because of those contradictions, because the uncomfortable place that he occupies is the same one the country does. We are divided along partisan lines, but also along lines that don’t necessarily square up with party identity. We are suspicious of those with differing views, often ascribing to them the darkest imaginable motives. Yet somehow we’re here in the same arena, trying to figure it out.

Though he has written many political songs over the past four decades, the Boss has barely released any in recent years. He said little to nothing about Donald Trump after the former president left office, though he has taken — most notably after the July 13 attempt on Mr. Trump’s life — to introducing the song “Long Walk Home” as “a prayer for my country.” A tour favorite, the song is about the desire to restore old-fashioned ideals of America:

Here everybody has a neighbor

Everybody has a friend

Everybody has a reason to begin again

My father said, “Son, we’re lucky in this town.

It’s a beautiful place to be born.

It just wraps its arms around you,

Nobody crowds you and nobody goes it alone.

“Your flag flyin’ over the courthouse

Means certain things are set in stone.

Who we are, what we’ll do and what we won’t.”

I went to Pittsburgh that night for the same reason everyone goes to a Springsteen show: not to hear a lecture about politics but to see him unify an audience through songs about finding meaning and purpose in life, in a setting approximating a religious revival. He made the right decision to let his songs speak for themselves on this tour and to make a political endorsement on his own time.

He [*later explained*](https://www.instagram.com/springsteen/reel/DArLPGnIJD3/?hl=en) to George Stephanopoulos, “People know where I stand for the most part, but I also wanted a space where people feel they can come and be with their neighbor regardless of what their particular political point of view is.” And when he did come out with his endorsement, he made it with conviction but also humility, telling the nation that “everybody sees things different, and I respect your choice as a fellow citizen.”

His work on behalf of the Harris campaign has gotten a lot of attention, talked about by some as though it could potentially influence ***working-class*** voters. Yet unlike Taylor Swift’s fans, many of whom are young enough to have never voted before, most of Mr. Springsteen’s fans are people over 60 with deep convictions of their own. I don’t know that Mr. Springsteen’s advocacy will change anyone’s mind. I don’t know that Mr. Springsteen feels it will change anyone’s mind. But it’s something he felt he had to do, and so he did.

Like many with strong views about this election, I don’t like being reduced to my politics and try to resist doing that to others. Sometimes that is hard for everyone. Seeing Mr. Springsteen in person or listening to his music at home is an opportunity to celebrate a vision of America — a country that is riven by politics but that is more than the sum of its politics. As he said in his endorsement: “Perhaps not since the Civil War has this great country felt as politically, spiritually and emotionally divided as it does than at this moment. It doesn’t have to be this way.”

However things go on Tuesday, this election is going to leave half the nation feeling bewildered and angry. But come Wednesday we’re all still going to be here, and we’re going to have to figure out how to move forward. Bruce Springsteen’s music and concerts offer a model of how we might do that, containing contradictions and even divisions but more or less making it work somehow, occasionally cheering at the same crowd-pleasing moments or feeling the same tears well up.

Mitchell Duneier is a professor of sociology at Princeton, where he has taught “Sociology From E Street: Bruce Springsteen’s America.” He is the author of [*“Ghetto: The Invention of a Place, the History of an Idea.”*](https://www.instagram.com/springsteen/reel/DArLPGnIJD3/?hl=en)

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.instagram.com/springsteen/reel/DArLPGnIJD3/?hl=en) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.instagram.com/springsteen/reel/DArLPGnIJD3/?hl=en). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.instagram.com/springsteen/reel/DArLPGnIJD3/?hl=en).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Damon Winter/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 3, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Zohran Mamdani, a Democratic Socialist, Will Run Against Mayor Adams***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D7T-1JC1-DXY4-X3BP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 22, 2024 Tuesday 12:49 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 945 words

**Byline:** Emma G. FitzsimmonsEmma G. Fitzsimmons is the City Hall bureau chief for The Times, covering Mayor Eric Adams and his administration.

**Highlight:** Zohran Mamdani, a state lawmaker from Queens, has entered the Democratic primary for mayor of New York City, joining a crowded field hoping to unseat Eric Adams.

**Body**

Zohran Mamdani, a state lawmaker from Queens, has entered the Democratic primary for mayor of New York City, joining a crowded field hoping to unseat Eric Adams.

Zohran Mamdani, a socialist New York State Assembly member from Queens, will announce on Wednesday that he is entering the race to unseat Mayor Eric Adams, who is facing growing doubts over his political future.

Mr. Mamdani is the fifth prominent Democrat to challenge Mr. Adams, who was [*indicted last month on federal corruption charges*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-investigations.html). His administration has fallen into crisis, and many of his top aides have resigned.

Mr. Mamdani, who has called on Mr. Adams to resign, said in an interview that the mayor had failed New Yorkers. He said that he would focus his campaign on addressing the city’s affordability crisis.

“City Hall is engulfed in corruption, but it is the outrageous cost of living that most people are talking about,” he said. “New Yorkers are being crushed by rent and child care. Working people are getting pushed out of the city they built.”

In his campaign kickoff video, Mr. Mamdani proposes freezing rents on rent-stabilized apartments and targets both Mr. Adams and former Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo, who is considering running in the [*Democratic primary next June*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-investigations.html).

“Life in this city doesn’t need to be this hard, but politicians like Eric Adams and Andrew Cuomo want it to be this way,” he says in the video. “They care about their donors, they care about themselves. They don’t care about you — the ***working class*** who keep this city running.”

Mr. Mamdani, 33, whose background includes a stint as a [*self-described B-*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-investigations.html) or [*C-list rapper*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-investigations.html), said he viewed the campaign as running “against a disgraced New York executive, whether it’s the current mayor or the former governor.”

In an early version of Mr. Mamdani’s campaign video, he makes no mention of his strong ties to the Democratic Socialists of America, whose New York City chapter recently endorsed him for mayor. He has been an outspoken critic of Israel and has called for raising taxes on the wealthy.

Mr. Mamdani’s firm leftward stance puts him in contrast to Mayor Adams, a centrist. The assemblyman is also to the left of the four other declared candidates in the race, all of whom are considered progressive Democrats.

Mr. Mamdani introduced legislation, called the “Not on Our Dime” Act, last year to [*curtail financial support for Israeli settlements*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-investigations.html). The bill, which received support from Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, did not pass.

Mr. Mamdani said in the interview that he was proud to be a socialist and that while his campaign would focus on a local “economic agenda,” he would also speak to the “tremendous anger and alienation” that many voters feel over “our tax dollars going to fund a genocide in Palestine.”

He formed a campaign committee on Monday and will have to move quickly to raise money for the race and to introduce himself to New Yorkers beyond his district, which overlaps with parts of Ms. Ocasio-Cortez’s district and is sometimes jokingly called “the People’s Republic of Astoria.”

Mr. Mamdani’s video mentions several proposals to help ***working-class*** New Yorkers, including making all buses “fast and free.” He has focused in Albany on improving bus service and sponsored legislation that created a pilot program that made [*one bus route in each borough free*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-investigations.html) last fall.

Michael Gianaris, the deputy majority leader of the State Senate who worked with Mr. Mamdani on the bus program, called him a “very smart and very hard-working” lawmaker.

“When you agree, he’s a very strong and good ally to have,” he said. “When you don’t agree, he’s very upfront about his beliefs and wears them on his sleeve.”

Mr. Mamdani said he was open to cross-endorsing other progressive candidates under the city’s relatively new ranked-choice voting system, which allows voters to choose up to five candidates in order of preference. Rather than splitting the vote, he argued that multiple campaigns could “speak to the breadth of the city” while highlighting different proposals to address inequality.

Amanda Septimo, an assemblywoman from the Bronx who was first elected to the State Legislature the same year as Mr. Mamdani, said they did not agree on everything but had found common ground on transit issues and helping taxi drivers.

“He has a really unique ability to boil very complex policy ideas and solutions down to plain English, which is a superpower that you need in this day and age to get regular New Yorkers to buy into why policies matter to them,” she said.

Mr. Mamdani was born in Kampala, Uganda, and raised in New York City. He was [*elected in 2020*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-investigations.html) as part of a progressive wave of victories in state races and became the third Muslim to serve in the Assembly. If elected, Mr. Mamdani would be the first Muslim mayor of New York.

When he was a rapper, he [*went by Mr. Cardamom*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-investigations.html) and released music honoring his grandmother and the greasy splendor of Ugandan-style chapati. He said that “strangely enough,” his music career had prepared him well for politics.

“Once you’ve tried to sell your mixtape to people who are just trying to get on the bus to go home, you’re well prepared to get rejected when you’re trying to get New Yorkers to sign your petition to get on the ballot at 6 a.m. at the subway station,” he said.

PHOTOS: Zohran Mamdani, an assemblyman from Queens, is the most left-leaning candidate to enter the race for New York City mayor. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CINDY SCHULTZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Mr. Mamdani has called for the resignation of Mayor Eric Adams, above, who has been indicted on federal corruption charges. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DAVE SANDERS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A13.

**Load-Date:** October 23, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Fiscal Populism To Be in Hands Of Billionaires***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DH6-5HJ1-DXY4-X41C-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 26, 2024 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1508 words

**Byline:** By Alan Rappeport and Ana Swanson

**Body**

The president-elect has named wealthy financiers for key economic positions, raising questions about how much they will follow through on promises to help the ***working class***.

When Donald J. Trump first ran for the White House in 2016, his closing campaign advertisement lamented the influence of Wall Street in Washington, flashing ominous images of big banks and the billionaire liberal philanthropist George Soros.

Now, as president-elect, Mr. Trump has tapped two denizens of Wall Street to run his economic agenda. Scott Bessent, who invested money for Mr. Soros for more than a decade, is his pick for Treasury secretary, and Howard Lutnick, the chief executive of Cantor Fitzgerald, will be nominated to lead the Commerce Department. Mr. Trump's choices to lead his economic team show the prominence of billionaire investors in setting an agenda that is supposed to fuel a ''blue-collar boom'' but that skeptics think will mostly benefit the rich.

As Mr. Trump prepares to assume the presidency in January, business owners and investors are closely attuned to which of his economic promises he will ultimately follow through on. He has promised to slash tax rates, impose hefty tariffs on China and other countries, and deport millions of immigrants who work in American farms and businesses.

The selections of Mr. Bessent and Mr. Lutnick cement a hold by Wall Street executives over the two most important economic posts in any administration. The picks are drawing blowback from Democrats and left-leaning groups, who assailed Mr. Trump for giving top jobs to rich donors and suggested that they would soon be working to create new tax breaks for the rich, not those who are struggling.

''For all his talk of looking out for ***working-class*** Americans, President-elect Trump's choice of a billionaire hedge fund manager to lead the Treasury Department shows he just wants to keep a rigged system that only works for big corporations and the very wealthy,'' said Tony Carrk, the executive director of the government watchdog group Accountable.US.

Yet the decision to tap Mr. Bessent and Mr. Lutnick is raising speculation that Mr. Trump could take a more market-friendly approach to many of his economic policies than some had feared because of his professed love of tariffs, which had the potential for igniting a global trade war.

Mr. Trump's promises to impose tariffs of 10 percent to 20 percent on goods from around the world, and tariffs of 60 percent or more on products from China, have worried business owners. But many investors still seem to be betting that he will not fully pursue those plans.

Some economists are also more optimistic that the selection of nominees with deep market experience means that Mr. Trump may take a more measured approach to trade negotiations.

''It gives me a little bit of hope that we're going to avoid the worst of the economic populism,'' said Scott Lincicome, a trade expert at the free-market-oriented Cato Institute. ''One of the biggest checks on Trump's populist impulses will be the markets.''

It remains to be seen how much that perspective will end up influencing Mr. Trump, who has a record of vacillating between market-pleasing measures like tax cuts and sweeping tariffs that businesses and investors typically dislike.

Both Mr. Bessent and Mr. Lutnick, who Mr. Trump said would oversee his administration's trade and tariff policy, have defended Mr. Trump's plans for imposing tariffs on imports. But other statements have suggested that they prefer more targeted tariff policies and more open trade policies.

That is a sharp contrast to others in Mr. Trump's circle. Trade advisers like Robert E. Lighthizer and Peter Navarro have argued that higher tariffs in themselves offer benefits for the U.S. economy, by blocking out unfairly made foreign products and offsetting undervalued currencies in other countries.

In an interview with CNBC's ''Squawk Box'' in September, Mr. Lutnick promoted Mr. Trump's tariff plans as a way to help American workers, but he said tariffs should not be placed on ''stuff we don't make.'' He also described tariffs as a ''bargaining chip'' that would ultimately force other countries to lower their own tariffs and lead to freer markets.

''Everybody else is going to negotiate with us,'' he said.

As the head of major financial companies, Mr. Lutnick has found his fortunes to some extent dependent on steady business with China, which Mr. Trump has singled out for another round of punishing levies. Like many investment firms, both Cantor Fitzgerald and BGC Group, of which he is also the chief executive, have investments in China.

Mr. Lutnick has said that he would step down from his positions in the companies if confirmed by the Senate for the Commerce role. He would also have to divest millions of dollars in stock under federal law, to avoid holding assets that could be affected by his work at the Commerce Department.

Mr. Bessent also proclaimed his support for tariffs in an opinion piece for Fox News in mid-November. ''We should not be afraid to use the power of tariffs to improve the livelihoods of American families and businesses,'' he wrote in the article.

In an interview with the journalist Mark Halperin in October, Mr. Bessent gave a much more free-market vision of Mr. Trump's trade agenda.

''Donald Trump really is a free-trader,'' he said, saying that Mr. Trump had offered to drop American tariffs if other countries dropped theirs. ''I think a lot of what he's doing is escalate to de-escalate. And my goal for his administration would be to save international trade, not end up looking like something with turn-of-the-century tariffs.''

Mr. Trump is not breaking the mold by choosing people with Wall Street ties to top posts. Eight years ago, he tapped Steven Mnuchin, a former Goldman Sachs partner, to be his Treasury secretary, and Wilbur Ross, a billionaire private equity executive, to head the Commerce Department. Both men were prominent donors and advisers to Mr. Trump's first campaign, which won over voters with populist pledges to keep corporate influence out of politics.

One key question is whether Mr. Trump ultimately adds more protectionist-minded officials to his administration, as he did in his first term. The addition of those more hawkish voices, such as Mr. Lighthizer, helped push Mr. Trump to impose tariffs on foreign metals from allied nations, along with more than $300 billion of Chinese goods.

Mr. Lighthizer, who served as Mr. Trump's U.S. trade representative and a key adviser, has so far not been selected for a position. Mr. Lighthizer's preference this time around was not to be reappointed to his old post, people familiar with the situation said. Instead, he preferred another post that would have statutory power over tariffs and trade.

That would presumably mean leading the Treasury or Commerce Department. With those jobs already filled, it is unclear whether Mr. Lighthizer will be offered another economic post, or perhaps not take any position in the second administration. It also remains to be seen whether Mr. Navarro, an ardent China hawk, will be offered a key position.

The possibility that Mr. Lighthizer might not be offered a post has prompted concern among his supporters.

''Brash Wall Street/Finance guys are doing the hard sell for themselves,'' Michael Stumo, the head of the Coalition for a Prosperous America, a group that supports higher tariffs, wrote in a social media post before Mr. Trump announced his selection of Mr. Bessent for Treasury secretary. ''But the obvious choice as a knife fighter for Trump's correct version American economic rebirth is Lighthizer, who apparently is not selling himself like a Wall Street guy or at all.''

Mr. Stumo added that a ''massive battle'' would be coming next year with the prospect of including across-the-board tariffs of up to 20 percent as part of the U.S. tax code, and that the Treasury Department would have to take the lead in pushing that through Congress.

Until Mr. Trump's economic team is fully in place, it remains to be seen whether fault lines will form between those who hail from Wall Street and advisers with a more populist perspective.

But first Mr. Bessent and Mr. Lutnick might have to put any lingering differences aside following their competition to be named Treasury secretary. Although Mr. Bessent ultimately won the job, the battle devolved into an internal ''knife fight,'' according to one person familiar with the process, with Mr. Lutnick as the primary aggressor.

It is also possible that Mr. Trump's pro-tariff policies could still win out, even over the objections of his Wall Street advisers. In Mr. Trump's first term, tariff skeptics like Mr. Mnuchin helped to postpone the imposition of any significant tariffs in his first year.

But in 2018, Mr. Trump's second year in office, his pro-tariff instincts roared back, enabled by others in the administration who supported them. He ultimately imposed tariffs on hundreds of billions of dollars of imports.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/trump-billionaires-economic-nominees.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/trump-billionaires-economic-nominees.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Howard Lutnick of Cantor Fitzgerald is Donald J. Trump's pick to lead the Commerce Department. (PHOTOGRAPH BY EVAN VUCCI/ASSOCIATED PRESS) (A15) This article appeared in print on page A1, A15.

**Load-Date:** November 26, 2024

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[***Liberal Reactions to a Working-Class Song***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:694H-2C71-JBG3-63FF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 9, 2023 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 19; LETTERS

**Length:** 1224 words

**Body**

To the Editor:

Re ''Liberals on Their High Horse About 'Rich Men,''' by Nicholas Kristof (column, Aug. 31):

Thank you, Mr. Kristof, for once again opening eyes with your column about Oliver Anthony's song ''Rich Men North of Richmond.''

I will admit to being one of those ''liberals'' ready to dismiss the song without listening to it. After reading the column I did listen to it, and I recognize it as continuing the tradition of protest songs that many in my generation embraced wholeheartedly in the '60s, expressing the frustration of the ***working class*** in its struggle for the dignity and respect we all crave.

It is time that those of us who have had the privilege of higher education and rewarding career paths put ourselves in the shoes of those who have had neither. We need to recognize the resulting widespread anguish and despair as a failing of our society, and embrace our own responsibility to proactively work toward healing these widening cracks in our democracy before it is too late.

Barbara WilsonAltadena, Calif.

To the Editor:

Nicholas Kristof writes, ''Liberals are properly attentive to racial injustice but have a blind spot about class, driven in part by unfair stereotypes that members of the white ***working class*** are invariably bigots.''

It strikes me as somewhat ridiculous to use stereotypes about liberals in order to accuse liberals of indulging in stereotypes.

I'm a member of the white ***working class***, a high school dropout who has spent decades fighting poverty, addiction and the impossibility of surviving on minimum wage. I also have very liberal political views.

Living a life beset with constant financial worries does not afford one the right to indulge in bigotry any more than living a life of success and luxury does. Bigotry and reliance on stereotypes bloom in many socioeconomic classes and stations in life.

Tor LarsenMelbourne, Australia

To the Editor:

I commend Nicholas Kristof for reminding us about the extreme inequalities produced by the current structure of the capitalist economy, but the key to Oliver Anthony's sudden success is not a general critique of capitalism but the direction of his anger northward.

Whether intended or not by Mr. Anthony, this makes ''Rich Men North of Richmond'' a convenient distraction from the profound inequalities that characterize most of the Southern states.

Should anyone be curious about the way rich men (and women) south of Richmond use the levers of political power to enrich themselves and impoverish the poor, Black and white, I recommend the stunning July 2022 Opinion guest essay by Robin Kaiser-Schatzlein, with the online headline ''Alabama Takes From the Poor and Gives to the Rich.''

Alas, I doubt that a song with that title would soar to the top of the charts.

Barbara WeinsteinNew YorkThe writer is a professor of history at New York University.

When Doctors Assess a Politician's Health at a Distance

To the Editor:

The New York Times has seen as fit to print the opinions of doctors regarding the medical condition of a politician whom they have not examined: Senator Mitch McConnell, the minority leader. Of course, a proviso is given that they are rendering opinions based on observations and have not done an examination.

In the meantime, the American Psychiatric Association continues to prohibit psychiatrists from giving such opinions, based on the Goldwater Rule. However, many psychiatrists have opined on Donald Trump's mental health, believing that it is unethical to withhold information indicative of dangerousness.

Many of the psychiatrists who courageously contributed to the 2017 book ''The Dangerous Case of Donald Trump'' believe that subsequent events have demonstrated the validity of their claims.

Indeed, Mr. Trump continues to show evidence of what many (not just psychiatrists) suggest is a severe personality disorder, including his refusal to accept that he lost the 2020 election.

And if in fact Mr. Trump truly believes that he won the election, then perhaps he suffers from an even more serious disorder. It is time for the American Psychiatric Association to drop or revise the Goldwater Rule.

Fredric N. BuschNew YorkThe writer is a clinical professor of psychiatry at Weill Cornell Medical College.

Time for Ukraine Talks

To the Editor:

Re ''Ukraine's Forces Try to Punch Second Hole in Russian Lines'' (news article, Sept. 6):

When will the U.S. stop fueling its proxy war with Russia? As your article suggests, Ukraine's ongoing counteroffensive will likely require ''several more months'' and ''heavy casualties on both sides.''

Vladimir Putin's apparent recourse to North Korea suggests that he needs more weapons. President Biden may have already achieved his stated goal of degrading the Russian military.

With Ukraine also running low on ammunition, now is the time for international mediators to begin shuttle diplomacy. The objective should be to secure first a cease-fire and then a long-term peace agreement. Continuing arms shipments to Ukraine can only delay that process and cost more lives.

L. Michael HagerEastham, Mass.The writer is a co-founder and former director general of the International Development Law Organization in Rome.

Censorship in Prisons

To the Editor:

''Finding Clarity and Inspiration in Writing, While Incarcerated'' (news article, Sept. 7) details the enormous benefits that incarcerated people gain from writing programs of this kind. It's important to note, though, how rare such programs are inside U.S. prisons and jails.

In fact, prisons and jails actively prevent people from reading and writing much more than they encourage it. Thousands of books are banned in individual states; New York alone has banned 5,356 separate titles.

I've tried to start reading discussion groups in prisons and have been met with red tape and bureaucratic stalling. In my work, I've found that reading and writing are not largely understood by prison authorities to be beneficial but rather are met with suspicion. This is true despite the fact that both reading and writing are demonstrated to reduce recidivism.

On Sept. 14, the exhibit ''Return to Sender: Prison as Censorship'' opens at the EFA Project Space in Manhattan. There, visitors can see the ways that prisons and jails prevent people from the learning, self-expression and creativity that reading and writing offer.

Moira MarquisNew YorkThe writer is senior manager of the Freewrite Project, part of the Prison and Justice Writing Program at PEN America.

Senior Ballet Classes

To the Editor:

''In an Artful Workout for Aging Bodies, Failure Is an Option'' (Science Times, Sept. 5), about senior ballet classes, absolutely delighted and resonated with me. As an 88-year-old, I qualify for ''an artful workout.''

Growing up in Manhattan, a balletomane from my childhood, I was determined to be a ballerina from the age of 3. Life intervened; this did not happen. So in addition to attending performances, I have started taking ballet lessons for the sheer love of the art.

The beauty of movement with music and the grace of the positions, even with all the attendant imperfections, are simply thrilling for me. Fortunately New Haven has an excellent ballet school -- New Haven Ballet, where I take lessons -- that is welcoming to all ages.

Paula ArmbrusterNew Haven, Conn.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/08/opinion/letters/oliver-anthony-rich-men-north-of-richmond.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/08/opinion/letters/oliver-anthony-rich-men-north-of-richmond.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A19.

**Load-Date:** September 9, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Biden Takes On Campaign Duty in Pennsylvania, Celebrating Unions***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D6D-8X61-DXY4-X1MR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 15, 2024 Tuesday 21:22 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 885 words

**Byline:** Zach Montague and Zolan Kanno-YoungsZach Montague is a Times reporter covering the U.S. Department of Education, the White House and federal courts.

**Highlight:** As Jill Biden and JD Vance also made stops around Philadelphia, the president’s visit highlighted the intense struggle to persuade voters in what may be the most critical swing state.

**Body**

As Jill Biden and JD Vance also made stops around Philadelphia, the president’s visit highlighted the intense struggle to persuade voters in what may be the most critical swing state.

President Biden and Jill Biden, the first lady, joined the [*pitched electoral struggle over Pennsylvania*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/09/us/politics/trump-harris-pennsylvania-battleground.html) on Tuesday, fanning out with three appearances across the Philadelphia area intended to aid Vice President Kamala Harris in what may be the most consequential swing state.

While his wife helped staff a phone bank across town, Mr. Biden joined a dinner held by the Philadelphia Democratic City Committee at the local sheet metal workers’ union hall, where he revved up attendees with a punchy speech and unleashed a long list of attacks against former President Donald J. Trump.

“He has the same ideas on race as the 1930s. Trump’s ideas on the economy are from the ’20s. Trump’s ideas on women are from the ’50s,” he said. “Folks, this is 2024. We can’t go back.”

But as often as Mr. Biden sought to contrast his record with Mr. Trump’s, he carefully tacked back several times to express support for Ms. Harris. He compared her to himself in growing out of his role as former President Barack Obama’s running mate, seeking to support her without defining her in his own unpopular image.

“I was loyal to Barack Obama, but I cut my own path as president,” he said. “That’s what Kamala is going to do. She’s been loyal so far, but she’s going to cut her own path.”

Mr. Biden’s visit was a reminder that just three weeks before the election, even when the presidential candidates are not in Pennsylvania, they are well aware of the need to [*maintain a presence in the state*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/09/us/politics/trump-harris-pennsylvania-battleground.html). With 19 electoral votes, it is the largest of the battleground prizes, and both campaigns would face narrow paths to victory without it.

Even as Mr. Biden visited, Senator JD Vance of Ohio, Mr. Trump’s running mate, held a town hall-style event of his own with the group Moms for America in Philadelphia’s northwestern suburbs, and Gwen Walz, the wife of the Democratic vice-presidential candidate, Tim Walz, campaigned in Harrisburg, the state’s capital.

For the Harris campaign, Mr. Biden could prove a valuable surrogate in Pennsylvania, given his personal ties to the state from growing up in Scranton and his ability to appeal to white ***working-class*** voters. But deploying a president whose approval ratings are still underwater also comes with risks.

Mr. Biden has made trips to battleground states, but mostly to talk about his [*administration’s policies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/09/us/politics/trump-harris-pennsylvania-battleground.html) rather than appear at campaign events for Ms. Harris. [*The Harris campaign has been careful*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/09/us/politics/trump-harris-pennsylvania-battleground.html) to use Mr. Biden in a limited, [*targeted way*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/09/us/politics/trump-harris-pennsylvania-battleground.html) with an eye on union members and ***working-class*** voters.

“It is always true that the president stumping for you is a mixed bag,” said Matt Bennett, the executive vice president for public affairs at Third Way, a centrist Democratic advocacy group. “He carries enormous weight. He is a native son. He is very popular with certain demographics there. But he is also bearing the weight of certain policies people don’t like.”

Since last year, when Mr. Biden headquartered his re-election campaign in nearby Wilmington, Del., much of Pennsylvania has been blanketed with political events and fund-raisers, with Philadelphia playing host to many of the race’s biggest events, including the sole debate between Ms. Harris and Mr. Trump.

“The winner of Pennsylvania isn’t certain to be the next president but it’s likely,” Mr. Bennett said. “It’s just the center of the target for both” of the campaigns.

On Monday, both Ms. Harris and Mr. Trump logged stops in Pennsylvania, with the vice president [*rallying supporters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/09/us/politics/trump-harris-pennsylvania-battleground.html) in Erie while the former president fielded a few questions at a town hall-style event just outside Philadelphia that [*fell apart*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/09/us/politics/trump-harris-pennsylvania-battleground.html) after a medical emergency in the crowd.

The Bidens took up the baton on Tuesday, each appealing to groups that are part of their core identity. Dr. Biden, herself a teacher, visited Montgomery County Community College and worked on a phone bank with other educators.

And for Mr. Biden, that meant returning to the familiar confines of a union hall, just a week after another visit to Philadelphia in support of Senator Bob Casey.

Appearing alongside Cherelle Parker, the Philadelphia mayor, and other Democratic officials, the president paused for a moment to discuss his administration’s commitment to labor unions and spoke of the gains unions have made as part of the nation’s economic recovery from the pandemic.

Amid applause and chants of “thank you, Joe,” Mr. Biden highlighted data released by the National Labor Relations Board on Tuesday indicating that the number of workers filing for union representation had doubled since the year he took office.

But as attendees stood around their tables in the union hall, inside walls sided with a rose gold-hued sheet metal, Mr. Biden ended with a call to voters to recognize the stakes of the election and support Ms. Harris.

“Most of all, we have to vote,” he said.

PHOTO: “I was loyal to Barack Obama, but I cut my own path as president,” President Biden said told a crowd at a Philadelphia union hall on Tuesday. “That’s what Kamala is going to do. She’s been loyal so far, but she’s going to cut her own path.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY Tom Brenner for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 15, 2024

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[***T Introduces***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D79-YV61-DXY4-X0R9-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 20, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section M2; Column 0; TGreats; Pg. 51; T INTRODUCES

**Length:** 408 words

**Byline:** By Rose Courteau

**Body**

The artist Ambera Wellmann's work explores sex and climate change, while incorporating mermaids, tarot cards and memes.

T Introduces highlights the debut of a singular person, place or thing.

When the Canadian artist Ambera Wellmann painted ''Strobe'' (2021), a Surrealist beach landscape measuring 30 feet in length, she had just moved to New York, where she'd found representation with Company Gallery. Before that, she'd produced relatively small works, but now she was thinking big. ''New York loves sensationalism in a way that's kind of refreshing,'' she says. ''People like to make a splash.''

When the piece was included in the 2021 New Museum Triennial, it did just that. And while none of the paintings in her upcoming solo show -- opening simultaneously next year in Manhattan at Company and Hauser & Wirth, which now jointly represent her -- are quite so enormous, they also allude to the ocean and its degradation. ''If the sea can no longer house anything,'' asks Wellmann, ''where does mythology live?''

Wellmann, 42, grew up surrounded by water in rural Nova Scotia, the second of three children in a ***working-class*** family. ''I wanted to be an artist since I was very young, in the most clichÃ©d way,'' she says, though she didn't attend art school until she was 25, eventually receiving an M.F.A. from the University of Guelph in Ontario.

In July, she was working on paintings for the show in her Bushwick, Brooklyn, studio, where printouts of online images and news headlines were strewn across the floor. Her art deals with existential concerns as intimate as sex and as global as climate change, but it's also funny and whimsical, incorporating everything from Instagram memes to tarot cards and depictions of cunnilingus. In one painting, a topless mermaid lounges on a couch, her beautiful, bored eyes glued to a laptop screen while a female mannequin head presides imperiously over the room from a side table. In another, a skeleton crouches next to a naked fisherman who has washed ashore with a shoal of fish. ''You have to embrace how ridiculous the painting is,'' she says.

Wellmann admits that she grapples with self-doubt, sometimes shifting gears midway through a painting. The best strategy, she now believes, is to think of each work not as distinct but as part of a larger whole. ''I find that paintings are done when they generate the idea for the next painting,'' she says, ''so they're inherently connected.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/14/t-magazine/ambera-wellmann.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/14/t-magazine/ambera-wellmann.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: The painter Ambera Wellmann, photographed at her studio in Brooklyn on Aug. 26, 2024. In the background, unfinished works for an upcoming show. (PHOTOGRAPH BY AUNDRE LARROW) This article appeared in print on page M251.

**Load-Date:** October 20, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Biden Says Trump’s Tax Cuts and Tariffs Would Be ‘a Major Mistake’***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DM8-95W1-JBG3-6522-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 10, 2024 Tuesday 18:26 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 825 words

**Byline:** Zolan Kanno-YoungsZolan Kanno-Youngs is a White House correspondent, covering President Biden and his administration.

**Highlight:** The president also said his successor would face blowback from the Republican Party if he tried to unwind the Biden agenda.

**Body**

The president also said his successor would face blowback from the Republican Party if he tried to unwind the Biden agenda.

President Biden said on Tuesday that President-elect Donald J. Trump’s plans to impose tax cuts for the wealthy and sweeping tariffs would be “a major mistake,” while warning that the incoming president would face blowback from Republicans if he moved to unwind the Biden agenda.

During what the White House billed as a “legacy speech,” Mr. Biden for nearly 40 minutes defended his proposals to [*reshape American manufacturing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/08/us/politics/trump-biden-economy-manufacturing.html) and cautioned that Mr. Trump’s economic vision would hurt ***working-class*** Americans.

“He seems determined to impose steep, universal tariffs on all important goods brought into this country on the mistaken belief that foreign countries will bear the cost of those tariffs, rather than the American consumer,” Mr. Biden said at the Brookings Institution, a nonprofit think tank.

Since Mr. Trump’s election win last month, Mr. Biden has gone relatively quiet with his attacks on his political rival in what White House aides say is an intentional effort to focus on a peaceful transfer of power. But as Mr. Trump finalizes plans for his new administration, Mr. Biden went on the offensive against his policy proposals.

Mr. Biden scoffed at Mr. Trump’s failure to pass an infrastructure package and warned that his tax cuts would increase the deficit or cut federal social services programs. He mocked Mr. Trump’s handling of the pandemic and accused him of embracing Project 2025, a right-wing policy blueprint to expand executive power and replace civil servants.

Mr. Trump had tried to distance himself from the plans to overhaul the federal government during the presidential campaign, despite the fact that many of his former aides developed the proposals and he has [*recruited key architects of the project to his new administration*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/08/us/politics/trump-biden-economy-manufacturing.html).

“I pray to God the president throws away Project 2025,” Mr. Biden said.

Mr. Trump has only doubled down on his comment to impose sweeping tariffs, saying they are “beautiful” and make Americans rich. During [*an interview*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/08/us/politics/trump-biden-economy-manufacturing.html) on “Meet the Press” this weekend, he did acknowledge that he could not guarantee Americans would not pay more as a result of the tariffs. Economists overwhelmingly agree that the costs of tariffs [*are passed on to consumers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/08/us/politics/trump-biden-economy-manufacturing.html).

“President Trump has promised tariff policies that protect the American manufacturers and working men and women from the unfair practices of foreign companies and foreign markets,” Brian Hughes, a spokesman for Mr. Trump’s transition team, said in a statement. “He will implement economic and trade policies to make life affordable and more prosperous for our nation.”

But while Mr. Biden used the moment to issue a dire warning about Mr. Trump, he was also self-deprecating during a period of reflection for the Democratic Party.

He acknowledged that [*voters did not credit him*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/08/us/politics/trump-biden-economy-manufacturing.html) for his economic policies, including a $1.9 trillion economic stimulus package he signed shortly after coming into office to help the country rebound from the pandemic. [*Some Americans would go on to blame the law*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/08/us/politics/trump-biden-economy-manufacturing.html), which included direct checks to individuals, for helping to fuel rapid inflation — a top concern for voters going into the presidential election.

“I know it’s been hard for many Americans to see and I understand it — you’re just trying to figure out how to put three squares on the table,” Mr. Biden said. “But I believe it was the right thing to do. Not only did it lift America out of an economic crisis caused by a pandemic but set America on a stronger course for the future.”

Mr. Biden, whose voice grew increasingly hoarse as he coughed throughout the remarks, acknowledged he had something to learn from Mr. Trump when it came to branding. He credited the former president for signing his name on stimulus checks during the pandemic to get credit for the relief.

“He signed checks for people,” Mr. Biden said. “I didn’t — stupid.”

Mr. Biden’s chief economist, [*Jared Bernstein*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/08/us/politics/trump-biden-economy-manufacturing.html), later told reporters that the president was “kidding.”

But a month after the election, Mr. Biden appeared to be speaking less to the electorate and more to the historians. He promised that Americans would begin to feel the effect of his federal investments in infrastructure, clean energy and semiconductor manufacturing in the years to come.

In a last-ditch attempt to salvage his agenda, Mr. Biden also noted that most of the federal investments [*have benefited districts led by Mr. Trump’s party*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/08/us/politics/trump-biden-economy-manufacturing.html). That includes the Inflation Reduction Act, Mr. Biden’s clean energy bill that Mr. Trump has threatened to gut.

“He’s going to have a bunch of red-state senators that opposed all of it and didn’t vote for it deciding it’s very much in their interest,” Mr. Biden said.

PHOTO: President Biden delivered what the White House called a “legacy speech” at the Brookings Institution in Washington on Tuesday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Eric Lee/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** December 10, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Can Kamala Harris Rebuild the Democratic Coalition?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CMF-RWH1-JBG3-600X-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 2, 2024 Friday 05:04 EST

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**Section:** UPSHOT

**Length:** 1075 words

**Byline:** Nate Cohn Nate Cohn is The Times&amp;#8217;s chief political analyst. He covers elections, public opinion, demographics and polling.

**Highlight:** Early polling suggests she has made some progress since President Biden’s exit.

**Body**

Early polling suggests she has made some progress since President Biden’s exit.

With a little over three months until the presidential election, Kamala Harris inherited a Democratic coalition that was badly frayed.

In polls this year, young, Black and Hispanic voters [*abandoned*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/05/upshot/biden-trump-black-hispanic-voters.html) President Biden in droves. Even swing voters began to [*reconsider*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/05/upshot/biden-trump-black-hispanic-voters.html) the Trump presidency in a new and more positive light. And for the first time in years, more Americans [*said*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/05/upshot/biden-trump-black-hispanic-voters.html) they leaned Republican than Democratic.

To win, Vice President Harris will need to stitch a winning Democratic coalition back together. It won’t be easy. She’ll need to rejuvenate support among young, Black and Hispanic voters, even as she reassures the anti-Trump moderates who put Democrats [*over the top*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/05/upshot/biden-trump-black-hispanic-voters.html) in 2020.

While it’s still early, the first polls since Ms. Harris all but locked up the nomination suggest she has already made some progress. But while she’s running ahead of where Mr. Biden stood when he left the race, she’s still short of hitting traditional Democratic benchmarks. To win the Electoral College, she’ll need additional gains in the months ahead.

Young, Black and Hispanic voters

Democrats have long assumed overwhelming support from young, Black and Hispanic voters. For many Democratic strategists, the only question was whether these voters would vote, not whether they would prefer Democrats if they did.

In polls this year, though, Mr. Biden was struggling badly with voters whom Democrats usually take for granted. It was enough to give Donald J. Trump the lead in national and battleground state polls. And it raised questions about why, exactly, Mr. Biden was so weak.

Already, recent polls suggest Ms. Harris is not so weak. It’s still too soon to tell how strong she really is among young and nonwhite voters, as some polls — like New York Times/Siena College polling [*last week*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/05/upshot/biden-trump-black-hispanic-voters.html) — find her running far ahead of Mr. Biden, while others show little change. But either way, even her best tallies still fall short of typical Democratic margins over the last 15 years. She doesn’t even fare as well as Mr. Biden did in 2020, and his performance among these groups was relatively weak for a Democratic presidential candidate.

With the Harris campaign barely one week old, it would be a mistake to assume that her early gains will be her only gains. She’s a new face and her candidacy has already generated a lot of enthusiasm. But whether she will easily match or exceed Mr. Biden’s performance from four years ago will depend in part on why, exactly, he was doing so poorly.

Mr. Biden had so many problems that it’s hard to say what was really behind the collapse in his support. Were young voters so much more bothered by his appearance than older voters? Was the rising cost of living and housing dashing their hopes for the future? Was it a new social media environment and [*fading memories*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/05/upshot/biden-trump-black-hispanic-voters.html) of Mr. Trump’s conduct? Was it an unmet desire for change? Or was it something bigger — the belated extension of Mr. Trump’s breakthrough among white ***working-class*** voters to populist anti-establishment voters of all races? The Times/Siena data offered evidence to support all of these possibilities, but almost nothing to untangle their relative import.

All along, the strength of [*down-ballot*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/05/upshot/biden-trump-black-hispanic-voters.html) Democrats — as well as [*Ms. Harris*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/05/upshot/biden-trump-black-hispanic-voters.html) [*herself*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/05/upshot/biden-trump-black-hispanic-voters.html) — among young and nonwhite voters was an important clue that Democrats need not assume the worst. But depending on the exact answer, Ms. Harris might find additional gains easy, or stubbornly hard. Only time will tell.

Older white ***working-class*** moderates

To win, Ms. Harris will also need to reassure voters from the rest of the electorate: older and white voters, especially those without a college degree.

This group has been the source of Democratic success in the Trump era. It was the key for Mr. Biden in 2020, despite declining support among young and nonwhite voters — and older white voters have helped give the party [*an unexpected edge*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/05/upshot/biden-trump-black-hispanic-voters.html) in lower-turnout midterm and special elections. While reassuring moderates is usually at the top of any Democratic to-do list, this was not Mr. Biden’s biggest challenge. The polls suggested he retained most of his support among older white ***working-class*** voters, helping keep him within [*striking distance*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/05/upshot/biden-trump-black-hispanic-voters.html) in Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin.

Ms. Harris hasn’t received that elevated level of support among this group in polls since Mr. Biden’s exit. Worse, she trails not just Mr. Biden’s 2020 levels, but his diminished 2024 tallies as well.

In a way, it’s not necessarily surprising that Ms. Harris — a 59-year-old Black woman from California — polls worse among older, white ***working-class*** voters than an 81-year-old white man who [*describes himself*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/05/upshot/biden-trump-black-hispanic-voters.html) as “middle class Joe” from Scranton. But Mr. Biden exited the race in such a profoundly weakened state that her inability to match his numbers [*even in July*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/05/upshot/biden-trump-black-hispanic-voters.html) may betray a deeper challenge.

One challenge for Ms. Harris: She has a lengthy progressive record on many issues. In the 2020 Democratic primary, she embraced [*Medicare for all*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/05/upshot/biden-trump-black-hispanic-voters.html) and opposed fracking, and she now has to defend the administration’s record on the border. This is not the kind of [*candidate*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/05/upshot/biden-trump-black-hispanic-voters.html) Democrats have nominated to great success during the Trump era. Will anti-Trump moderate and conservative voters come around to this kind of candidate? That simply hasn’t been tested.

So far, the Harris campaign seems to understand its task: reassure moderate voters while focusing them on Mr. Trump’s liabilities. Her early emphasis on her experience as a prosecutor — and Mr. Trump’s legal woes — seems well suited to the problem. She’s [*backed away*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/05/upshot/biden-trump-black-hispanic-voters.html) from her earlier positions on fracking, the border and Medicare for all. Whether voters will find this credible is another question, but voters may give her the benefit of the doubt. Her vice-presidential selection may help.

On the other hand, reassuring classic swing voters risks at least some trade-off with re-energizing young, Black and Hispanic voters. For instance, her most obvious choice for vice president (Josh Shapiro) is [*opposed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/05/upshot/biden-trump-black-hispanic-voters.html) by many progressives.

When Democrats could take young, nonwhite and progressive voters for granted, it was much easier to run to the center. Now, Ms. Harris will have to pull off a delicate balancing act. That’s the challenge when coalitions fray.

PHOTO: Kamala Harris will try to win over young nonwhite progressives as well as older white moderates. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Rachel Wisniewski/Reuters FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 2, 2024

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[***Monsters Are Everywhere in This Cozy Novel About a Haunted Neighborhood; Fiction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CYV-FSN1-DXY4-X007-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 15, 2024 Sunday 21:45 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 685 words

**Byline:** Emily C. Hughes

**Highlight:** In the journalist Dan Kois’s new book, “Hampton Heights,” a group of middle-school boys discover magic and frights in an unassuming Milwaukee enclave.

**Body**

In the journalist Dan Kois’s new book, “Hampton Heights,” a group of middle-school boys discover magic and frights in an unassuming Milwaukee enclave.

HAMPTON HEIGHTS: One Harrowing Night in the Most Haunted Neighborhood in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, by Dan Kois

In “Hampton Heights,” the journalist Dan Kois’s second novel — a comic, gently spooky ’80s tale of boyhood, community and Burger King — six middle-school paperboys venture out to sell newspaper subscriptions in a sleepy, ***working-class*** neighborhood of Milwaukee. In the process, they make some startling discoveries about their city and themselves.

The boys work in pairs. Enticed by the promise of fast food and pocket money, and insufficiently supervised by their distracted manager, they start knocking on doors around Hampton Heights and each stumble onto an unexpected or frightening scene. Sigmone, a thoughtful Black boy who goes to a predominantly white school, and Joel, a wealthy, obnoxious white kid, find Sigmone’s missing grandfather, who introduces Sigmone to their peculiar shared heritage. Al, a poor kid with a hustler’s mind-set, joins forces with Nishu, a nervous, nerdy child of immigrants, to confront a sewer troll who makes off with their memories (and Al’s prized Playboy). And Ryan and Mark, who are more thinly sketched than the other boys, spend longer than they intend to with a pair of kindly women who feed them cookies and tell them a story that’s equal parts fairy tale and prophecy.

Each pair of boys is allotted one chapter, their story unfolding in its entirety before we move on to the next pair. In a longer book, this might derail the narrative momentum, but there’s not an ounce of fat on “Hampton Heights,” which is a slim 190 pages. Nor is the plot really the point here, as charming as it is. The joy of this book is in Kois’s warm, thoughtful depictions of the boys and the neighborhood.

It’s abundantly clear how much affection the author feels for his characters. He understands that 12-year-old boys are often annoying and gross, but he also displays deep empathy for adolescent awkwardness. Closely observed details, such as the bonding power of Weird Al Yankovic, Nishu’s backpack (which he wears like armor) or Joel’s fart tape, bring these boys to life.

Sigmone in particular is a standout. Kois shows exceptional sensitivity in depicting the experience of an adolescent Black kid who is forced to mature faster than, and face graver consequences than, his peers, and who is coming into his own awareness of how his skin affects others’ perceptions: “If he went around acting all boisterous like Joel, other kids — hell, his teachers — would be scared of him.” It’s particularly gratifying to watch his grandfather show him a new way to move through the world.

Similarly vibrant are the creatures who populate Hampton Heights. There are opinionated ghosts and lesbian witches, pro-union shape-shifters and opportunistic trolls. There’s even a hodag, a local cryptid said to be animated by the spirits of oxen who’d been worked to death. These entities reflect the folklore of the German and Scandinavian immigrants who settled the neighborhood in the 1800s, and there’s also a surprisingly rich narrative thread about the social activism of ***working-class*** communities. Hampton Heights is a healthy, if haunted, ecosystem, because its residents work hard to keep it that way.

It’s not really a spoiler to say that “Hampton Heights” has a happy ending. Nothing truly bad was ever going to happen to these boys; it’s not that kind of story. The stakes are life-size. It’s a testament to Kois’s sharp eye and warm heart — and his well-honed balance of earnest emotional truths, frightening moments and judiciously deployed scatological jokes — that the novel still feels fresh even in a post-“Stranger Things” world. There’s magic to be found everywhere, the book seems to say, especially where you least expect it.

HAMPTON HEIGHTS: One Harrowing Night in the Most Haunted Neighborhood in Milwaukee, Wisconsin | By Dan Kois | Harper Perennial | 190 pp. | Paperback, $16.99

PHOTO This article appeared in print on page BR20.

**Load-Date:** October 23, 2024

**End of Document**



[***From Writing 'Hillbilly Elegy' to MAGA All-Star***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CH1-Y6K1-JBG3-600G-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 17, 2024 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 3; CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

**Length:** 1146 words

**Byline:** By A.O. Scott

**Body**

Our critic traces J.D. Vance's shift from bootstrap memoirist to vice-presidential candidate.

''I am not a senator, a governor or a former cabinet secretary,'' J.D. Vance wrote on the first page of ''Hillbilly Elegy,'' by way of establishing his regular-guy bona fides. That was all true in 2016, when Vance was a former Marine and Yale Law School graduate with ''a nice job, a happy marriage, a comfortable home and two lively dogs.'' His memoir reads a little differently now.

This is partly because Vance is, in fact, a senator, and also, as of Monday, the Republican vice-presidential candidate. Much has been made of his political evolution over the past eight years, from never-Trump conservative to MAGA loyalist, from analyzing right-wing populism to embodying it. While Vance's critics view this as brazen opportunism, he has explained his ideological shifts (including in a recent interview with Ross Douthat of The New York Times) as a result of a twofold intellectual awakening: It turned out that Donald Trump wasn't as bad as Vance had thought, and that American liberals were much worse.

This turnabout is notable because part of the legend of ''Hillbilly Elegy'' is that liberals were its intended audience and biggest fans. Published by a major trade house, respectfully (if at times skeptically) reviewed and widely discussed, it was both a message to the establishment and an application for membership.

The book tells the story of two migrations. One is the large-scale movement of poor whites, among them the author's maternal grandparents, from rural Appalachia to the cities and towns of the Rust Belt. The other is Vance's path from one of those places -- Middletown, Ohio -- to the geographic and demographic precincts of the ruling class: New Haven; Silicon Valley; Washington, D.C.

To the extent that ''Hillbilly Elegy'' is a bootstrap narrative -- the chronicle of a young person's rise in the face of adversity -- it can be read as a vindication of the status quo. An imaginary reader, comfortably ensconced in the seat of relative privilege, will be gratified to learn that this ambitious Ohioan has pulled up a neighboring chair, and fascinated by the story of how he got there. The tale is painful but also inspiring. Vance's childhood was shadowed by his mother's struggle with opioid addiction, but he was saved by his loving grandparents, in particular by his salty, tenacious grandmother, Mamaw, whose portrait is the book's most memorable literary achievement.

Mamaw, the Marine Corps and Ohio State lifted young J.D. out of Middletown and helped give him the confidence and the skills to write ''Hillbilly Elegy.'' (Yale did its part to supply him with connections, most consequentially his mentor and contracts professor Amy Chua, author of ''Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother,'' among other books.)

Part of the message of this kind of memoir is humble and aspirational: If I can make it, the writer suggests, anybody can. But that encouraging moral is accompanied by the somber acknowledgment that many people don't. The plucky, lucky protagonist is at once representative and exceptional, a paradox that gives personal reflection the weight of social criticism. What's stopping everyone else? Why do so many of Vance's peers seem destined for joblessness and underemployment, substance abuse and domestic chaos, poverty and despair?

Often, in the autobiographical genre to which ''Hillbilly Elegy'' belongs -- a genre whose shelves are full of books by Black, Indigenous and immigrant writers -- the answers are systemic. What the author has overcome is injustice, prejudice, a fundamental unfairness in the way the world is organized. The implicit political claim is usually more reformist than radical: We need to fix things so that more kids like this can make it, by removing barriers and expanding opportunities.

Vance's argument is emphatically not that. If the Americans he calls hillbillies -- a somewhat elastic category that can be regional (Appalachian), ethnic (Scots-Irish) or sociological (white ***working class***) -- are falling or stuck, it's largely their own fault.

The same cultural traits that make Mamaw and her kin such vivid presences on the page and in Vance's life -- love of fighting, clannishness, hatred of authority -- have trapped them in poverty and dysfunction. ''***Working class***'' may be a misnomer: ''People talk about hard work all the time in places like Middletown,'' Vance writes. ''You can walk through a town where 30 percent of the young men work fewer than 20 hours a week and find not a single person aware of his own laziness.''

The harshness of this judgment -- and the cultural determinism underpinning it -- drew some criticism, including from writers with backgrounds like Vance's. At the same time, the idea that members of a marginal or disadvantaged group have caused their own misfortune is music to the ears of those in power. If those people are just that way -- lazy, uncooperative, sexually promiscuous -- then any policy designed to help them is useless.

That kind of argument has long been marshaled by conservatives against social programs aimed at African Americans, Latinos and the urban poor. Vance was not the first writer on the right to wield it against rural and proletarian whites. Charles Murray's ''Coming Apart: The State of White America, 1960-2010,'' published in 2012, anticipates some of the themes of ''Hillbilly Elegy.'' During the 2016 presidential campaign, Kevin D. Williamson published a series of caustic essays in National Review linking the rise of Trump with the decline of the white ***working class***, concluding that the woebegone citizens of places like Middletown had ''failed themselves.'' ''Nothing happened to them,'' Williamson wrote. ''There wasn't some awful disaster. There wasn't a war or a famine or a plague or a foreign occupation.''

In the years since, it's safe to say that this perspective hasn't found much purchase on the intellectual right, which is now less interested in diagnosing Trumpism than in writing its playbook. Vance has been part of both projects, which has involved a change in tone and orientation, and not only with respect to Trump himself.

There is a tension in ''Hillbilly Elegy,'' a dissonance between the way Vance celebrates his family and the way he sells them out, othering them in the service of a dubious argument. I say dubious because it's clear now that he doubts the thesis that the American ***working class*** is to blame for its own troubles, or at least doubts the political utility of saying as much. He is more apt to blame China, NAFTA, Mexico and certain corporations, and also the political and cultural establishment that he was once determined to join. In other words: He has turned against the most devoted readers of his book.

Audio produced by Adrienne Hurst.Audio produced by Adrienne Hurst.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/books/review/jd-vance-vice-president-donald-trump-hillbilly-elegy.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/books/review/jd-vance-vice-president-donald-trump-hillbilly-elegy.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Senator J.D. Vance of Ohio in June after the Trump-Biden debate. In his 2016 book, ''Hillbilly Elegy,'' Vance suggested the American ***working class*** was to blame for its troubles. Now he appears to doubt that thesis. (PHOTOGRAPH BY RUTH FREMSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page C3.

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[***In Walz, Harris Sees a Battleground Strategy Dressed in Carhartt; news analysis***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CND-13S1-JBG3-602M-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1348 words

**Byline:** Lisa Lerer Lisa Lerer is a national political reporter for The Times, based in New York. She has covered American politics for nearly two decades.

**Highlight:** Democrats think Gov. Tim Walz’s cultural ties are needed to talk to rural and ***working-class*** voters. But Republicans are not going to let his folksy style obscure a liberal record.

**Body**

Democrats think Gov. Tim Walz’s cultural ties are needed to talk to rural and ***working-class*** voters. But Republicans are not going to let his folksy style obscure a liberal record.

In selecting Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota as her running mate, Vice President Kamala Harris has picked a partner who is many things she is not: a product of small-town America. A union member known to campaign in a T-shirt and camo hat. A white guy who exudes Midwestern dad energy.

And, perhaps most important, a politician who has had to rely on the support of independent, or even Republican, voters to win elections.

Their pairing is somewhat predictable; a cardinal rule of vice-presidential selection is to construct the ticket with political balance in mind. But it is also a statement about what many Democrats believe is one of Ms. Harris’s key vulnerabilities: that she is perceived as too liberal, putting even the small slice of rural, ***working-class*** and moderate voters that she needs across Wisconsin, Pennsylvania and Michigan out of her reach.

Ms. Harris, a California Democrat, has never won an election as a solo candidate outside the liberal bastion of California, where races often hinge not on winning swing voters but on successfully navigating intraparty fights. That has left her with limited experience acquiring a political skill Mr. Walz honed over his nearly two decades in politics: talking to conservatives.

The great dream of Ms. Harris’s pick is that Mr. Walz’s brand of affable cultural politics can help broaden her appeal and win back some of the voters who have been fleeing the party for years.

In other words, Democrats hope that “Brat summer,” the lime green, pop-culture meme for Ms. Harris’s campaign, can translate into the kind of brat summer that evokes a staple of Midwest barbecues.

“This is a man who is as comfortable walking into Farm Fest in southern Minnesota and talking to corn and soybean growers as he is walking into a Black church in north Minneapolis,” said Senator Tina Smith, the Minnesota Democrat. “He is a person who just knows how to sit down and listen and connect with people.”

But Republicans are not going to let Mr. Walz’s casual style and folksy, flat Midwestern vowels alone pass for moderate views. “This isn’t the Democratic Party of your parents or grandparents,” said Matt Brooks, the chairman of the Republican Jewish Coalition. And Republicans pulled out pieces of Mr. Walz’s liberal record in Minnesota — such as tampons in school bathrooms and voting rights for felons — to try to underscore the point.

The Democratic strategy is based far more on the identity politics of race, gender and cultural affiliation than on any policy calculations. Mr. Walz does not bring the clear electoral benefits of other contenders — like Josh Shapiro, the popular governor of Pennsylvania, or Senator Mark Kelly of Arizona — who might have more directly helped Ms. Harris in key swing states.

And he shares much of Ms. Harris’s liberal agenda, championing issues like protecting abortion rights, restricting guns and expanding benefits like paid family leave.

But Mr. Walz, 60, presents as a cultural moderate: He is a gun owner who hunts turkeys and pheasants, and an Army veteran from rural northwest Nebraska. His first visit to San Francisco [*occurred last week*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/02/opinion/ezra-klein-podcast-tim-walz.html), when he traveled to the city for some political meetings. And he is the first Democratic vice-presidential pick in more than a half-century who did not attend law school.

“Sometimes you see politicians who put on a Carhartt T-shirt in order to try to show rural America that they care about them,” said Jane Kleeb, the chair of the Nebraska Democratic Party. “But Walz doesn’t have to do that. He has plenty of Carhartt in his closet, and plaid and everything else.”

Large swaths of white, rural voters — the demographic group he fits most neatly into — are unlikely to break their yearslong support of former President Donald J. Trump because Mr. Walz is on the ticket. But Democrats hope Mr. Walz can curb some of those expected losses, expand where they can compete and reassure more moderate Democrats who may have concerns about Ms. Harris.

“We’re living in the real world here,” said Ms. Smith. “We might not win rural communities, but we win the small towns in those rural communities and our margin of loss is smaller.”

It is all a very different brand of Democratic politics than was practiced by Ms. Harris in California — and nationally.

She won her last solo election — the fight for her Senate seat in 2016 — by defeating another Democrat. In 2019, Ms. Harris began a presidential campaign in which she spent months talking to Democrats alone, largely courting the progressive wing of the party in a crowded primary.

As a vice-presidential candidate, it was her running mate, Joseph R. Biden Jr., who made it his mission to make the case to the white ***working-class*** and moderates in the Midwest, while she was often dispatched to increase his support among the younger and more diverse parts of the Democratic coalition.

Mr. Walz rose to political power through the Democratic Farmer-Labor Party, a state operation with a tradition of rural, populist politics that once held sway across the Midwest but has largely evaporated beyond his home state.

For a dozen years, he represented a rural, conservative district in southern Minnesota and was considered a moderate in Congress, even [*earning an A rating from the National Rifle Association*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/02/opinion/ezra-klein-podcast-tim-walz.html). Other Democrats from rural areas lost their re-election races, but Mr. Walz held on to his seat, even as Mr. Trump won his district by a double-digit margin in 2016. Two years later, he retired to run for governor.

Still, it was liberal activists, commentators and donors who emerged as the strongest champions of Mr. Walz during the whirlwind vetting process.

Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont endorsed him for vice president, as did a series of labor unions and progressive advocacy organizations. Some of the most liberal donors pushed his bid to campaign officials and people close to Ms. Harris.

Those affiliations might help Republicans as they rush to cast Mr. Walz as “woke.” On Tuesday, they targeted [*his response to the protests*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/02/opinion/ezra-klein-podcast-tim-walz.html), looting, vandalism and arson that engulfed Minneapolis after the murder of George Floyd by a police officer. Critics say he responded too late to a request from the city’s mayor to deploy the National Guard.

“They make an interesting tag team because, of course, Tim Walz allowed rioters to burn down Minneapolis in the summer of 2020, and the few who got caught, Kamala Harris helped bail them out of jail,” Republicans’ vice-presidential nominee, Senator JD Vance of Ohio, told reporters traveling on his campaign plane on Tuesday.

Mr. Vance was also chosen in part because of his ***working-class*** roots.

But Democrats believe Mr. Walz is enough of a skilled politician that he can defray such attacks and keep the focus on Mr. Trump. His ability to do that was the other major factor that played into his selection.

Mr. Walz rocketed to the top of the vice-presidential list after a series of news media appearances, where he coined a plain-spoken way of describing Mr. Trump and his Republican allies as “weird.” It is a message he described as a “politics of joy” that has long been missing from the party.

“This is the emperor wearing no clothes,” he said in an interview [*on CNN last month*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/02/opinion/ezra-klein-podcast-tim-walz.html). “This is about making sure you take away this perceived power he has.”

But, he quickly added, “I want to be very clear, I’m not speaking about the people at his rallies. Those are my relatives.” He went on: “These are my neighbors. These are good people.”

PHOTOS: Clockwise from top: President Biden, center, and Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, left, in Northfield, Minn., last year; Mr. Walz signing an executive order last year that protects gender-affirming health care; at a 2019 rally at the State Capitol in St. Paul, Minn. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY KENT NISHIMURA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; ANDREA ELLEN REED FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; JEFF WHEELER/STAR TRIBUNE, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS) (A14) This article appeared in print on page A1, A14.

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[***To Win, Harris Needs to Do What Clinton Couldn't in Pro-Trump Areas***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D79-YV61-DXY4-X0VD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Byline:** By Katie Glueck

**Body**

In 2008, Barack Obama and his new running mate, Joe Biden, kicked off their general-election campaign in Beaver County, Pa., a culturally conservative area northwest of Pittsburgh where the shuttering of steel mills years earlier still stung.

In 2020, Mr. Biden was in Beaver County hours before Election Day to make his closing argument. And in August, the first stop for Vice President Kamala Harris and Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota on a Western Pennsylvania bus tour was in Beaver County.

Each time, the Democrats were angling for the loyalties of the ***working-class***, predominantly white voters who live in Beaver County and similar areas across Western Pennsylvania and the industrial Midwest. Each time, the party faced more skepticism and suspicion.

No longer dreaming of winning in such places, Democrats are simply trying to avoid the kinds of staggering losses that helped doom Hillary Clinton in 2016, and to keep pace with Mr. Biden's slightly improved 2020 margins.

Their goal in white ***working-class*** areas sounds modest but in reality is enormously complicated: lose by less.

''The race is really close,'' said Gov. Josh Shapiro, a Pennsylvania Democrat who managed to win Beaver County in his 2022 run for governor and, along with other top Democrats, has campaigned for Ms. Harris in tough blue-collar and rural territory. ''Four, five, six hundred more votes in a place like Beaver County could be a real difference maker.''

In more than 30 interviews across Beaver and neighboring areas this week, where Republican voter registration is booming, the resistance to Ms. Harris was obvious as voters vented concerns about inflation and immigration. Residents blanketed their yards with Trump signs, and at least one flag cursed Ms. Harris.

It is entirely possible, Democrats acknowledge, that Ms. Harris could end up doing worse with these voters than the Scranton-born Mr. Biden did, especially among men.

But there were also glimmers of evidence that among some swing voters who backed Mr. Biden in 2020, she might be holding the line -- even if they don't want to say so too loudly in a place where former President Donald J. Trump's supporters are proudly vocal.

''There were people that were supposedly secret Trump voters,'' said Kevin Kerr, 52, a political independent from Monaca, Pa. ''Now you have people that will paint their whole houses like Trump.''

Mr. Kerr, who voted Republican in 2008 and 2012 and Libertarian in 2016 before backing Mr. Biden in 2020, said he considered Ms. Harris ''barely passable.'' But he plans to support her -- and predicted that others might quietly do the same.

''There's an undercurrent of people that feel that way about Kamala, that don't want to admit that they will vote for her, but they will,'' said Mr. Kerr, who owns a tattoo shop. ''They just don't want to get into it with their neighbors.''

Is the cookie poll underestimating Harris?

Cindy Thompson, 73, was not planning to discuss politics with anyone when she walked into Kretchmar's Bakery, an institution in Beaver, Pa., that Mr. Obama visited in 2012.

Then she noticed the store's locally famous cookie poll, and its highly unscientific findings: Mr. Trump was trouncing Ms. Harris in sales of cookies featuring their respective images.

''I looked at the cookies, and I said, 'Oh, gosh, I'm going to have to buy 100 of these Harris cookies,''' Ms. Thompson, a retired teacher and typically a Democrat, recalled afterward. ''I usually don't make my opinion out loud, but I kind of couldn't help it.''

During the 2016 election, she and her husband, Allan Thompson, 73, both of nearby Westmoreland County, were on opposite sides. Mr. Thompson, who retired from a salaried job in the steel industry, supported Mr. Trump.

''I argued with my New York City son, who told me, 'Don't do that, you're crazy,''' Mr. Thompson said outside Kretchmar's. ''I find out I should listen to my son once in a while.''

He voted for Mr. Biden in 2020 and will support Ms. Harris, he said, in part because ''I don't want Trump. He's threatening our government, our way of life, and I'm really concerned about what happens should he win.''

''I don't like the fact that abortion is even something that is talked about in our government,'' he added.

Widespread doubts about Democrats

Roman Kozak, the chairman of the Republican Committee of Beaver County and a candidate for state representative, acknowledges Democratic enthusiasm. He has even met a few two-time Trump voters who are now supporting Ms. Harris, he said in an interview.

But among the small group of voters considering a change from their 2020 choice, he said, he more often encountered reluctant Biden voters now leaning the other way.

''I do hear that, at some doors, 'I don't like, really, either of them, but at least under Donald Trump we had affordability,''' Mr. Kozak said.

That is the calculation that Megan Stanislow, 45, is making this year.

''I do not like him as a person generally,'' she said of Mr. Trump. ''I don't think the way he talks about women is cool.'' She also firmly supports abortion rights.

But Ms. Stanislow, of Beaver, intends to vote for him after not voting in 2020, she said. She cited concerns about the cost of living and expressed impatience with Ms. Harris's mentions of growing up middle-class (a line the vice president repeats so often that ''Saturday Night Live'' made fun of it). Ms. Harris, she said, simply offered ''word salad.''

''They've had the last four years,'' she said of Democrats. ''We're barely making it month to month.''

Lauren Hitt, a spokeswoman for Ms. Harris, said in a statement that she would move to ''bring down the cost of groceries, prescriptions and housing,'' and was focused on helping the middle class.

There are also Pennsylvania-specific challenges for Ms. Harris, including her past support, now rescinded, for a ban on fracking.

But more broadly, polls show that skepticism of her is especially acute among men, across different racial and age demographics, despite signs that she is making some gains among white women.

''There's no way in hell, to be honest with you, I want Donald Trump back -- but then again, listening to Kamala speak, I'm really not too excited about her either,'' said Garland Buffaloe, 52, a roofer who supported Mr. Biden in 2020 but was ''50-50'' on whether to support Ms. Harris -- or to vote at all.

''It'd be nice to have a woman, and I don't care about her color,'' added Mr. Buffaloe, a Black man who agreed with Mr. Trump on tough border policies, but said the former president could be offensive in how he talks about race.

''I don't trust none of them,'' he added.

'She's fighting as hard as she can for every vote'

The Harris campaign is working to win over more male voters, betting big on an extensive field operation and ramping up its outreach, with targeted efforts for white, Black and Latino men. The campaign recently started an affinity group for hunters, and is seeking to reach men with ads on sports talk radio and on television during major sporting events.

Mr. Walz is playing a crucial role in those efforts, particularly with rural Americans.

On Tuesday afternoon, he was on a muddy farm in Volant, Pa. -- population 126 -- north of Beaver County.

Decked out in flannel, Mr. Walz highlighted his shooting skills and delved deep into agriculture policy before a modest but enthusiastic crowd.

''They're showing up in these areas that really matter,'' Mr. Shapiro said. ''You've got to show up, you've got to treat people with respect, you've got to ask them for their vote. She's doing that.''

Yet former Representative Conor Lamb, a Pennsylvania Democrat whose district included Beaver County, said that while Ms. Harris was campaigning strategically in such areas, ''it might not be visible until the very end, but I can't say I'm seeing the progress yet.''

Asked if there was a risk that Ms. Harris would lose by more among white ***working-class*** voters than previous Democrats did, he acknowledged that there was.

''She's fighting as hard as she can for every vote,'' he said. ''If it turns out that people are just so mad about inflation, or, you know, whatever issue it is, it certainly could go the other direction.''

Several voters supporting Ms. Harris suspected other issues at play.

''Biden was generally well-liked here,'' said Kylie Fitzgerald, 35, an occupational therapist who is excited about Ms. Harris, but knows Biden voters who are wary of her. Because she is ''a woman and a woman of color, they're probably a little bit apprehensive, if I'm being honest.''

He's outnumbered, but his Harris sign is 90 feet wide.

If the fight in battleground states is a game of inches -- wring a few more Democratic votes out of the suburbs here, find some new Republican voters in the cities there -- in places like Beaver County, it is more like a game of centimeters.

For Democrats following the race closely, every anguished aside from an undecided voter, every unexpected emoji reaction on a social media post, every change in yard sign, takes on outsize meaning.

But Donald Rea, 64, of Brighton Township, Pa., was not going for subtlety when he used lawn paint to create a 36-foot-tall, 90-foot-wide Harris sign on land he owns overlooking the Ohio and Beaver Rivers.

''People were scared to put out signs because all the rhetoric and all the crazy,'' said Mr. Rea, who is retired from a career in remodeling. ''I decided one day, I'm just not going to be scared, I'm going to do this.''

The reaction, he said, was not what he expected.

''Since we put our sign up, talking to different people in the community, I'm surprised how many of them came out of the closet, how many Kamala Harris people are out there,'' he said. ''There are a lot here.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/19/us/politics/harris-campaign-western-pennsylvania.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/19/us/politics/harris-campaign-western-pennsylvania.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Listening to a speech from Gov. Tim Walz at a rally on Tuesday at the Telesz Farm in Volant, Pa. Lincoln Kretchmar, left, displayed Harris and Trump cookies at Kretchmar's Bakery in Beaver, Pa. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JEFF SWENSEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES( This article appeared in print on page A22.

**Load-Date:** October 20, 2024

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[***Democracy Fears Lost Out to Everyday Worries***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DC4-PS31-DXY4-X4D6-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1293 words

**Byline:** By Shawn Hubler

**Body**

In more than 200 interviews, voters worried not about an endangered country, but about paying rent.

Her campaign pitch was moving, even high-minded. If Vice President Kamala Harris were elected to the White House, she would safeguard the ideals of a good nation. Voters had a choice, she said: democracy, constitutional rights and bedrock freedoms -- or Donald J. Trump's ''chaos and division.''

On Tuesday, the nation replied. The answer from more than half of voters seemed to dismiss warnings that Mr. Trump was a threat to principles on which the country had been founded. Abstract truths mattered less, voters said, than tangible issues, like the ability to pay rent or concerns over border crossings. In a time of widespread distrust in institutions, Ms. Harris's call to protect the nation's norms rang hollow for many Americans.

In more than 200 interviews across the country in the four days preceding the election, voters, especially in swing states, spoke not of endangered democracy or institutions but of diminished prospects. Their words echoed repeated pre-election polling that showed that majorities of Americans believed the nation was headed in the wrong direction, even as the pandemic had ebbed, the rate of inflation was falling and crime and unemployment rates had remained historically low.

''Electric, water, groceries, my dues for where I live,'' said Mary Chastain, 74, a retiree on a fixed income who voted for Mr. Trump on Tuesday in Waleska, Ga., a city of roughly 1,000 people in a rural stretch north of Atlanta. ''Everything has gone up.''

''Something has to change,'' said Idelle Halona, 51, of Phoenix, standing in line to vote for Mr. Trump on Tuesday. In the past two years, she said, her rent had nearly doubled and mounting mortgage rates had priced her out of homeownership. ''I have wealthy friends, and I have friends who are living paycheck to paycheck. Everybody's hurting. Everybody.''

''We never had it as good as when he was president,'' said Harry Rakestraw, 84, a retired factory worker, who cast his ballot for Mr. Trump in Antrim County, Mich. ''I'm not better off today than I was then.''

Mr. Trump's campaign appealed to the struggling rural areas and the ***working class*** voters who in 2016 delivered him the White House. His rhetoric reached out to red states that have become redder as the nation has sorted and polarized according to affluence and education; it also appealed to male breadwinners who have felt left behind by shifting cultural norms and technological advances.

At rallies, Mr. Trump, 78, excited nostalgia for the heady early years of his tenure, highlighting the 2017 tax cut and his conservative Supreme Court appointments. He vowed to lower taxes still further for nearly every audience he spoke to, from waiters -- ''no taxes on tips'' -- to billionaires.

His economic promises were often overshadowed by his attacks. He derided scientists and medical experts, while playing down the nearly 350,000 American deaths from Covid-19 that occurred during his last year in office. He lashed out in vulgar and sometimes violent terms at Democrats, immigrants and women. His ads conjured fear of unchecked borders, rampant crime and transgender adolescents. He falsely maintained that he had not lost the 2020 election -- a claim that triggered a riot at the Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021, by his supporters. He vowed payback.

And many voters expressed reservations in interviews about Mr. Trump's character, felony convictions, fondness for autocrats and fitness for office. But many also used phrases like ''the lesser of two evils'' to describe him.

In Bucks County, Pa., Marina Raimondo, 41, an aesthetician and mother of two who had immigrated to the United States as a child from Ukraine, said she was ''not super gung-ho'' for Mr. Trump or the propaganda he repeated about migrants.

''They're eating the cats, they're eating the dogs -- what is that?'' she wondered. She said she had even briefly considered sitting out the election. But she had voted for the former president over Ms. Harris because he seemed to be ''stronger,'' she said.

''Let's just say I've held my nose and voted a couple of times,'' said Tad Fogel, 80, a retiree and unaffiliated voter in Hendersonville, N.C., who said he voted for Mr. Trump because he agreed with his positions on illegal immigration and the economy.

Ms. Harris, 60, had offered to ''turn the page'' on the Trump era. Black and South Asian, the child of immigrants who had risen as a prosecutor in California, she promised a ''new generation'' of leadership and a more positive, truthful and even joyful politics of inclusion. Hard-line Trump backers, it was understood, were probably never going to shift their support. But she extended herself to moderate and Republican voters who viewed Mr. Trump as a divisive incompetent and his camp as dangerous extremists more interested in power and wealth than the common good of the nation. ''We are not going back,'' she repeatedly vowed.

In interviews, those voters did not seem moved by her promise of good government and ''hard work.'' In Arizona, in fact, Lele Pierce, 27, a student at the for-profit Grand Canyon University, said she voted for Mr. Trump because he was a ''business guy'' who showed that ''anyone could technically run for the presidency.''

In Lewiston, Maine, Ridwan Mohamed, 19, a home-care aide who often works 80-hour weeks, said he voted for Mr. Trump because Mr. Trump said that he would eliminate federal taxes on overtime pay.

In Austin, Texas, Khalid Marshall, 42, an animal protection officer who described himself as a Republican-leaning independent, said on Monday that he would vote for Mr. Trump because ''he still acts like a guy, which is kind of what got him in trouble, maybe,'' and because he is ''better for the population of men.''

Ms. Harris had come late to the campaign, parachuting in when Mr. Biden bowed out after his debilitating performance during the first presidential debate. With only a few months to fully introduce herself nationally to voters, she sought to emphasize Mr. Trump's norm-breaking candidacy, but also introduce economic proposals on housing, child care and inflation. She talked about helping small businesses.

But that agenda could not contend with an unpopular administration.

A key stumbling block was the inflation that had spiked during the Biden administration, as factory shutdowns from Covid-19 hit global supply chains and the president pumped federal pandemic aid into the economy to protect middle- and ***working-class*** employment.

Yet another was the all-too-tangible reality of need at home, as natural disasters pummeled state after state, raising the question of whether Americans could still afford idealism elsewhere.

''I moved from North Carolina,'' Jacob Dettloff, a 31-year-old salesman, said just after casting a ballot for Mr. Trump in Antrim County, Mich., his new home. ''The hurricane damage up there, especially in the Appalachian region, where they're really poor, it seems like they're not getting enough help.''

''All I ever hear is 'We still need more help,''' he said, comparing the significant assistance Ukraine is receiving from the United States with the federal response to Hurricane Helene's victims.

''I'm not saying don't help out your fellow man, especially other countries, but God dang it, they're our brothers,'' he said. ''We should help those guys first, I think.''

Reporting was contributed by JoAnna Daemmrich, Sam Easter, Nicole Ludden, Dave Montgomery, Christina Morales, Rick Rojas, Jenna Russell and Kate Selig.Reporting was contributed by JoAnna Daemmrich, Sam Easter, Nicole Ludden, Dave Montgomery, Christina Morales, Rick Rojas, Jenna Russell and Kate Selig.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/harris-voters-democracy.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/harris-voters-democracy.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Grocery shopping in Miami Beach. Many voters, especially in swing states, voiced concern about their diminished prospects. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SCOTT MCINTYRE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

MARY CHASTAIN, 74, above, a retiree on a fixed income who voted for Donald J. Trump in Waleska, Ga. (PHOTOGRAPH BY NICOLE CRAINE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

One voter questioned aid sent to Ukraine while storm victims in North Carolina struggle to recover. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MIKE BELLEME FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A16) This article appeared in print on page A1, A16.

**Load-Date:** November 7, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Democratic N.Y. Lawmakers Brace for Risks of a Trump Administration***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DSF-5JR3-RSWF-02XB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 30, 2024 Monday 03:00 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1135 words

**Byline:** Benjamin OreskesBenjamin Oreskes is a reporter covering New York State politics and government for The Times.

**Highlight:** After President-elect Donald J. Trump’s gains in New York, lawmakers plan to focus on high costs and crime while safeguarding policies about immigration and abortion.

**Body**

After President-elect Donald J. Trump’s gains in New York, lawmakers plan to focus on high costs and crime while safeguarding policies about immigration and abortion.

When New York lawmakers return to the State Capitol next month, one theme will be prominent: President-elect [*Donald J. Trump’s victory in November*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/nyregion/democrats-house-ny.html).

Their focus will not solely be guarding against what a Trump administration and Republican-led Congress may do that [*conflicts with New York’s well-being*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/nyregion/democrats-house-ny.html). They will also need to confront the issues that led Mr. Trump to [*make giant inroads among New Yorkers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/nyregion/democrats-house-ny.html), even though he failed to win the state in the election.

Gov. Kathy Hochul, a Democrat, has focused on voter concerns in recent weeks as she begins to lay out a re-election argument ahead of the 2026 governor’s race. Legislative leaders say that they have long prioritized these issues, pointing to measures they passed to reduce the cost of housing and child care.

They say that work will continue at pace again next month.

“Over the last couple of years, we have pumped so much more money into child care,” Carl E. Heastie, the Assembly’s Democratic speaker, said in an interview.

“It is one of the ways we have really kept money in the taxpayers’ pockets,” he continued. “But I would say, unfortunately, that is not what we were out telling the voters of the state of New York. Most of the campaign was ‘Trump is terrible.’ And abortion — he wants to take away a woman’s right to choose.”

Mr. Heastie said those are very “important issues,” but “when people are struggling to pay their bills, that stuff kind of becomes secondary.” He said that Democrats needed to continue to do more to bring down costs and emphasize it in their messaging.

Both Ms. Hochul and Mayor Eric Adams of New York City have announced tax cuts or refunds they want the Legislature to adopt next year.

Mr. Adams’s proposal [*would*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/nyregion/democrats-house-ny.html) eliminate New York City income taxes for more than 400,000 of the lowest-wage earners. Ms. Hochul’s idea is more [*ambitious and more expensive*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/nyregion/democrats-house-ny.html): She wants to spend about $3 billion to send checks between $300 and $500 to roughly 8.6 million New Yorkers.

More proposals like this appear to be coming. Mr. Heastie did not offer specifics but said in an interview that he wanted to “look at structural ways of lowering the cost burden and the tax burden to ***working-class*** families.”

Funding much-needed improvements and repairs to the Metropolitan Transportation Authority’s system will be a major flashpoint this budget season after Mr. Heastie and Senator Andrea Stewart-Cousins, the majority leader, rejected the authority’s [*capital proposal*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/nyregion/democrats-house-ny.html) earlier this month. The legislative leaders cited a major budget gap in the transit agency’s plan and a desire to see what sort of funding Mr. Trump’s administration [*might offer or take away*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/nyregion/democrats-house-ny.html).

Mr. Heastie and Ms. Stewart-Cousins said in a letter to the authority that the plan’s $33 billion deficit “can be solved during the upcoming legislative session in the context of State Budget negotiations.”

Ms. Hochul is also expected to focus on the homelessness and mental health crisis in New York City, in particular. In December, Ms. Hochul suggested she would push to change [*state laws relating to involuntary commitment,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/nyregion/democrats-house-ny.html) a move that Mr. Adams has championed as well. Ms. Hochul said they had spoken about these changes recently.

This will most likely be a divisive topic as politicians reckon with frustrations over crime in New York City and also wrestle with the civil liberties’ questions surrounding vulnerable homeless New Yorkers.

“I’m willing to go back to the Legislature,” Ms. Hochul said, “and talk about the fear that people have of someone in the throes of a severe mental health crisis, someone who has severe substance abuse issues, who is not able to take care of themselves.”

She added, “We will be talking about how to change the law to get that person into a place where they are getting compassionate care.”

Ms. Hochul’s priorities suggest she is aware of New Yorkers’ deep frustration concerning crime, the economy and the affordability crisis — issues that Republicans have zeroed in on.

While her direct response to Mr. Trump’s re-election has [*been somewhat muted*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/nyregion/democrats-house-ny.html), Ms. Hochul has said she will be ready if he attacks New York in areas such as immigration or reproductive rights. Legislators are similarly gearing up.

“The two things that hang over every discussion probably in every state capitol right now are, what the hell is going to come out of Washington and how will we deal with it,” said State Senator Liz Krueger, a Democrat who chairs the body’s Finance Committee.

The week of Mr. Trump’s inauguration, the Senate plans to introduce a fleet of bills related to protecting reproductive rights, including one from Ms. Krueger to protect women’s health information and another to increase funding for training medical providers how to perform abortions.

“The privacy issue becomes more relevant as we sink into the la-la land of an administration and Congress who want to encourage women to die in states where they cannot get an abortion or proper health care,” Ms. Krueger said, pointing to the Texas attorney general’s recent lawsuit against a New York doctor for [*prescribing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/nyregion/democrats-house-ny.html) abortion pills to a woman in Dallas.

Ms. Stewart-Cousins, a Democrat, said in a statement that voters can expect elected officials to forcefully stand up to Mr. Trump again and “to continue to make child care and college tuition more affordable, and help families afford groceries, pay their utility bills and lower costs of prescription drugs.”

Senator Michael Gianaris, the deputy majority leader, said this affordability push would also most likely see state lawmakers take on big tech companies and regulate [*artificial intelligence products*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/nyregion/democrats-house-ny.html). He also has a bill that [*would update the state’s enforcement of antitrust laws*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/nyregion/democrats-house-ny.html), which is likely to be hotly debated.

“The general effort to tackle big scary tech is going to receive a lot of attention — whether it is through antitrust rules, artificial intelligence or junk fees,” he said. “That will be an area to watch.”

Before the State Senate gets to addressing the high cost of living in New York State or reproductive rights, members will continue a tradition of kicking off the new session by introducing voting rights legislation. And one bill to “prohibit contributions by foreign-influenced business entities,” which failed last session, is likely to get some renewed attention. That’s because of the focus on [*Chinese influence in domestic politics*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/nyregion/democrats-house-ny.html) and Mr. Adams’s [*indictment*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/nyregion/democrats-house-ny.html) on federal charges that his campaign conspired with the Turkish government to receive illegal foreign donations.

Gov. Kathy Hochul has looked to voters’ top concerns in recent weeks as she begins to lay out her argument for re-election in 2026. CINDY SCHULTZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

**Load-Date:** December 30, 2024

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[***‘Hillbilly Elegy’ Gets a Blockbuster Sequel; Critic’s Notebook***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CGP-0N81-JBG3-60XF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 15, 2024 Monday 20:47 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 1185 words

**Byline:** A.O. Scott A.O. Scott is a critic at large for The Times&amp;#8217;s Book Review, writing about literature and ideas. He joined The Times in 2000 and was a film critic until early 2023.

**Highlight:** Our critic traces J.D. Vance’s shift from bootstrap memoirist to vice-presidential candidate.

**Body**

Our critic traces J.D. Vance’s shift from bootstrap memoirist to vice-presidential candidate.

“I am not a senator, a governor or a former cabinet secretary,” J.D. Vance wrote on the first page of “Hillbilly Elegy,” by way of establishing his regular-guy bona fides. That was all true in 2016, when Vance was a former Marine and Yale Law School graduate with “a nice job, a happy marriage, a comfortable home and two lively dogs.” His memoir reads a little differently now.

This is partly because Vance is, in fact, a senator, and also, as of Monday, the Republican vice-presidential candidate. Much has been made of his political evolution over the past eight years, from [*never-Trump conservative*](https://www.politico.com/news/2021/10/23/jd-vance-ohio-senate-trump-comments-516865) to [*MAGA loyalist*](https://www.politico.com/news/2021/10/23/jd-vance-ohio-senate-trump-comments-516865), from analyzing right-wing populism to embodying it. While Vance’s critics view this as brazen opportunism, he has explained his ideological shifts (including in a [*recent interview with Ross Douthat of The New York Times*](https://www.politico.com/news/2021/10/23/jd-vance-ohio-senate-trump-comments-516865)) as a result of a twofold intellectual awakening: It turned out that Donald Trump wasn’t as bad as Vance had thought, and that American liberals were much worse.

This turnabout is notable because part of the legend of “Hillbilly Elegy” is that liberals were its intended audience and biggest fans. Published by a major trade house, [*respectfully*](https://www.politico.com/news/2021/10/23/jd-vance-ohio-senate-trump-comments-516865) (if at times [*skeptically*](https://www.politico.com/news/2021/10/23/jd-vance-ohio-senate-trump-comments-516865)) reviewed and widely discussed, it was both a message to the establishment and an application for membership.

The book tells the story of two migrations. One is the large-scale movement of poor whites, among them the author’s maternal grandparents, from rural Appalachia to the cities and towns of the Rust Belt. The other is Vance’s path from one of those places — Middletown, Ohio — to the geographic and demographic precincts of the ruling class: New Haven; Silicon Valley; Washington, D.C.

To the extent that “Hillbilly Elegy” is a bootstrap narrative — the chronicle of a young person’s rise in the face of adversity — it can be read as a vindication of the status quo. An imaginary reader, comfortably ensconced in the seat of relative privilege, will be gratified to learn that this ambitious Ohioan has pulled up a neighboring chair, and fascinated by the story of how he got there. The tale is painful but also inspiring. Vance’s childhood was shadowed by his mother’s struggle with opioid addiction, but he was saved by his loving grandparents, in particular by his salty, tenacious grandmother, Mamaw, whose portrait is the book’s most memorable literary achievement.

Mamaw, the Marine Corps and Ohio State lifted young J.D. out of Middletown and helped give him the confidence and the skills to write “Hillbilly Elegy.” (Yale did its part to supply him with connections, most consequentially his mentor and contracts professor Amy Chua, author of “[*Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother*](https://www.politico.com/news/2021/10/23/jd-vance-ohio-senate-trump-comments-516865),” among other books.)

Part of the message of this kind of memoir is humble and aspirational: If I can make it, the writer suggests, anybody can. But that encouraging moral is accompanied by the somber acknowledgment that many people don’t. The plucky, lucky protagonist is at once representative and exceptional, a paradox that gives personal reflection the weight of social criticism. What’s stopping everyone else? Why do so many of Vance’s peers seem destined for joblessness and underemployment, substance abuse and domestic chaos, poverty and despair?

Often, in the autobiographical genre to which “Hillbilly Elegy” belongs — a genre whose shelves are full of books by Black, Indigenous and immigrant writers — the answers are systemic. What the author has overcome is injustice, prejudice, a fundamental unfairness in the way the world is organized. The implicit political claim is usually more reformist than radical: We need to fix things so that more kids like this can make it, by removing barriers and expanding opportunities.

Vance’s argument is emphatically not that. If the Americans he calls hillbillies — a somewhat elastic category that can be regional (Appalachian), ethnic (Scots-Irish) or sociological (white ***working class***) — are falling or stuck, it’s largely their own fault.

The same cultural traits that make Mamaw and her kin such vivid presences on the page and in Vance’s life — love of fighting, clannishness, hatred of authority — have trapped them in poverty and dysfunction. “***Working class***” may be a misnomer: “People talk about hard work all the time in places like Middletown,” Vance writes. “You can walk through a town where 30 percent of the young men work fewer than 20 hours a week and find not a single person aware of his own laziness.”

The harshness of this judgment — and the cultural determinism underpinning it — drew some criticism, [*including from writers with backgrounds like Vance’s*](https://www.politico.com/news/2021/10/23/jd-vance-ohio-senate-trump-comments-516865). At the same time, the idea that members of a marginal or disadvantaged group have caused their own misfortune is music to the ears of those in power. If those people are just that way — lazy, uncooperative, sexually promiscuous — then any policy designed to help them is useless.

That kind of argument has long been marshaled by conservatives against social programs aimed at African Americans, Latinos and the urban poor. Vance was not the first writer on the right to wield it against rural and proletarian whites. Charles Murray’s “[*Coming Apart: The State of White America, 1960-2010*](https://www.politico.com/news/2021/10/23/jd-vance-ohio-senate-trump-comments-516865),” published in 2012, anticipates some of the themes of “Hillbilly Elegy.” During the 2016 presidential campaign, Kevin D. Williamson published a series of caustic essays in National Review linking the rise of Trump with the decline of the white ***working class***, concluding that the woebegone citizens of places like Middletown had [*“failed themselves.”*](https://www.politico.com/news/2021/10/23/jd-vance-ohio-senate-trump-comments-516865) “Nothing happened to them,” Williamson wrote. “There wasn’t some awful disaster. There wasn’t a war or a famine or a plague or a foreign occupation.”

In the years since, it’s safe to say that this perspective hasn’t found much purchase on the intellectual right, which is now less interested in diagnosing Trumpism than in writing its playbook. Vance has been part of both projects, which has involved a change in tone and orientation, and not only with respect to Trump himself.

There is a tension in “Hillbilly Elegy,” a dissonance between the way Vance celebrates his family and the way he sells them out, othering them in the service of a dubious argument. I say dubious because it’s clear now that he doubts the thesis that the American ***working class*** is to blame for its own troubles, or at least doubts the political utility of saying as much. He is more apt to blame China, NAFTA, Mexico and certain corporations, and also the political and cultural establishment that he was once determined to join. In other words: He has turned against the most devoted readers of his book.

Audio produced by Adrienne Hurst.

Audio produced by Adrienne Hurst.

PHOTOS: Senator J.D. Vance of Ohio in June after the Trump-Biden debate. In his 2016 book, “Hillbilly Elegy,” Vance suggested the American ***working class*** was to blame for its troubles. Now he appears to doubt that thesis. (PHOTOGRAPH BY RUTH FREMSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page C3.

**Load-Date:** July 17, 2024

**End of Document**



[***N.Y.C. Grocery Prices Are High. Could City-Owned Stores Help?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DMK-P821-DXY4-X2RX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 12, 2024 Thursday 22:36 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 878 words

**Byline:** Emma G. FitzsimmonsEmma G. Fitzsimmons is the City Hall bureau chief for The Times, covering Mayor Eric Adams and his administration.

**Highlight:** A New York City mayoral candidate wants the city to open its own, more affordable grocery stores. The idea has gained momentum in Chicago and other cities.

**Body**

A New York City mayoral candidate wants the city to open its own, more affordable grocery stores. The idea has gained momentum in Chicago and other cities.

It is no secret that many Americans are worried about inflation and the high cost of groceries, and those concerns were a driving factor in Donald J. Trump’s victory.

Now a Democratic candidate for mayor of New York City is seizing on that anxiety and proposing that the city open its own grocery stores to bring down costs.

The idea has gained momentum in other cities as a way to address so-called food deserts, where supermarkets are scarce. Chicago and Atlanta are moving forward with proposals, and there are already city-owned grocery stores in Kansas and Wisconsin.

Zohran Mamdani, a democratic socialist state lawmaker who is running for mayor of New York City, will announce a plan on Thursday to build five municipal grocery stores — one in each borough.

“Everywhere I go, I hear New Yorkers talking about the outrageous prices of groceries,” he said in an interview. “This is a bold and workable plan.”

Mr. Mamdani [*released a video*](https://twitter.com/ZohranKMamdani/status/1857410216733651146) last month, which went viral, featuring voters in ***working-class*** neighborhoods who supported Mr. Trump. Many expressed concerns about the cost of living, reflecting a feeling that is evident across the nation.

Municipal grocery stores could lower costs by using city land or buildings, buying food wholesale and being exempt from property taxes, supporters say. The approach is part of a broader push by progressive groups to offer [*public options for banking, broadband and housing*](https://twitter.com/ZohranKMamdani/status/1857410216733651146).

In New York, the Democrats who are running against Mayor Eric Adams in the June primary have released a flurry of proposals to distinguish themselves in a crowded field and address affordability.

Jessica Ramos, a state senator from Queens, has focused on [*universal child care*](https://twitter.com/ZohranKMamdani/status/1857410216733651146) and raising the minimum wage. Zellnor Myrie, a state senator from Brooklyn, released a [*plan to build one million homes*](https://twitter.com/ZohranKMamdani/status/1857410216733651146) and supports free universal after-school programs.

Brad Lander, the city comptroller, has called for [*more affordable housing*](https://twitter.com/ZohranKMamdani/status/1857410216733651146), based on a plan he supported in the Gowanus neighborhood. Jim Walden, a former prosecutor, will release a housing plan next week that calls for utilizing 30,000 low-income and rent-stabilized units that are not currently available.

Roughly 43 percent of New York voters named cost of living as their top concern for state lawmakers — more than crime or immigration, according to a [*Siena College poll*](https://twitter.com/ZohranKMamdani/status/1857410216733651146) this week.

Mr. Adams, who is running for a second term while facing a federal corruption trial in April, has focused on affordability as a re-election campaign theme. He recently rolled out a series of proposals and announcements designed to make living in the city more manageable, including [*a proposed tax cut*](https://twitter.com/ZohranKMamdani/status/1857410216733651146) for low-wage earners.

Mr. Mamdani said that his grocery store plan was in line with his other proposals to make buses free and to halt rent increases on rent-stabilized apartments. He said that he was not surprised that voters had drifted to the Republican Party because Democrats had not provided a compelling alternative.

“If we want to bring these New Yorkers back to the Democratic Party, then we have to show them that we’re serious about making their life more affordable,” he said.

Andrew Lamas, an urban studies professor at the University of Pennsylvania, said that Mr. Mamdani’s proposal was laudable, but that the logistics of running grocery stores were complicated and the city should examine different models like cooperatives.

“The city can play a very important role in catalyzing the development of supermarkets, but it has a lot of options about how to do that, and some pose more risks and challenges,” he said.

In Chicago, Mayor Brandon Johnson, a progressive Democrat, is [*finalizing a plan for city-owned grocery stores*](https://twitter.com/ZohranKMamdani/status/1857410216733651146). A 105-page feasibility study found that the idea was “necessary, feasible and implementable.”

The city could provide subsidies to a store through discounted rent, free utility bills and direct funding to cover shortfalls, according to the study. The upfront costs to create three stores in Chicago could be about $26 million.

S. Mayumi Grigsby, Chicago’s chief policy officer, said in an interview that neighborhoods on the city’s south and west sides needed more options because many grocery stores had closed in recent years.

In Madison, Wis., the [*first grocery store is opening*](https://twitter.com/ZohranKMamdani/status/1857410216733651146) in the first floor of a mixed-use affordable housing building owned by the city. There is a [*city-owned supermarket*](https://twitter.com/ZohranKMamdani/status/1857410216733651146) in St. Paul, Kan., a city with 600 residents, where full-time supermarket workers received city-funded benefits.

In Atlanta, Mayor Andre Dickens plans to open the city’s first municipally subsidized grocery store next year. He has [*expressed frustration*](https://twitter.com/ZohranKMamdani/status/1857410216733651146) that larger chains were not interested in helping the city address food deserts.

“We’ve reached out to grocery chains and even offered incentives — no takers,” Mr. Dickens said on social media earlier this year. “So we will make it happen for the people directly!”

PHOTO: Shopping in the East Village. A mayoral candidate wants the city to open its own groceries, like other cities have done. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HIROKO MASUIKE/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A10.

**Load-Date:** December 13, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Democrats Have Needed Someone Like Walz for Decades***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CNY-6G31-DXY4-X2FD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 9, 2024 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 18; GUEST ESSAY

**Length:** 1214 words

**Byline:** By Sarah Smarsh

**Body**

Sometimes on our farm a nice car would roll up the gravel driveway and a man in a slick suit would get out. He would either be trying to sell us something overpriced that we'd never buy, because of our limited means and common sense, or trying to buy something we'd never sell -- namely land, about which my grandfather said, ''You don't get rid of it, because they don't make any more of it.''

This man would shake our hands before driving off.

''Better count your fingers,'' Grandpa Arnie would tell us and laugh.

I've shared the story before to explain the gulf I've long felt between the essence of the rural white working poor who raised me -- honest, flawed people who would welcome just about anyone into our home but a liar -- and the red-hatted-fool avatar they've been assigned in national discourse.

What a relief, then, to see emerge on the national stage the Minnesota governor and Democratic vice-presidential candidate Tim Walz, who embodies the earnest, humane, rural people who shaped me and the prairie populism that shaped the progressive foundations of the Great Plains.

Mr. Walz went to a state college, taught public high school and went into government -- more than a couple of class rungs above my grandfather, who in the 1940s left school after sixth grade to work the Kansas wheat fields with his German American dad.

But when Mr. Walz smiles and his eyes disappear into a good-natured squint -- say, while holding a piglet like a baby at a state fair -- I see Grandpa Arnie.

With due respect to political statistics, which convey real and important trends, the rural white ***working class*** is not a monolith. Among them remains a large and consequential minority of sensible people who even in their vulnerable economic state remain unmoved by charlatans blaming immigrants while amassing corporate wealth.

In recent decades, the Democratic Party has made little direct appeal to them, such that Mr. Walz's rural background seems downright transgressive on the top ticket. As evidence, some (often coastal) pundits now struggle to find a word for a vice-presidential pick raised in small-town Nebraska beyond ''folksy,'' since their language about his place of origin has for so long reflected geographic and class biases. ''Trump country.'' ''One of the square states in the middle.''

My grandfather died while I was a first-generation college student, but my grandma -- a Bernie Sanders supporter who went on to vote for Hillary Clinton and Joe Biden -- has commented more than once about how Donald Trump would've turned Grandpa Arnie's stomach.

Imagine if the type of person you most loathe became the symbol for your people and place. It has been, for me and so many others, excruciating.

I winced when political spin and coastal media coverage made cruel words that my people would never speak and big trucks that they could never afford the dominant image of rural, ***working-class*** and poor whites. Meanwhile, as a journalist with a national platform who resides in rural Kansas, I repeatedly declined invitations to explain the Trump movement. I sensed the problematic ratings-driven fixation of television news networks, and my own family contains no more Trump voters than those of my friends who live in New York City and Los Angeles. Over the years, I did my best to offer another vision through my writing.

Along the way, I occasionally engaged with the Democratic Party about rural issues in unpaid and unofficial ways. I offered guidance to a U.S. senator on rural policy, sat on a panel about rural issues for the House Democrats' annual conference and was strongly urged to run for the U.S. Senate myself in 2018 after the publication of my memoir about my rural, working-poor upbringing in the heartland.

I cannot say I left these experiences hopeful that the Democratic establishment would ever wake up and endeavor to speak to my demographic or even region.

By selecting as her running mate Mr. Walz -- who as a member of the U.S. House of Representatives rightly criticized the party for its coastal bias in naming the caucus's leadership -- Vice President Kamala Harris has changed the course of her party and perhaps our country. At her side, a son of Midwestern farm country can confidently and authentically speak the truths that neither Mr. Trump nor his running mate, JD Vance, will tell you:

That for all the loud racism, homophobia and jingoism of today's Republican Party -- which indeed has dominated elections outside metropolitan areas -- the real rural America is diverse, full of immigrants, people of color, gay and transgender people and native peoples, and even straight white folks who happily work and live alongside them.

That reproductive rights, legal marijuana, public schools, paid medical and family leave, and background checks for gun purchases are supported by many voters across party lines, even in rural places that appear monochrome red on political maps.

That farmers, ranchers and land stewards have a critical stake in addressing climate change, even if they don't use the same language as environmental activists.

That people in small towns are often hopeful, cooperative folks who find creative solutions to local problems and are ruled by a sense of responsibility to community rather than by a fear of those outside it.

In conveying the dignity and reality of what is casually derided on the coasts as ''flyover country,'' Mr. Walz speaks plainly yet eloquently in the parlance of my place and thereby fills a decades-long geographic messaging gap for Democrats. He is also, clearly, a likable guy. What a delight to see a man who exemplifies my home at Ms. Harris's side. What an absolute balm for my country heart.

Having watched the thrilling and joyous Philadelphia rally at which Mr. Walz spoke for the first time as Ms. Harris's running mate, I didn't hear either candidate use the terms ''***working class***'' or ''poverty''; ''middle class,'' the term beloved by Democratic politicians, seemed inaccurate and a missed opportunity in describing Mr. Walz's background involving a town of fewer than 300 people, farm work, military enlistment and college via the G.I. Bill. But ''rural'' -- yes, they claimed it, and it was not hollow as on other political stages.

When news broke that Ms. Harris had picked Mr. Walz, my husband came inside covered in dirt from working on the tractor all morning. He saw a picture on my laptop of Mr. Walz in short sleeves. ''Look at the color of his skin,'' he observed. ''It's dark from being out in the sun.''

Indeed there is a shade and texture to the forearms of my class that perhaps not even decades in elected office can undo. We both nodded approvingly. I think Grandpa would have nodded, too.

Sarah Smarsh is a journalist and the author of the forthcoming book ''Bone of the Bone: Essays on America by a Daughter of the ***Working Class***'' and ''Heartland: A Memoir of Working Hard and Being Broke in the Richest Country on Earth.''

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**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY ABBIE PARR/ASSOCIATED PRESS) This article appeared in print on page A18.

**Load-Date:** August 9, 2024

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[***House Passes Bill To Avert Threat Of A Shutdown***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DPH-F0M3-RSSF-B198-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 21, 2024 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1094 words

**Byline:** By Carl Hulse and Catie Edmondson

**Body**

The Senate passed the measure, sending it to President Biden's desk, shortly after the midnight deadline for funding to lapse.

The Senate approved a spending measure early Saturday to keep government money flowing through mid-March, sending it to President Biden for his expected signature and closing a chaotic endgame in Congress minutes after federal funding had lapsed.

The 85-to-11 Senate vote followed earlier House passage of the legislation, which also provided $100 billion in disaster relief for parts of the nation still reeling from storms. The action pushed major spending decisions into 2025 and the first months of the incoming Trump administration and a fully Republican-controlled Congress.

The White House said that President Biden would sign the measure on Saturday and that no agencies would shut down despite the technical lapse in funding.

The end to days of shutdown drama came after House Republicans stripped out a provision demanded by President-elect Donald J. Trump to suspend the federal debt limit and spare him the usually politically charged task of doing so when he takes office. But that demand sparked a revolt by dozens of Republicans on Thursday and led to a major defeat on the House floor.

The measure that ultimately passed kept dollars flowing to federal agencies and prevented a prolonged funding lapse that could have led to government disruptions just days before the holidays.

Senator Chuck Schumer, Democrat of New York and the majority leader, said the final product was not all Democrats wanted, but avoided a crisis.

''Though this bill does not include everything Democrats fought for, there are major victories in this bill for American families,'' Mr. Schumer said, citing ''emergency aid for communities battered by natural disasters'' as well as no suspension of the limits on federal borrowing. He added that it would ''keep the government open with no draconian cuts.''

The legislation also extends farm programs for one year and provides $10 billion in direct aid for farmers.

The vote in the House capped an extraordinary week of Republican chaos and dysfunction in which Speaker Mike Johnson cut a deal with Democrats to avert a shutdown, only to see it torpedoed by the billionaire Elon Musk and Mr. Trump, who demanded a different plan, which was promptly defeated by Republicans with help from Democrats.

After the vote, Mr. Johnson, who faced questions about his ability to continue as speaker next year after the tumult of the past few days, said he had been in constant contact with Mr. Trump and had talked with Mr. Musk, whom Mr. Trump named to help lead an effort to cut government spending, as well.

''He knew exactly what we were doing and why,'' Mr. Johnson said of the president-elect. ''This is a good outcome for the country.''

Still, the vote illustrated the limits of the president-elect's power to keep fractious House Republicans in line. Mr. Trump failed in his effort to win a debt-limit suspension even after threatening primary campaigns against Republicans who voted for a stopgap bill that did not address it. The internal divisions over spending and debt foreshadowed potential difficulties for Republicans next year as they try to navigate their narrow House margin and accomplish an ambitious domestic agenda including complex tax and spending issues.

The government funding measure was a stripped-down version of an earlier proposal negotiated between Republican and Democratic leaders of the House and Senate that was filled with policy priorities for both parties as well as a cost-of-living pay adjustment for members of the House and Senate.

But as soon as it was rolled out by Mr. Johnson on Tuesday, it ran into fierce criticism from members of his own party as a bloated legislative Christmas tree of the sort Mr. Johnson had pledged to avoid. Mr. Musk piled on with an onslaught of criticism on his social media platform X, and Mr. Trump warned Republicans not to support any deal without a debt-ceiling suspension. Mr. Johnson quickly withdrew the bill and never put it to a vote.

That outcome angered Democrats, who savaged Mr. Johnson for reneging on the deal they had reached. It also meant that some of the provisions they sought on health care and trade, among other issues, would fall by the wayside. Democrats weighed opposing the stripped-down measure that Mr. Johnson hastily cobbled together on Friday, but ultimately decided to back it rather than risk being blamed for a shutdown.

''House Democrats have successfully stopped extreme MAGA Republicans from shutting down the government, crashing the economy and hurting ***working-class*** Americans all across the land,'' said Representative Hakeem Jeffries of New York, the Democratic leader. ''House Democrats have successfully stopped the billionaire boys' club, which wanted a $4 trillion blank check by suspending the debt ceiling.''

To mollify both Mr. Trump and conservatives, House Republican leaders floated a pledge to cut spending and raise the debt limit in separate legislation next year. Republicans have been preparing to pass party-line legislation through a fast-track process called reconciliation -- a procedure leaders said on Friday could be used next year to address Mr. Trump's demand to raise the debt limit.

''House Republicans agree to raise the debt limit by $1.5 trillion in the first reconciliation package, with an agreement that we will cut $2.5 trillion in net mandatory spending in the reconciliation process,'' the proposal from the Republican leadership said.

Those promises will join cutting taxes, cracking down on immigration and allowing for more oil drilling on the G.O.P. agenda for next year. Republicans in the House and Senate have been at odds over how to tackle their policy priorities, with some senators pushing for multiple party-line bills and House members demanding one huge effort.

The shutdown turmoil made it clear that even one such vote is likely to be a heavy lift for Republicans.

Congress had flirted repeatedly with shutdowns over the past two years with Republicans in control of the House and Democrats the Senate. But lawmakers pulled back from the brink each time, fearing election fallout.

With the elections over and the holidays coming next week, lawmakers had initially expected a fairly smooth path to funding the government into next year, but they instead found themselves enmeshed in one final episode of disarray to cap a tumultuous Congress.

Maya C. Miller contributed reporting.Maya C. Miller contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/20/us/politics/congress-shutdown-budget-deadline.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/20/us/politics/congress-shutdown-budget-deadline.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Speaker Mike Johnson saw ''a good outcome for the country.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A1)

Speaker Mike Johnson on Friday as G.O.P. leaders raced to reach a deal. The vote in the House capped an extraordinary week of Republican chaos and dysfunction. (PHOTOGRAPH BY PETE KIEHART FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A14) This article appeared in print on page A1, A14.

**Load-Date:** December 21, 2024

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[***Who Will Be the Next Democratic Presidential Nominee?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DF2-FKD1-JBG3-62VJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 16, 2024 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 22; FRANK BRUNI

**Length:** 2496 words

**Byline:** By Frank Bruni

**Body**

The bitterness of Vice President Kamala Harris's defeat and Donald Trump's victories in two of the past three presidential races have Democrats seriously questioning their policies and their message.

They'll be re-examining their messengers, too, and 2024 will haunt 2028, determining who's in contention for the party's presidential nomination and upending the Democratic bench as it existed before Nov. 5.

Trump beat two women -- Harris this time, Hillary Clinton before -- and many Democrats partly blame sexism. That could make them reluctant to pick another woman, even one as compelling as Gov. Gretchen Whitmer of Michigan.

The party's struggles with ***working-class*** voters could point it toward someone positioned to attract them. Keep an eye on a comer like U.S. Representative Ruben Gallego, a former Marine who just won his Senate race in Arizona as Trump beat Harris there by more than five percentage points.

But I think an even bigger dynamic should -- and could -- come into play. The party ought to rethink its allegiance to tradition and etiquette, creating opportunities for candidates who aren't obvious choices, who don't fit any mold, whose résumés (here a lawyer, there a lawyer) don't read like anagrams of one another's.

Clinton was a proper choice, her long history with the party and her formidable C.V. overriding concerns about how well she connected with voters. That didn't pay off.

Democratic leaders let President Biden's re-election dreams go unchallenged for so long because that was the respectful, decent course. It was also the foolish one.

By the time Biden bowed out, a real primary was impossible, and Democrats once again traveled the polite path, anointing Harris because she was next in line and her selection promised to ruffle the fewest feathers. That didn't end well.

And she lost to someone who blithely junks tradition, gleefully jettisons etiquette and went through none of the usual paces en route to the presidency. While her failure was chiefly a function of many Americans' economic frustrations, overall discontent and impulse to punish the party in power, Trump's triumph nonetheless demonstrated the degree to which many voters feel that institutions aren't working and business as usual no longer cuts it. Perhaps conventionally polished institutionalists aren't the best candidates for this angry age.

''Trump has fundamentally changed the way that we campaign and govern in America,'' said Rebecca Katz, the chief strategist for the successful Senate campaigns of Gallego and, before him, John Fetterman, the Pennsylvania Democrat. She told me that a candidate's ability to communicate with voters on their own terms, in relatable language, is crucially important. And that skill and sensibility have nothing to do with how much political experience the person has.

State Auditor Rob Sand of Iowa, where he's the only elected Democrat who holds statewide office, told me: ''Our party has been too deferential to its establishment, and the establishment has been too deferential to its own wisdom. We should be more open.''

Other young Democratic officeholders -- Sand is 42 -- expressed similar views. ''There's a possibility that folks who have been in the inner circles and the backrooms are too tainted to be able to speak with any authenticity about what's next and what's new and what's different,'' Illinois State Representative Kam Buckner, 39, told me.

It's worth remembering that the Democratic Party's last two-term president, Barack Obama, wasn't at the center of its conversations four years before his commanding victory over Senator John McCain, a longtime fixture on Capitol Hill, in the 2008 presidential race. And by nominating Obama that year, Democrats bypassed the politician who was ''owed'' -- Clinton. Obama wasn't the heir apparent. He was the insurgent.

''It is no coincidence that two outsiders as different as Mr. Obama and Mr. Trump have dominated politics for 20 years,'' Ben Rhodes, who was deputy national security adviser for President Obama, wrote in Times Opinion last week.

So the main question for the long list of accomplished Democrats who are routinely mentioned as potential presidents or have shown interest in the job isn't who can claim the shiniest bona fides. It's who has an aura of freshness and forges a genuine connection to Americans outside as well as inside cities and in the middle of the country, not just the coasts.

Gov. Gavin Newsom of California, whose flurry of post-Nov. 5 activity looks a whole lot like a White House bid in the making, is a telegenic political gladiator. But is another candidate from Harris's state -- one who was previously mayor of San Francisco -- his party's wisest pick?

Gov. Josh Shapiro of Pennsylvania is getting a P.R. bounce from some political analysts' second-guessing about whether he would have been a better addition to the Democratic ticket than Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, and Shapiro, in his own state, has proved his appeal to voters beyond Democratic strongholds. But would the party turn, after Harris, to another lawyer and former state attorney general? Startling fact: The last Democratic presidential nominee who didn't go to law school was Jimmy Carter. That was half a century ago.

All of the Democratic politicians who were prominently mentioned as possible running mates for Harris could mount credible campaigns for the party's 2028 nomination. That includes not only Whitmer, Walz and Shapiro but also Governors Andy Beshear of Kentucky, Roy Cooper of North Carolina, J.B. Pritzker of Illinois and Wes Moore of Maryland, along with Transportation Secretary Pete Buttigieg and Commerce Secretary Gina Raimondo. And such tested leaders may be precisely what the electorate wants if Trump creates chaos in the nation's capital -- his selection of U.S. Representative Matt Gaetz of Florida to be attorney general is a provocative lurch in that direction -- and the country fares poorly over the next few years.

But given the scattered and fickle attention of voters today, candidates' seasoning arguably matters less than their sizzle. The perfect nominee ''needs to be someone who is able to break through the fractured and spoiled media environment in a way that Democrats have really, really struggled to do,'' Nicole Hemmer, a political historian at Vanderbilt University, told me. Buttigieg has accomplished that, she said. She also singled out Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, who turned 35 -- the minimum age for a U.S. president -- last month.

Faiz Shakir, who managed Senator Bernie Sanders's 2020 presidential campaign, also mentioned Ocasio-Cortez. ''What we need first and foremost is a candidate who has a relatability to ***working-class*** people,'' Shakir told me, adding that despite Trump's gilded station and ways, he gives many of those people the sense that he's having a real conversation with them.

Gallego's admirers credit him with that gift; Rebecca Katz noted that during his campaign, he comfortably visited the rodeo, hosted a boxing night, made tamales with grandmothers. ''And he was just being himself,'' she said. Shakir named Shawn Fain, the president of the United Auto Workers, as someone else with a talent for connecting with ***working-class*** Americans. And he said there's no reason to count out someone from the worlds of labor or business or religion as a legitimate contender for the Democratic presidential nomination.

That's where 2028 gets so unpredictable. A climate much more potentially receptive to atypical candidates could translate into more candidacies like Andrew Yang's in 2020. (I wouldn't be surprised to see him and his pitch for universal basic income return in 2028.) It could attract first-timers we don't expect. Who's to say that a prominent podcaster wouldn't catch fire? Or a star athlete like LeBron James, whose charitable foundation has opened a public school, a medical center and more in Akron, Ohio?

Or an entrepreneur like Mark Cuban, whose name has been bandied about before? Or a trailblazing corporate figure like Mary Barra, who became the first female chief executive of one of the ''big three'' automakers in Michigan when she took the wheel at General Motors a decade ago? Just don't say Michelle Obama. Everybody's always saying Michelle Obama, but she has never signaled a skosh of interest in moving back to 1600 Pennsylvania Ave.

''It's not a person we can decide on today,'' Katz said. ''I don't know where our superstars are, but there has to be a way that people can get to bat. We can't stifle anyone before they start.''

For the Love of Sentences

In The Times, James Poniewozik evaluated television news coverage of election night: ''A CNN map showed in shades of brown which areas of the country had suffered most from recent inflation, a vista of amber waves of pain.'' (Thanks to Susan Milord of Rome and Neal Goldberg of Bethesda, Md., among others, for nominating this.)

Also in The Times, Michelle Cottle marveled at House Speaker Mike Johnson's desire to stay in that job: ''With a Republican conference like this one, well, things have a tendency to fall apart. The center cannot hold, because there is no meaningful center: just Marjorie Taylor Greene and Lauren Boebert scrapping in the women's room while Jim Jordan barks threats at the Justice Department and a sprinkling of suburban moderates struggles to avoid the flaming vortex of chaos.'' (Michael Silk, Laguna Woods, Calif.)

In The New Yorker, Jill Lepore took issue with what she saw as a condescending Democratic message to female voters that they could secretly defy their husbands' wishes: ''Trump liked to say that he will, as president, protect women, whether they want him to or not. The Harris campaign said the same thing, only with more celebrity endorsements.'' (John Jacoby, Cambridge, Mass.)

In Town & Country, Isiah Magsino marveled at the gutsiness of an election night party: ''Hosting a soiree of this nature in 2024 is like setting up a game of croquet on a field of land mines.'' (Julie Brookbank, Alexandria, S.D.)

In his newsletter on Substack, Timothy Snyder justified his mock pitch for a sitcom tweak on ''Gilligan's Island'' called ''Oligarchs' Island'': ''No matter how dark the evil, there is always a corner for ridicule's little lantern.'' (Elizabeth Tenney, Reno, Nev.)

For the USA Today Network, Nate Monroe appraised the fitness of Florida's surgeon general, Dr. Joseph Ladapo, for a high-level job alongside Robert Kennedy Jr. in the coming Trump administration: ''If we're returning to a pre-fluoridated world where apothecaries hawk elixirs, potions and tonics to cure break-bone and king's evil, Ladapo's your man. And he would add the patina of professional legitimacy to Kennedy's rumpled conspiracism and sordid past.'' (Bob Clark, Venice, Fla.)

In The Dispatch, Kevin D. Williamson explained one chamber of Congress: ''With its democratic character and elections every other year, the House was intended to be the receptacle of democratic energy, one part town hall meeting and one part constitutional drunk tank.'' (Michael Smith, Georgetown, Ky.)

In The Washington Post, Charles Lane diagnosed a chastened party's problem: ''Democrats have been acting like the proverbial American tourist in France, trying to get their point across by shouting louder in a language only they understand.'' (Chuck Isaacson, Oshkosh, Wis., and Linda Litowsky, Austin, Texas)

And in The Atlantic, Ian Bogost credited one enterprising company with a certain accessory's current ubiquity: ''Until JanSport evolved the design, a backpack was a bulky, specialized thing for hiking, used only by smelly people on mountain trailheads or European gap years.'' (Judy Greiman, Mount Sinai, N.Y.)

To nominate favorite bits of recent writing from The Times or other publications to be mentioned in ''For the Love of Sentences,'' please email me here and include your name and place of residence.

What I'm Watching

I was reasonably engrossed in ''Woman of the Hour,'' on Netflix, as I watched it, but came to think even more highly of it afterward. It stayed with me because of the particular way in which it places men who commit the most horrific violence against women on a spectrum of sexism and misogyny. Starring and directed by Anna Kendrick, the movie tells the true story of an aspiring actress and a serial killer who came to share the stage of -- and exchange witty repartee on -- the 1970s television show ''The Dating Game.'' It's strangely funny, it's plenty creepy and it's smart, using a slice of obscure history as a whopper of a metaphor about women's vulnerability. This review by Ty Burr in The Washington Post gets it exactly right.

The enormous acclaim for the director Sean Baker's 2017 movie ''The Florida Project'' puzzled me; I found ''Florida'' needlessly slow going. But the even greater acclaim he's receiving for ''Anora,'' which was released in theaters last month? I'm onboard. While ''Anora'' also indulges Baker's tendency to linger at length in the milieus he visits (here that means the strip club where the title character works and the gaudy Brooklyn mansion of sorts where she holes up with a Russian oligarch's son), it's so wildly funny when it means to be, so poignant in the end and such a showcase for splendid performances -- by Mikey Madison and Yura Borisov in particular -- that I left the theater sated and elated. This review by Alissa Wilkinson in The Times captured what I found so moving about ''Anora,'' though a word of caution: If you bristle at nudity and sex, this isn't for you.

On a Personal (by Which I Mean Regan) Note

More than a few of you have chided me for not updating you about Regan's health -- I mentioned a few weeks ago that she had arthritis -- and others protested her absence in the newsletter after Election Day on other grounds, saying that a dose of Regan would have been especially welcome then.

Well, Regan has been struggling lately: Her issues go beyond that arthritis diagnosis. I'll spare you the details because I myself don't like to dwell on them and, well, Regan hasn't signed a HIPAA release. But I promise to give you occasional reports on how she's generally doing and -- I'm confident -- recovering.

Rest assured that it's nothing fatal. It's just difficult: For the time being, she and I aren't able to take our usual long walks together, and I sometimes need to carry her up and down the stairs and lift her up to and down from the bed. Because I want to give her some diversion and plenty of time outdoors but she won't linger in the yard if she's alone there, I sit in an Adirondack chair -- arms smooshed against my sides as I bang awkwardly on my laptop keyboard -- while she watches the birds.

She deals with her new containment. I deal with al fresco punditry. Love means shooing away the fly that just landed on your semicolon, the mosquito that streaked past your past participle en route to your flesh.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/14/opinion/2028-democrats-newsom-whitmer.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/14/opinion/2028-democrats-newsom-whitmer.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A22.

**Load-Date:** November 16, 2024

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[***Democrats Have Needed Someone Like Tim Walz for Decades; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CNH-KPJ1-DXY4-X00Y-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 7, 2024 Wednesday 21:21 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1214 words

**Byline:** Sarah Smarsh

**Highlight:** The Minnesota governor fills a decades-long geographic messaging gap for the party.

**Body**

Sometimes on our farm a nice car would roll up the gravel driveway and a man in a slick suit would get out. He would either be trying to sell us something overpriced that we’d never buy, because of our limited means and common sense, or trying to buy something we’d never sell — namely land, about which my grandfather said, “You don’t get rid of it, because they don’t make any more of it.”

This man would shake our hands before driving off.

“Better count your fingers,” Grandpa Arnie would tell us and laugh.

I’ve shared the story before to explain the gulf I’ve long felt between the essence of the rural white working poor who raised me — honest, flawed people who would welcome just about anyone into our home but a liar — and the red-hatted-fool avatar they’ve been assigned in national discourse.

What a relief, then, to see emerge on the national stage the Minnesota governor and Democratic vice-presidential candidate Tim Walz, who embodies the earnest, humane, rural people who shaped me and the prairie populism that shaped the progressive foundations of the Great Plains.

Mr. Walz went to a state college, taught public high school and went into government — more than a couple of class rungs above my grandfather, who in the 1940s left school after sixth grade to work the Kansas wheat fields with his German American dad.

But when Mr. Walz smiles and his eyes disappear into a good-natured squint — say, while holding a piglet like a baby at a state fair — I see Grandpa Arnie.

With due respect to political statistics, which convey real and important trends, the rural white ***working class*** is not a monolith. Among them remains a large and consequential minority of sensible people who even in their vulnerable economic state remain unmoved by charlatans blaming immigrants while amassing corporate wealth.

In recent decades, the Democratic Party has made little direct appeal to them, such that Mr. Walz’s rural background seems downright transgressive on the top ticket. As evidence, some (often coastal) pundits now struggle to find a word for a vice-presidential pick raised in small-town Nebraska beyond “folksy,” since their language about his place of origin has for so long reflected geographic and class biases. “Trump country.” “One of the square states in the middle.”

My grandfather died while I was a first-generation college student, but my grandma — a Bernie Sanders supporter who went on to vote for Hillary Clinton and Joe Biden — has commented more than once about how Donald Trump would’ve turned Grandpa Arnie’s stomach.

Imagine if the type of person you most loathe became the symbol for your people and place. It has been, for me and so many others, excruciating.

I winced when political spin and coastal media coverage made cruel words that my people would never speak and big trucks that they could never afford the dominant image of rural, ***working-class*** and poor whites. Meanwhile, as a journalist with a national platform who resides in rural Kansas, I repeatedly declined invitations to explain the Trump movement. I sensed the problematic ratings-driven fixation of television news networks, and my own family contains no more Trump voters than those of my friends who live in New York City and Los Angeles. Over the years, I did [*my best*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/16/opinion/trump-country-liberals-working-class.html) to offer another vision through my writing.

Along the way, I occasionally engaged with the Democratic Party about rural issues in unpaid and unofficial ways. I offered guidance to a U.S. senator on rural policy, sat on a panel about rural issues for the House Democrats’ annual conference and was strongly urged to run for the U.S. Senate myself in 2018 after the publication of my memoir about my rural, working-poor upbringing in the heartland.

I cannot say I left these experiences hopeful that the Democratic establishment would ever wake up and endeavor to speak to my demographic or even region.

By selecting as her running mate Mr. Walz — who as a member of the U.S. House of Representatives rightly [*criticized*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/16/opinion/trump-country-liberals-working-class.html) the party for its coastal bias in naming the caucus’s leadership — Vice President Kamala Harris has changed the course of her party and perhaps our country. At her side, a son of Midwestern farm country can confidently and authentically speak the truths that neither Mr. Trump nor his running mate, JD Vance, will tell you:

That for all the loud racism, homophobia and jingoism of today’s Republican Party — which indeed has dominated elections outside metropolitan areas — the real rural America is diverse, full of immigrants, people of color, gay and transgender people and native peoples, and even straight white folks who happily work and live alongside them.

That reproductive rights, legal marijuana, public schools, paid medical and family leave, and background checks for gun purchases are supported by many voters across party lines, even in rural places that appear monochrome red on political maps.

That farmers, ranchers and land stewards have a critical stake in addressing climate change, even if they don’t use the same language as environmental activists.

That people in small towns are often hopeful, cooperative folks who find creative solutions to local problems and are ruled by a sense of responsibility to community rather than by a fear of those outside it.

In conveying the dignity and reality of what is casually derided on the coasts as “flyover country,” Mr. Walz speaks plainly yet eloquently in the parlance of my place and thereby fills a decades-long geographic messaging gap for Democrats. He is also, clearly, a likable guy. What a delight to see a man who exemplifies my home at Ms. Harris’s side. What an absolute balm for my country heart.

Having watched the thrilling and joyous Philadelphia rally at which Mr. Walz spoke for the first time as Ms. Harris’s running mate, I didn’t hear either candidate use the terms “***working class***” or “poverty”; “middle class,” the term beloved by Democratic politicians, seemed inaccurate and a missed opportunity in describing Mr. Walz’s background involving a town of fewer than 300 people, farm work, military enlistment and college via the G.I. Bill. But “rural” — yes, they claimed it, and it was not hollow as on other political stages.

When news broke that Ms. Harris had picked Mr. Walz, my husband came inside covered in dirt from working on the tractor all morning. He saw a picture on my laptop of Mr. Walz in short sleeves. “Look at the color of his skin,” he observed. “It’s dark from being out in the sun.”

Indeed there is a shade and texture to the forearms of my class that perhaps not even decades in elected office can undo. We both nodded approvingly. I think Grandpa would have nodded, too.

Sarah Smarsh is a journalist and the author of the forthcoming book “[*Bone of the Bone*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/16/opinion/trump-country-liberals-working-class.html): Essays on America by a Daughter of the ***Working Class***” and “[*Heartland*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/16/opinion/trump-country-liberals-working-class.html): A Memoir of Working Hard and Being Broke in the Richest Country on Earth.”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/16/opinion/trump-country-liberals-working-class.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/16/opinion/trump-country-liberals-working-class.html). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/16/opinion/trump-country-liberals-working-class.html).

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY ABBIE PARR/ASSOCIATED PRESS) This article appeared in print on page A18.

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[***Trump's New Favorite Foreign Leader? 'The Madman.'***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DN8-GYB1-JBG3-60Y0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 15, 2024 Sunday

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**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Sunday Review Desk; Pg. 6; MICHELLE GOLDBERG

**Length:** 999 words

**Byline:** By Michelle Goldberg

**Body**

Javier Milei, the wild-haired Argentine president known by his supporters as the Madman, has lately edged out Hungary's Viktor Orban as the MAGA movement's chief international inspiration.

Donald Trump has called Milei his ''favorite president,'' and Milei was the first foreign leader to visit him at Mar-a-Lago after his victory. Last week the Conservative Political Action Conference, which has increasingly sought to build a global network of right-wing activists and politicians, held its first-ever conference in Buenos Aires. Lara Trump, the president-elect's daughter-in-law, gave a speech lauding Milei's relentless budget slashing and vowed that, with help from Elon Musk and Vivek Ramaswamy's Department of Government Efficiency, ''we're going to do the same thing in the United States.''

The ascendence of Milei in Trumpworld is a sign of an important ideological shift on the right. Trump first ran for office railing against corporate America and rejecting the sort of entitlement cuts long dreamed of by Republican wonks like the former House speaker Paul Ryan. ''I'm not going to cut Social Security like every other Republican, and I'm not going to cut Medicare or Medicaid,'' Trump said in 2015. After Trump won, Orban became an icon to a group of rising right-wing intellectuals less interested in fiscal discipline than in using the power of the state to remake culture, reward friends and punish enemies. Conservatives like JD Vance often speak admiringly of the subsidies Orban's government gives families to encourage them to have more children; such spending is more than 5 percent of Hungary's G.D.P.

Milei is a very different kind of right-winger. He's an arch-libertarian -- except when it comes to abortion -- who has four cloned mastiffs named after conservative economists. He believes that drugs should be legal, as should the sale of organs, and sees marriage as a contract that should exist outside state regulation.

Since taking office a year ago amid devastating inflation, he's undertaken a campaign of economic shock therapy, slashing government spending by around 30 percent. In doing so, as Jon Lee Anderson wrote in a recent New Yorker profile, Milei has changed ''the compact between the Argentinian state and its citizens -- cutting cost-of-living increases to pensioners, funding for education and supplies for soup kitchens in poor neighborhoods.'' In some ways, he is succeeding; inflation has plummeted. But the poverty rate rose by around 11 points during his first six months in office, to almost 53 percent, and the country has fallen into a recession.

In the American right's admiration for Milei, you can see the rebirth of old-fashioned small-government conservatism in feral tech-bro form. Campaigning for Trump in October, Musk argued that Americans need to accept ''temporary hardship'' to reduce spending, and Ramaswamy recently called for ''Milei-style cuts on steroids.'' It's far from clear how much policy influence Musk and Ramaswamy will actually have; the Department of Government Efficiency is just an advisory board, not a real department. But while Ryan may be banished from Trump's Republican Party, some of the most unattractive elements of his politics have come roaring back.

Mike Lee, a Republican senator from Utah, has long dreamed of pulling up Social Security ''by the roots.'' In social media posts last week, he compared it to a ''Ponzi scheme'' and called for ''real reform.'' ''Interesting thread,'' wrote Musk, boosting it. On Fox Business Network, Representative Rich McCormick, a Republican from Georgia, said legislators need to have the ''stomach'' to make ''hard decisions'' about entitlements, while his fellow congressional Republican Mark Alford called for raising the Social Security retirement age.

At least in the immediate term, both Social Security and Medicare are probably safe, given the minuscule House Republican majority margin. Plenty of other programs could, however, be on the chopping block.

A Republican Congress may cut federal matching funds that helped states expand access to Medicaid, which covers low-income people and people with disabilities. Republicans are talking about imposing national Medicaid work requirements and checking recipient eligibility more than once a year, potentially burdening people with more paperwork than they can keep up with. The G.O.P. is also looking at ways to cut food stamps and to make it harder to qualify for them. Affordable housing programs could be gutted, and Trump will probably roll back what he can of President Biden's student debt relief programs. New hardships, for many, may well be on the way. It remains to be seen how temporary they will be.

For years, observers, including me, have attributed at least part of Trump's success to his rhetorical break with the unpopular elements of conservative economic orthodoxy. His choice of Vance as vice president suggested he might be open to an expansion of the social safety net aimed at shoring up blue-collar families. But the American right's lionization of Milei indicates a different Republican path, one more congenial to the party's biggest donors.

Milei, with his defiantly vulgar, anarchically anti-establishment style, has managed to build a ***working-class*** constituency for economic austerity and to maintain it even as his policies start to bite. (His approval rating is currently a relatively robust 55 percent.) He's figured out a way to harness the insurrectionary energy of populism to the most elite economic program imaginable. This feat, such as it is, may not be replicable outside of Argentina, but it's understandable that our plutocrats would want to try.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/09/opinion/donald-trump-javier-milei.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/09/opinion/donald-trump-javier-milei.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY MAGALI DRUSCOVICH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (SR7) This article appeared in print on page SR6, SR7.

**Load-Date:** December 15, 2024

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[***A New Insight into Donald Trump’s Rise***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CJS-8881-JBG3-6033-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 25, 2024 Thursday 13:15 EST

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1917 words

**Byline:** German Lopez German Lopez is a writer for The Morning newsletter.

**Highlight:** We examine data on economic mobility.

**Body**

We examine data on economic mobility.

A common theory about Donald Trump’s appeal is that ***working-class*** white people feel they fell behind as other groups pulled ahead. He recognized the sentiment and spoke to those voters’ concerns.

It turns out that those concerns are grounded in real economic changes, a new study from Harvard researchers shows. The researchers analyzed census and tax records covering 57 million children to look at people’s ability to rise to the middle and upper classes — their mobility — over two recent generations. They found that it had improved among Black people and deteriorated among poor white people, as this chart by my colleague Ashley Wu shows:

The study’s full findings are nuanced, as Ashley and I explain [*in a story that The Times published today*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing). Black people still, on average, make less money than white people, and the overall income gap remains large. But Black Americans who were born poor have gained ground while their white counterparts have lost some, narrowing the longstanding gap. That shift can help explain why some voters’ attitudes have changed over the past couple of decades.

Cutting in line

After Trump won in 2016, many journalists — myself included — turned to the sociologist Arlie Hochschild’s book on the American right, “Strangers in Their Own Land,” to try to understand what had happened. Hochschild provided a helpful analogy, one that resonates with the Harvard study’s findings.

It goes something like this: White ***working-class*** people in red states saw the American dream as a queue moving people to prosperity. Over the past several decades, thanks to globalization and other changes, the queue stopped moving. And other groups have moved to the front of the queue. As a result, ***working-class*** white Americans often believe that their shrinking mobility is the result not just of outside forces like globalization but also of other groups that supposedly cut ahead.

The Harvard study suggests that white ***working-class*** conservatives were right when they felt their own mobility had slowed, or even reversed, compared with that of Black Americans. (The researchers did not find significant changes for other racial groups.) The study also found that white people born into high-income families have seen their mobility improve — meaning the drop in mobility is restricted to the white ***working class***.

Trump has benefited from that reality. He has tapped into the resentment many white voters feel toward people of other races with [*his inflammatory and at times racist rhetoric*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), such as when he suggested Barack Obama was not born in the U.S. He has also criticized rich elites — which includes people who gained mobility as the ***working class*** lost out. As a result, some ***working-class*** white voters flipped from the Democratic Party to Trump between 2012 and 2016. Trump continues to have strong support from those voters, polls show.

Of course, the evidence does not justify racial resentment. Economists say the queue analogy doesn’t reflect how the economy actually works. A growing, healthy economy creates more queues to prosperity; it’s not zero-sum, as the analogy suggests. In fact, the Harvard study found that white mobility had diminished least in the places where Black mobility had improved most.

And while Black mobility has improved, it has not improved anywhere near enough to eliminate wide racial gaps between Black and white people. Gaps have narrowed, not closed.

Still, Trump has tapped into many white voters’ fears that they have been left behind while other lawmakers, particularly Democrats, have focused on policies that help minority groups. The Harvard study helps show why Trump has been able to do that.

Insights for both sides

The new research can also help explain changes among Black voters. They [*have slightly shifted toward Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) since 2020, polls show. One possible explanation is that some Black voters’ economic gains have allowed them to focus more on noneconomic issues — such as abortion and L.G.B.T.Q. rights — on which they are more conservative than typical Democrats.

Experts not involved with the study said that it would reverberate across the political spectrum. “The left and the right have very different views on race and class,” Ralph Richard Banks, a law professor at Stanford, told me. “The value of the study is that it brings some unimpeachable evidence to bear on these questions.”

For more

* [*Type in your county*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing)to see how economic mobility has changed near you.

1. Read [*our full story*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) to learn more about how mobility has become more about class than race.

THE LATEST NEWS

Biden’s Speech

* In an Oval Office address, President Biden said he withdrew from the 2024 election to unite his party and protect American democracy. “I revere this office, but I love my country more,” he said. [*See his speech*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

1. Biden added that he had chosen to “pass the torch to a new generation” and praised Kamala Harris: “She’s experienced, she’s tough, she’s capable.”
2. He cited accomplishments — including on climate change, infrastructure, health care, the economy, NATO and gun safety — and said he would call for reforms to the Supreme Court.
3. Trump watched Biden’s speech from his plane after a campaign rally in North Carolina. On social media, he called it “sooo bad!”
4. The speech, [*The Times’s Peter Baker writes*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), “was all Joe, love him or hate him — the paeans to American exceptionalism, the evocations of family, the selective boasting.” [*Read a transcript*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

Kamala Harris

* Harris called Trump’s agenda [*“an outright attack on our children, our families and our future”*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) at an event for a Black sorority in Indianapolis. [*Read how she took command*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) of the Democratic Party in 24 hours.

1. At a rally, Trump [*repurposed his criticisms of Biden against Harris*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), falsely accusing her of leading the prosecutions against him. Trump also stumbled over the word “abortion.”
2. Black voters greeted Harris’s candidacy [*with enthusiasm*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) — but they worried about how a polarized country would respond.
3. Harris [*loves to cook*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), and she has leaned into it in a way no other candidate has.

More on the 2024 Election

* While in the White House, Trump suggested that disabled people “should just die,” and in the 1970s, he used the N-word, his nephew Fred C. Trump III [*claims in a coming memoir*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing). A Trump spokesman called the account “completely fabricated.”

1. Trump’s convention speech this year was twice as long as his 2016 speech. The number of falsehoods he told also doubled, [*a Times analysis found*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

Netanyahu’s Speech

* Benjamin Netanyahu called the war in Gaza “a clash between barbarism and civilization” [*in a speech to Congress*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

1. Netanyahu outlined his postwar vision for [*a “demilitarized and de-radicalized” Gaza*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) with Palestinian civilian leaders “who do not seek to destroy Israel.” He said Israel did not want to “resettle” the enclave but should have indefinite “security control” over it.
2. The Israeli prime minister praised both Biden and Trump but did not mention Harris. He called pro-Palestinian protesters “[*Iran’s useful idiots*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing),” Politico reports.
3. Netanyahu received long standing ovations led by Republicans and often including Democrats.
4. But some remained seated, and Senator Chuck Schumer did not shake Netanyahu’s hand. Rashida Tlaib, the only Palestinian American member of Congress, held a sign that said, “Guilty of genocide.”
5. Roughly half of congressional Democrats skipped Netanyahu’s speech, [*according to Axios*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

The Trump Shooting

* The gunman visited the rally site and searched online for details of John F. Kennedy’s assassination, apparently typing, “[*How far away was Oswald from Kennedy?*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing),” Christopher Wray, the F.B.I. director, told Congress.

1. Answering a question from Representative Matt Gaetz, Wray said that he hadn’t noticed any “cognitive decline” in Biden. On social media, [*Trump called for Wray’s resignation*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), Axios reported.

International

* Typhoon Gaemi is [*churning toward China*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing). Rescue workers are searching for nine sailors who went missing when a cargo ship sank in bad weather near Taiwan.
* Government and religious leaders in New Zealand [*physically and sexually abused more than 200,000 people*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) under their care, according to a six-year investigation.

1. Germany’s Interior Ministry [*banned a prominent Shiite Muslim organization*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), calling it extremist.

Other Big Stories

* Rupert Murdoch is in [*a secret legal battle*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) against three of his children over the future of the family’s media empire.

1. Nashville reopened cases on [*three unsolved bombings*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) during the Civil Rights era after a local author named possible suspects.
2. Sunday was the [*hottest day recorded on Earth*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) — until Monday beat its record.

Opinions

The U.S. should call China’s bluff and [*increase its military presence*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) in the South China Sea, Oriana Skylar Mastro argues.

“One of the great joys of a long marriage is how the personal and pragmatic moosh together,” Gail Collins writes [*about the death of her husband, Dan*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

Here are columns by Thomas Edsall on [*Trump and Vance*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), and Pamela Paul on [*Ivy League Republicans*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

MORNING READS

Fish-eating town: Here’s an inside look at America’s biggest fish market, where [*3 a.m. is prime time*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

Sharks on drugs: Researchers found that 13 sharks off the coast of Rio de Janeiro had [*high levels of cocaine*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) in their systems.

Before Bum Bum Cream: Here’s a look at [*80 years of teen beauty trends*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

Social Q’s: A woman is frustrated she isn’t getting her mother-in-law’s help with child care. [*Should she say something*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing)

Lives Lived: Born into a patrician family, Lewis Lapham used Harper’s Magazine, where he was an editor for more than 30 years, to denounce what he saw as the hypocrisies and injustices of a spoiled United States. He [*died at 89*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

SPORTS

Soccer: Emma Hayes will coach her first competitive match with the U.S. women’s national team today when [*the Americans play Zambia*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) in the Olympics.

Competition: A record-setting soccer player is leading the Zambian team. [*She only started playing seven years ago*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

Opening ceremony: The tennis star Coco Gauff, 20, will become the [*youngest Team USA flag bearer*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) in Olympic history when she joins LeBron James at tomorrow night’s festivities.

Protest: Russia is [*banned from participating in the Olympics*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), and the Games won’t be shown on TV there.

N.B.A.: The league announced lucrative new rights agreements with [*Disney, Comcast and Amazon*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

ARTS AND IDEAS

Singapore, which subsists on imported food, is letting a grocery store sell lab-grown meat — although it is expensive. Other countries are watching to see if Singapore’s experiment is successful. [*Read more about it*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

More on culture

* Two brothers became famous online as high-flying real estate brokers. Now they face [*accusations that they drugged and sexually assaulted women*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

1. A contestant on a New Zealand reality show apologized after [*eating a protected bird*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).
2. The Metropolitan Museum of Art [*is rebounding after the pandemic.*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) But international visitors aren’t coming like they once did.
3. Stephen Colbert wants a [*Kamala Harris-Glen Powell ticket*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

THE MORNING RECOMMENDS …

Make ratatouille [*with summer vegetables*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

Read four [*great new graphic novels*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

Clean your water flosser [*the right way*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

Use [*“I” statements*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing). They work, experts say.

GAMES

Here is [*today’s Spelling Bee*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing). Yesterday’s pangram was unkindly.

And here are [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), [*Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), [*Sudoku*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), [*Connections*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) and [*Strands*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

Thanks for spending part of your morning with The Times. See you tomorrow. —German

[*Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing). Reach our team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

PHOTO: A Trump rally in Michigan. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Haiyun Jiang for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 25, 2024

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[***What the Trump-Vance Alliance Means for the Republican Party; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CJJ-1461-DXY4-X05V-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 24, 2024 Wednesday 10:08 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 3041 words

**Byline:** Thomas B. Edsall Thomas B. Edsall has been a contributor to the Times Opinion section since 2011. His column on strategic and demographic trends in American politics appears every Wednesday. He previously covered politics for The Washington Post.

**Highlight:** In cobbling together a core constituency of voters who are both culturally conservative and financially hard-pressed, they are changing politics.

**Body**

Donald Trump and JD Vance are cobbling together a core constituency that includes millions of voters who are both culturally conservative and financially hard-pressed.

Trump’s selection of Vance reflects his determination to focus on incorporating middle- and lower-income, predominantly but not exclusively white men and women who often did not graduate from college, into the base of the Republican Party. To do so, Trump and Vance are taking their side on matters ranging from diversity to abortion to immigration to trade policy, promising protection from pretty much everything they don’t like about America today.

The [*2024 Republican Platform*](https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/2024-republican-party-platform) provides evidence of the leverage of this ascendant bloc of voters:

* “Fight for and protect Social Security and Medicare with no cuts, including no changes to the retirement age.”

1. “Cut federal funding for any school pushing critical race theory, radical gender ideology and other inappropriate racial, sexual or political content on our children.”
2. “Keep men out of women’s sports.”

If more proof is required, Vance told delegates in his July 18 acceptance speech:

We need a leader who’s not in the pocket of big business but answers to the working man, union and nonunion alike. A leader who won’t sell out to multinational corporations but will stand up for American companies and American industry.

As always, America’s ruling class wrote the checks. Communities like mine paid the price. For decades, that divide between the few, with their power and comfort in Washington, and the rest of us, only widened.

What is happening here? “For many years,” [*Elizabeth Suhay*](https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/2024-republican-party-platform), a political scientist at American University, wrote by email,

the Republican Party managed to persuade many ***working-class*** whites to support their economic agenda not only by contrasting it with Democrats’ emphasis on racial equity but also by arguing that small government, economically conservative policy rewards hard work.

The persuasiveness of this message waned, however, with increasing inequality, low income growth, rural job loss, etc., creating an opening for Trump. His 2016 campaign directly addressed ***working-class*** whites’ economic concerns, even if his policies in office generally did not.

With the Vance pick, we are seeing an even greater rhetorical shift toward economic populism aimed directly at ***working-class*** and rural voters, and it is likely that a second Trump term would advance more populist policy than the first.

There is a clear underlying logic to the Trump 2024 agenda, according to [*Christine Reyna*](https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/2024-republican-party-platform), a professor of psychology at DePaul University, who wrote by email:

Regarding the seemingly contradictory policies of the MAGA platform, they actually align perfectly with a populist agenda. Populism is not a stand-alone ideology so much as a framework/narrative that centers the grievances and needs of the “noble” citizens against the greedy, amorphous “elites.”

You can be populist on both the left and the right. In the context of Trump/MAGA, his platform is unambiguously “national populism” that combines right-wing political/social ideologies with left-wing economic policies.

The combination of isolationism, protectionism (anti-trade, anti-globalism, anti-immigration), support for blue-collar jobs (primarily in swing states — oil, coal, natural gas, opposition to clean energy) and his thinly veiled support for white Americans over Americans of color (anti-C.R.T., anti-D.E.I., anti-affirmative action), regressive traditionalism (anti-women’s rights, anti-abortion, anti-L.G.B.T.Q.) and antidemocratic/pro-religious ideals (promotion of Christian nationalism despite not being particularly religious), etc., all form a package that is squarely right-wing populist.

In “[*Who Is Open to Authoritarian Governance Within Western Democracies?*](https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/2024-republican-party-platform)” [*Ariel Malka*](https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/2024-republican-party-platform), [*Yphtach Lelkes*](https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/2024-republican-party-platform), [*Bert N. Bakker*](https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/2024-republican-party-platform) and Eliyahu Spivack examined World Values Survey data from 14 Western democracies and separate polling from Canada and the United States:

“Two key findings emerged,” they wrote. “The first is that a broad conservative cultural orientation — involving traditional sexual morality and gender views, religiosity, anti-immigration attitudes and related beliefs and values — is consistently associated with openness to authoritarian governance.”

The attraction of these voters to the MAGA movement, Malka and his co-authors argued, “suggests that authoritarian governance may be perceived as an efficient way of enforcing social conformity, upholding religious traditionalism and resisting multicultural diversity.”

The second key finding is that “left-wing economic views are in many cases a part of the ideological package that most strongly resonates with openness to authoritarian governance”:

Specifically, the combination of right-wing cultural and left-wing economic attitudes — what has been dubbed a protection-based attitude package — was associated with higher levels of openness to authoritarian governance than was any other attitude package in half of the nations represented in the samples, including all five of the English-speaking democracies studied (Australia, Canada, Britain, New Zealand and the United States).

Malka expanded on the paper in an email:

A notable segment of the U.S. population combines a culturally based conservative identity with some degree of affinity for left-leaning and protectionist economic policy. Trump’s brand of populism — combining anti-immigrant nationalism with worker-oriented economic appeals within a framework denouncing left-wing and globalist elites — is attractive to these citizens.

I asked Malka what share of the electorate simultaneously holds culturally conservative and economically liberal views. He replied that when measured by specific policy preferences, “a substantial segment of the population reveals a culturally conservative and at least somewhat economically left-leaning attitude combination,” citing [*one study*](https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/2024-republican-party-platform) showing that over a quarter of voters fit this combination.

Voters holding these views, Malka noted, “were a good deal more inclined to support the Republican than the Democratic Party.”

The left-right political division, in Malka’s view, “is a product of the political information environment — driven by cues from political elites — that causes politically engaged Americans to organize their attitudes in particular ways.”

Traditionally, he continued, “this has resulted in politically engaged Americans being more inclined than less engaged citizens to hold a consistently conservative (free market and culturally traditional) or a consistently liberal (redistributive and culturally progressive) package of attitudes.”

Increasingly, however, psychological attributes “have probably exerted a different kind of influence on political attitudes,” in some cases inclining them toward cultural conservatism.

Economic attitudes, according to Malka, are more complicated. Those “high in need for security and certainty tend to show a leaning toward left economic attitudes, when they are not highly exposed to political discourse that cultivates a right versus left attitude organization. When they are highly politically engaged, however, they have tended to move their economic attitudes to the right to match their culturally based conservative identity.”

Lelkes, in turn, argued in an email that American political divides can be viewed from two vantage points, one ideological, the other more psychological.

The classic ideological division in American politics — liberal versus conservative — is characteristic of engaged and sophisticated elites, Lelkes wrote, while a more psychologically based division has emerged among less engaged voters:

[*Ideology*](https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/2024-republican-party-platform) is constructed by elites. Attitudes among American political elites have, until recently, been well defined by a unidimensional left-right divide, with cultural conservatism fitting with economic conservatism. This is less a result of some sort of natural fit between these policies than a process of negotiation among elites in the respective parties about what it means to be conservative.

Conversely, Lelkes wrote, “in the absence of attention to elites, the protection-freedom divide more closely ties into human psychology.”

In a 2017 paper, “[*Are Cultural and Economic Conservatism Positively Correlated?*](https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/2024-republican-party-platform)” Malka, Lelkes and [*Christopher Soto*](https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/2024-republican-party-platform), a professor of psychology at Colby College, argued that the traditional left-right division in politics fails to accurately portray political conflict in the West, including the United States:

Using survey data from 99 nations, this study finds not only that right-left attitude organization is uncommon but that it is more common for culturally and economically right-wing attitudes to correlate negatively with each other, an attitude structure reflecting a contrast between desires for cultural and economic protection versus freedom.

Malka, Lelkes and Soto make the case that the division based on those seeking cultural and economic protection versus those seeking freedom and self-expression helps to explain

the rise and election of Donald J. Trump in 2016, the rise of extreme right parties in Europe and the 2016 British referendum vote to exit the European Union. In all cases, the motivation to protect national culture against foreign influence or ethnically dissimilar “others” was an important factor in support. But such cases also seem to involve some degree of motivation for economic protection.

Trump’s 2016 campaign, they wrote, “combined an economic posture to the left of the Republican norm (including fervent opposition to international trade agreements and promises of infrastructure spending and noninterference with Social Security and Medicare) with a theme of nationalism and appeals to racial antipathy.”

Malka and his two collaborators suggested that their analysis points to “the potential political importance of an exclusive solidarity or economic chauvinism, in which an economically interventionist and redistributive government is supported by cultural traditionalists who want benefits channeled exclusively to the ‘real’ members of the nation.”

[*Stanley Feldman,*](https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/2024-republican-party-platform) a political scientist at Stony Brook University, elaborated on this analysis in an email, writing that the psychological characteristics of people

who prioritize social conformity over individual autonomy can lead to a desire for economic policies that provide a strong social safety net.

The motivation that underlies negative reactions to social change and immigration is a desire to minimize the threat to social order. But economic insecurity is also threatening. Social Security, Medicare, unemployment benefits, etc. can provide a sense of safety against unpredictable events that might create economic misfortune.

So it should be possible to fashion a successful political platform that combines conservative positions on social/cultural issues with government programs to provide economic security.

There are many on the left who dispute the populist commitments of the Republican nominees. In an essay last week in The Atlantic, “[*The Fakest Populism You Ever Saw*](https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/2024-republican-party-platform),” David Graham challenges the ***working-class*** allegiance claimed by the Trump-Vance ticket, writing: “What is actually happening within the G.O.P. right now is a battle among different factions of the extremely wealthy over who will benefit most if Donald Trump returns to power. Workers are a distant afterthought.”

Citing the pro-business, pro-wealth 2017 Trump tax cut, Graham concludes:

Trumpian populism is an expression of political and cultural allegiance, rather than an actual program of government helping workers improve their relative standard of living. Trump and his new running mate are adept at presenting one set of elites as a scapegoat to the nonwealthy — and using that to aid a different clique of elites.

Lelkes countered, however, making the point that “it’s impossible to separate out a status threat from an economic threat.”

[*Jasper Van Assche*](https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/2024-republican-party-platform), a professor of psychology at the Université Libre de Bruxelles, contended that “Trump’s cultural stances have significant economic implications”:

Many ***working-class*** whites perceive affirmative action and D.E.I. (diversity, equity and inclusion) policies as threats to their economic opportunities and job security. Research indicates that these voters often feel that such policies disadvantage them in favor of minorities, creating a zero-sum game scenario where the gains of one group are perceived as losses for another.

For instance, studies have shown that opposition to affirmative action is often rooted in concerns about job competition and educational opportunities for one’s own children. This perspective is further exacerbated by economic anxieties and the belief that the current socioeconomic system is unfairly biased against them.

More broadly, Van Assche claimed,

There is substantial evidence suggesting that Trump’s takeover of the Republican Party has resonated with voters seeking security and stability. Many of Trump’s policies and rhetoric appeal to voters who feel economically and culturally insecure. For instance, his stance on immigration and trade resonates with those who perceive globalization as a threat to their job security and economic well-being. His promises to protect Social Security and Medicare appeal to older voters who rely on these programs and fear their reduction or privatization.

Moreover, Trump’s cultural conservatism, often including elements of racial and nationalistic rhetoric, appeals to voters who feel their cultural identity is under threat. This alignment of economic and cultural policies under Trump has indeed created a more consistent and appealing platform for many ***working-class*** voters who previously felt alienated by the Republican Party’s traditional pro-business stance.

Such psychological predispositions as “a preference for order, stability and conformity tend to correlate with support for right-wing populist leaders like Trump,” Van Assche noted.

Citing some of [*his own work*](https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/2024-republican-party-platform) and the [*work of others*](https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/2024-republican-party-platform), Van Assche wrote:

These voters prioritize security and often view societal changes and liberal cultural policies as threats. The Republican Party under Trump has effectively tapped into these authoritarian tendencies by promoting policies that promise security and stability, both economically and culturally.

In a [*2015 essay*](https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/2024-republican-party-platform), [*Marc Hetherington*](https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/2024-republican-party-platform) and [*Jonathan D. Weiler*](https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/2024-republican-party-platform), political scientists at the University of North Carolina, described how a cluster of issues “formed and cemented the new divide.”

These issues, they wrote, were “1) racial and ethnic differences, 2) crime and civil liberties, 3) the Equal Rights Amendment, feminism and family structure, including, more recently, gay marriage and 4) foreign policy, force and diplomacy, including the war on terror.”

Over time, according to Hetherington and Weiler’s analysis, “perceptions of these clusters of issues affixed themselves to identifiably partisan positions giving them political force and relevance.”

Hetherington and Weiler described how in the first half of the previous decade, conservative forces successfully demanded obeisance to populist anti-immigration policies:

Because base Republicans in conjunction with their favored media personalities punish any Republican with national ambitions who floats a moderate line about immigration, Republican officeholders rarely talk publicly about the virtues of a more moderate stance. As a result, the opinions of Republicans in the electorate do not moderate.

There is general agreement among the scholars studying these developments that they are problematic for Democrats.

Suhay, for example, wrote:

It is certainly the case that the two parties’ recent agendas have put many ***working-class*** people in a bind: The Democratic Party’s economic agenda suits them, but the Democrats’ social agenda has been far more progressive than the modal ***working-class*** person. This is true regardless of race; however, Democrats’ emphasis on affirmative action (broadly construed) will be perceived as threatening by white ***working-class*** folks for both economic and cultural reasons.

Higher-income, college-educated Democrats are very likely to be uneasy with Van Assche’s conclusion: “The alignment of economic and cultural policies under Trump has effectively addressed the insecurities of many ***working-class*** voters, while the Democratic Party’s focus on progressive cultural issues has sometimes alienated these same voters.”

Malka elaborated on Van Assche’s point:

As for the Democratic Party, even though it pursues economic policies far to the left of the Republican Party, the increased relevance of social and cultural divisions to partisan conflict, as well as the increased presence of urban, educated and affluent voters in the Democratic Party coalition, makes it easier for the Republican Party to portray itself as a bulwark protecting traditional, hard-working Americans against a culturally condescending and self-serving elite.

Feldman argued that the protectionist ideology of the right poses a conflict for Democrats:

The Democratic Party is currently in a difficult situation trying to sell its economic policies to socially conservative voters who are threatened by immigration and social change. Could the party moderate its positions on these issues to attract socially conservative voters? Possibly.

But with Republican politicians staking out extreme positions on many of these issues, it’s not clear that some moderation would help very much. And it risks losing a large part of the current Democratic coalition that is in favor of gay marriage, women’s rights and reproductive rights.

This year, each political coalition — left and right — is fraught with contradictions. In a situation in which the vote count threatens to be close, defections of any kind, especially if they’re concentrated in the wrong places, can be extraordinarily costly.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/2024-republican-party-platform) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/2024-republican-party-platform). And here&#39;s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/2024-republican-party-platform).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Mark Peterson for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 25, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Detroit’s Mayor, a Democrat, Will Run for Michigan Governor as an Independent***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DJY-TPR1-JBG3-62DS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 4, 2024 Wednesday 17:02 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 818 words

**Byline:** Reid J. EpsteinReid J. Epstein covers campaigns and elections from Washington. Before joining The Times in 2019, he worked at The Wall Street Journal, Politico, Newsday and The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel.

**Highlight:** Mike Duggan is shedding the label of his longtime party to seek the state’s highest office, as the term-limited Gretchen Whitmer departs in early 2027.

**Body**

Mike Duggan is shedding the label of his longtime party to seek the state’s highest office, as the term-limited Gretchen Whitmer departs in early 2027.

Mayor Mike Duggan of Detroit, who has identified as a Democrat for his nearly 40 years in public office, [*announced on Wednesday*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=78O3uNBj61w) that he would run for governor in 2026 as an independent, a development that could roil the politics of his narrowly divided state.

Mr. Duggan, 66, is the first major candidate to enter the race, which will be one of the nation’s top-tier contests for governor in 2026. He is aiming to replace Gov. Gretchen Whitmer, who is barred by term limits from running for a third time.

By running as an independent, Mr. Duggan will avoid what is expected to be a crowded Democratic primary race that could include several of Michigan’s statewide elected officials, including Lt. Gov. Garlin Gilchrist II, Attorney General Dana Nessel and Secretary of State Jocelyn Benson. Transportation Secretary Pete Buttigieg moved in recent years to Michigan from Indiana, which prompted [*speculation*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=78O3uNBj61w) that he might seek office in his new state, though he has also been floated as a potential 2028 presidential contender.

Mr. Duggan’s independent campaign announcement comes a month after Vice President Kamala Harris — with whom he campaigned — lost Michigan to former President Donald J. Trump. Her nationwide defeat has prompted Democratic hand-wringing about the party’s brand and image among various groups of voters.

While Ms. Harris lost Michigan, another Democrat, Representative Elissa Slotkin, won its Senate race. Republicans flipped four seats in the Michigan House of Representatives, narrowly taking back the chamber after two years of Democratic control.

In an interview on Wednesday, Mr. Duggan said he had weighed running for governor for much of this year but had decided to do so as an independent only after experiencing what he called a “toxic” general election.

“I realized that a lot of people in Michigan are sick of both parties and they wish they had a third choice,” he said. “They’re tired of being restricted to the Republican and Democratic nominees. I just felt like I’d give the people in this state a third choice.”

While Mr. Duggan is a proponent of abortion rights who has supported Ms. Whitmer and other Democrats, he said he had come to understand that a Democratic governor would be inevitably hamstrung by the state’s divided Legislature. Being elected as an independent, he reasoned, would give him more latitude to win over legislators from both parties.

At the same time, Mr. Duggan said the Democratic brand in the state had shifted away from its ***working-class*** roots and toward a reflexive anti-Trump posture.

“Right now, the Democratic Party stands for ‘Trump is terrible,’ he said. “And I think the Republican Party stands for ‘Democrats are dangerous and un-American.’ I really think that’s where we are as a country.”

In a four-minute announcement video, Mr. Duggan described his decade-long tenure as Detroit mayor as an exercise in finding nonpartisan solutions. He recounted working with Republicans in the state’s capital and the Detroit suburbs to improve the city’s quality of life and begin drawing new residents for the first time in generations.

A viable and well-funded independent candidate could serve as a major disruption to the two-party political system that dominates most of the country, including Michigan. No Democrat can win a statewide election in Michigan without a significant portion of votes from Detroit, which would also serve as Mr. Duggan’s political base.

Mr. Duggan said he was not worried about handing the election to a Republican candidate.

Tudor Dixon, who was the Republican nominee for governor against Ms. Whitmer in 2022 and is considering running for the office again in 2026, panned Mr. Duggan’s announcement on social media, posting [*a photo of him with Ms. Harris*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=78O3uNBj61w).

Indeed, whether Mr. Duggan can persuade Michiganders that he is a candidate who is truly independent from the major parties is an open question. Just a month ago, he [*appeared with Ms. Harris*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=78O3uNBj61w) as she stumped through Michigan in her campaign’s final days. The mayor has also been no stranger to intramural Democratic politics — this year, [*he endorsed a primary challenger*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=78O3uNBj61w) to Representative Shri Thanedar, a Democrat who represents Detroit. Mr. Thanedar was renominated and won re-election.

As Detroit’s mayor, [*Mr. Duggan has presided over significant improvements*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=78O3uNBj61w) to the city’s once-dilapidated downtown business district and has helped restore basic municipal services like lighting streets that were dark for years.

His term as mayor ends on Jan. 1, 2026. He [*announced last month*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=78O3uNBj61w) that he would not seek re-election to a fourth term.

PHOTO: Mayor Mike Duggan of Detroit visiting a cafe in the city in September. He has led the city for 10 years. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Nic Antaya for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** December 4, 2024

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[***J.D. Vance Puts the Con in Conservatism; Paul Krugman***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CHB-GW21-JBG3-602F-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 18, 2024 Thursday 13:26 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 882 words

**Byline:** Paul Krugman Paul Krugman has been an Opinion columnist since 2000 and is also a distinguished professor at the City University of New York Graduate Center. He won the 2008 Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences for his work on international trade and economic geography.

**Highlight:** He’s a “populist” who holds contempt for the ***working class***.

**Body**

J.D. Vance once feared that Donald Trump might become “[*America’s Hitler*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/jd-vance-quotes-donald-trump.html).” Now he’s Trump’s running mate. But never mind that history. Trump and Vance have a lot of things, including this, in common: They’re both con men who despise their most avid supporters.

Indeed, Vance, despite stiff competition, may be the most cynical major figure in modern American politics. You never know whether Trump believes the false things he says; Vance is smart enough to know that he has pulled off a monumental political bait-and-switch.

And if the Trump-Vance ticket wins, there’s a fairly good chance that, given Trump’s evident lack of interest in the details of policy and — yes — his age, Vance will, one way or another, end up running the country.

So, about that con: Vance, now the junior senator from Ohio, talks a lot about his hardscrabble roots. But people should read what he wrote in “Hillbilly Elegy,” which shows startling contempt for the people he grew up with but who, unlike him, didn’t escape small-town poverty. And people should also be aware that while [*his convention speech*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/jd-vance-quotes-donald-trump.html) on Wednesday denounced “Wall Street barons,” his rise has to a large extent been orchestrated by a [*group of tech billionaires*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/jd-vance-quotes-donald-trump.html); he’s a protégé of Peter Thiel.

“Hillbilly Elegy” was part personal memoir, part social commentary and, to be fair, it responded to a real issue. Over the past couple of generations, something has gone very wrong in much of rural and small-town America. There has been a sharp rise in the fraction of men in their prime working years [*without jobs*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/jd-vance-quotes-donald-trump.html), notably in the eastern part of the American heartland. Social problems have proliferated; as the economists Anne Case and Angus Deaton [*documented*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/jd-vance-quotes-donald-trump.html), there has been a surge in “deaths of despair,” which they defined as deaths from drugs, alcohol and suicide.

What happened? I’d focus on changes in the economy that undermined many small towns’ reason for being, a process that began [*during the Reagan years*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/jd-vance-quotes-donald-trump.html) and [*isn’t unique to our country*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/jd-vance-quotes-donald-trump.html). This loss of economic opportunity led, in turn, to social dysfunction — echoing the earlier rise in social dysfunction in America’s cities when blue-collar urban jobs [*disappeared*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/jd-vance-quotes-donald-trump.html).

These issues are real, and we should be making a national effort to ameliorate the problems of left-behind regions. Actually, the Biden administration has been [*doing just that*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/jd-vance-quotes-donald-trump.html), with much of its industrial policy aimed at helping depressed areas. Among other things, a Biden administration grant of up to [*$575 million*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/jd-vance-quotes-donald-trump.html) — partly financed by legislation Republicans unanimously opposed — will help upgrade a steel plant in [*Vance’s hometown*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/jd-vance-quotes-donald-trump.html), Middletown, Ohio.

And let’s not forget that many rural Americans have health insurance only thanks to policies Republicans fiercely opposed.

But in “Hillbilly Elegy,” Vance rejected the “cultural movement in the white ***working class*** to blame problems on society or the government.” Instead, he argued, there are lots of small-town white Americans who have nobody to blame but themselves. They’re lazy: “You can walk through a town where 30 percent of the young men work fewer than 20 hours a week and find not a single person aware of his own laziness.” They’re poorly educated, not because of a lack of opportunity, but because they aren’t motivated: “We don’t study as children, and we don’t make our kids study when we’re parents.”

Imagine the reaction if a liberal Democrat were to say any of that.

After entering politics, however, Vance suddenly decided that the white ***working class*** isn’t lazy, it’s a victim of external forces. He became vehement about accusing immigrants of [*taking jobs*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/jd-vance-quotes-donald-trump.html) that should be going to the native born.

One passage in his convention speech appeared to suggest that illegal immigrants are responsible for inflation. Of course, he didn’t acknowledge that inflation has fallen by [*two-thirds*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/jd-vance-quotes-donald-trump.html) since mid-2022, and that nonsupervisory workers — especially [*low-wage workers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/jd-vance-quotes-donald-trump.html) — have seen their earnings, on average, rise [*more than prices*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/jd-vance-quotes-donald-trump.html).

In fact, immigrants aren’t taking our jobs. Unemployment among the native-born remains near a [*historic low*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/jd-vance-quotes-donald-trump.html). To the extent that native-born Americans are leaving the work force, it’s largely because baby boomers are retiring.

And it’s especially strange to blame immigrants for the problems of small-town and rural America, which began long before the recent surge in immigration, and where even now there are relatively few immigrants to be seen. In Vance’s home state, only [*5 percent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/jd-vance-quotes-donald-trump.html) of the population is foreign-born, compared with [*around 40 percent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/jd-vance-quotes-donald-trump.html) in New York City.

Anyway, there’s no reason to believe anything Vance says about supporting the ***working class***. His book makes it clear that, at least to a degree, he looks down on those who haven’t managed some measure of his professional trajectory. He may have grown up poor, but these days he’s just a smart, unscrupulous politician using his background to hide the extent to which he represents the values and interests of plutocrats.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/jd-vance-quotes-donald-trump.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/jd-vance-quotes-donald-trump.html). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/jd-vance-quotes-donald-trump.html).

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This article appeared in print on page A25.

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[***A Pair Who'll Help Shape Trump 2.0***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DKS-PKP1-DXY4-X4M7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 8, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Sunday Review Desk; Pg. 2; ROSS DOUTHAT

**Length:** 904 words

**Byline:** By Ross Douthat

**Body**

Beneath all the furor around Donald Trump's appointments -- Matt Gaetz down and out, Pete Hegseth down but maybe coming back, the Kash Patel drama waiting in the wings -- the most important figures in this administration's orbit have not changed since Election Day: Besides the president himself, the future of Trumpism is still most likely to be shaped and stamped by two men, JD Vance and Elon Musk.

Not just because of their talent and achievements, and not just because Vance is the political heir apparent and Musk would be one of the world's most influential men even if he didn't have the ear of the president-elect. It's also because they represent, more clearly than any other appointee, two potent visions for a 21st century right, and their interaction is likely to shape conservatism for the next four years and beyond.

Musk is the dynamist, the believer in growth and innovation and exploration as the lodestars of American civilization. His dynamism was not always especially ideological: The Tesla and SpaceX mogul was once a Barack Obama Democrat, happy to support an active and sometimes spendthrift government so long as it spent freely on his projects. But as Musk has moved right, he has adopted a more libertarian pose, insisting on the profound wastefulness of government spending and the tyranny of the administrative state.

Vance meanwhile is the populist, committed to protect and uplift those parts of America neglected or left behind in an age of globalization. Along with his support for the Trumpian causes of tariffs and immigration restriction, this worldview has made him more sympathetic than the average Republican senator to certain forms of government investment -- from longstanding programs like Social Security to new ideas about industrial policy and family policy.

Despite this contrast, the Musk and Vance worldviews overlap in important ways. Musk has moved in a populist direction on immigration, while Vance has been a venture capitalist and clearly has a strong sympathy for parts of the dynamist worldview, especially its critique of the regulatory state. Both men share a farsighted interest in the collapsing birthrate, a heretofore-fringe issue that's likely to dominate the later parts of the 21st century. And there is modest-but-real convergence between the Muskian ''tech'' worldview and Vance's more ''neo-trad'' style of religious conservatism, based on not just a shared antipathy toward wokeness but also similar views about the intelligibility of the cosmos and the providential place of humankind in history.

So you can imagine a scenario, in Trump's second term and beyond, where these convergences yield a dynamist-populist fusionism -- a conservatism that manages to simultaneously aim for the stars and uplift and protect the ***working class***, in which economic growth and technological progress help renew the heartland (as Musk's own companies have brought jobs and optimism to South Texas) while also preserving our creaking social compact.

That's the potential Musk-Vance synthesis. But the potential tensions here are also important, as are the ways in which each man's worldview can fail. Populism without a strong commitment to dynamism can easily yield stagnation: The combination of tariffs and immigration restriction and the Trump-Vance pledge to protect Social Security and Medicare threatens a certain kind of sclerosis unless it's matched by libertarian efforts in other areas of the economy, a war on red tape and cartels, deregulation in a variety of forms. And the spirit of populism, its political psychology, needs a dose of the libertarian impulse, an element of American entrepreneurial can-do, to avoid becoming a purely defensive and zero-sum worldview.

But by the same token a dynamism that imagines itself capable of waving a magic wand over the government and making much of the welfare state somehow disappear will end up meeting the same fate as the Tea Party and the Mitt Romney-Paul Ryan presidential campaign -- fracturing the Trump coalition and shedding downscale swing voters for the sake of an unrealistic libertarianism.

In some of Musk's post-election posting, especially, you can see intimations of this worldview, which veers between a penny-ante criticisms of governmental waste and a root-and-branch critique of programs like Social Security. If this is where DOGE, his ''Department of Government Efficiency,'' tries to take the Trump-era G.O.P. -- away from a limited-but-positive vision of government's role toward a more ideological agenda -- then Muskism will be a political dead end.

The Musk America needs is the great rocketeer and technological impresario, bending politics to serve a futuristic vision. The Vance America needs is the populist who believes in a constructive role for government in the building of that future, and in making sure its society and economy has a place for ordinary working people. The great test that awaits the second Trump administration is making these visions work together -- while the more they end up in conflict, the more likely it becomes that Trump 2.0 will fail.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/07/opinion/vance-musk-trump.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/07/opinion/vance-musk-trump.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page SR2.

**Load-Date:** December 8, 2024

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[***Gallego Wins Tight Race For Arizona Senate Seat***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DDD-HX81-DXY4-X05J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 13, 2024 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 13

**Length:** 688 words

**Byline:** By Kellen Browning

**Body**

The Democratic congressman had led Ms. Lake, a former television anchor and bombastic Trump ally, in most polls.

Representative Ruben Gallego, a Phoenix-area Democrat and military veteran, has won the Senate race in Arizona, The Associated Press said on Monday night -- a bright spot for Democrats after Republicans regained control of the chamber.

Mr. Gallego defeated his Republican opponent, Kari Lake, a fiery ally of President-elect Donald J. Trump's, after leading her by sizable margins throughout the summer and the fall. The final result was much closer than some predictions, another sign of Republican strength throughout the country.

Mr. Gallego is a five-term congressman who grew up in a ***working-class*** Chicago family, working jobs as a teenager to support his family and sometimes sleeping on the floor of their apartment. He attended Harvard University and fought in the Iraq war as a Marine. He will become Arizona's first Latino senator, replacing Senator Kyrsten Sinema, an independent and former Democrat.

At a news conference in Phoenix late Monday night, Mr. Gallego, with tears in his eyes, referred to his humble roots.

''For the kids sleeping on the floor, dreaming about a better, better America and a better, better future, this victory is for you,'' he said.

After going decades without electing a Democrat to the Senate, Arizona's voters have now done so in four successive elections, underscoring the state's shift from reliable conservative stronghold to competitive battleground. Voters backed Ms. Sinema in 2018, picked Senator Mark Kelly in a special election in 2020 and then elected him again in 2022.

But Mr. Gallego's victory is perhaps the most notable from an ideological standpoint. For years, he was an outspoken progressive, and there were early questions about whether he would come across as too liberal to be elected statewide.

Mr. Gallego announced in January 2023 that he would challenge Ms. Sinema for her seat, after she angered Democrats by voting with Republicans to stymie key pieces of President Biden's agenda.

During his campaign, he caught two big breaks. One came when Ms. Sinema announced this year that she would not run for re-election, allowing him to consolidate the support of Democratic voters.

The other was the entrance of Ms. Lake, a former television anchor and vocal ally of Mr. Trump's who rose to prominence through a divisive governor's race in 2022, during which she insulted her fellow Republicans and championed Mr. Trump's baseless election conspiracy theories.

Ms. Lake alienated many on the right with her tactics, especially after she filed a series of fruitless lawsuits contesting her 2022 loss. Republicans nevertheless mostly coalesced around her in the G.O.P. primary for Senate this year, giving Mr. Gallego as vulnerable an opponent as he could hope for.

Ms. Lake's campaign did not immediately respond to a request for comment. On Election Day, she told reporters that she would ''accept the results of the election.''

Mr. Gallego, who was once known for lobbing profanities at Republicans on social media, ran a disciplined campaign. He successfully rebranded himself as an even-tempered moderate, highlighting his veteran status and pitching himself as a pragmatic legislator who would focus on lowering costs for families and championing tribal water rights. Strategists also expected Mr. Gallego, because of his background and military experience, to perform better among Latino men -- a group that Vice President Kamala Harris seemed to struggle with.

He enjoyed an enormous cash advantage over Ms. Lake, which enabled him to introduce himself to voters on his terms. He also crisscrossed the state, visiting all 22 of Arizona's federally recognized Native American tribes.

Ms. Lake was an underdog throughout the fall, with polls showing her consistently trailing Mr. Gallego, even as Mr. Trump led Ms. Harris in Arizona.

She failed to land a decisive blow at the candidates' sole televised debate, in early October. And in the waning days of the campaign, she was unable to generate a big moment that could swing the race.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/11/us/politics/ruben-gallego-kari-lake-arizona-senate.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/11/us/politics/ruben-gallego-kari-lake-arizona-senate.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Ruben Gallego This article appeared in print on page A13.

**Load-Date:** November 13, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Black Men Want a Democratic Party That Delivers for Them***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D5V-5RX1-DXY4-X4VJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 13, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Sunday Review Desk; Pg. 10; GUEST ESSAY

**Length:** 1714 words

**Byline:** By Charles Coleman Jr.

**Body**

Black men today face a unique reality that warrants consideration: Under nearly any relevant index for measuring the quality of American life -- how far we get in school, our finances when compared with those of our white counterparts, and how long we will live -- Black men consistently rank last or near last. There is not a Black man alive in this country right now who has ever seen Black male unemployment equal to or less than that of his white counterparts.

This is true even more acutely for a 34-year-old Black man born in 1990 who may have voted in every presidential election since his 18th birthday, saw the election of a Black president and spent more of his adult life with Democrats in the Oval Office than Republicans.

How could we not be asking ourselves: Come November, which candidate can help us change course?

History might suggest that Kamala Harris's campaign for commander in chief would be met with near unflinching support from much of the Democratic faithful -- women, Black, Latino and college-educated voters. Pew Center data estimates that from 1994 through 2019, both Black and Latino registered voters have consistently identified as Democrats at rates higher than white voters. Yet in a moment where political allegiances of the past would seem to carry the day, Democrats are increasingly challenged in maintaining their stronghold among Black male voters.

Black men's reconsideration of the Democratic Party is the worst kept secret of the progressive left. Black voters who aren't Democrats still may be a small minority, but with the speed and reach of the internet these voices are increasingly amplified at levels exceeding what many ever thought was possible. Regardless of the outcome of the November election, Democrats cannot afford to dismiss this as tomorrow's problem. The margin for victory will be tight on either side, and even in a world where Ms. Harris is victorious, this issue is not going away or shrinking in its significance.

In many respects, Democrats have themselves to blame for this disturbing trend by not controlling what has been in their power to control. While Republicans seemed to ignore the Black vote entirely, Democrats failed to prioritize policies that would have spoken directly to Black voters.

For example, there is no reason that the expiring portions of the Voting Rights Act should have been left to the Supreme Court to begin gutting with Shelby County v. Holder when Democratic legislators had decades to codify many of its tenets. Likewise, a commitment to police reform would have meant that once the George Floyd police reform act died in Senate committee because of Republican stonewalling, Democrats should have remained dogged in their pursuit of these much-needed changes to police conduct.

Where Democrats have had wins on the legislative front, they have been lackluster in trumpeting them to their base, creating a chasm that has been filled with skepticism and unverifiable theories. For Black men, particularly younger Black men who disagree with some of the positions of the Democratic Party, there is a frustration around not feeling like the party's agenda speaks specifically enough to them and their concerns. They often point to pieces of legislation that target specific groups and give the impression that the party is more interested in courting new demographics of voters while not paying enough attention to its most stalwart supporters.

There is also the sense that, even with the emergence of important members of the Democratic bench, including Wes Moore in Maryland, Maxwell Frost in Florida and Brandon Johnson in Chicago, the party itself has largely become a party of women. This sentiment exists in sharp contrast to Republicans, who seem to be fashioning themselves as a political party of and for men. While some point to a rise in patriarchal appeals and misogynist sentiments against Ms. Harris as part of the cause, along with any number of other excuses, those sort of half-baked explanations are not only lazy but also flatly insulting (and alienating) to Black voters.

The laziness is a miscalculation, borne partly out of Democratic Party strategists and leaders who might be more fluent in the language of the liberal elite boardroom than they are the nuanced lingo of the barbershop. Student loan repayment is a worthy cause to champion, especially in a tough economy, but what relevance does that have when Black male enrollment on college campuses is dwindling? Opting to lump Black men in with the ***working class*** or small business owners, which has been a widely used Democratic messaging strategy, without specific call outs to our demographic is another example of why a ''rising tide lifts all boats'' approach is not sufficient. An absence of recognition echoes an all too familiar sentiment for Black men of existing in America but never being fully seen.

This is deeper than simply desiring a shout-out onstage. The insulting part is to mischaracterize our concerns by building an agenda for our community around criminal justice and policing reform. While important, this fails miserably to recognize the myriad ways in which issues like the economy, education, health care and employment have unique and disparate impacts on Black people and, more specifically, Black men.

Even as the vice president has centered her economic platform on appealing to ***working-class*** Americans, too little attention has been paid to how many Black men have been marginalized, if not excluded altogether, within the ***working class*** via wage disparity, for instance. Ms. Harris's recent economic speech in Pittsburgh singled out small businesses, but the absence of discussion on how Democrats intend to close America's racial wealth gap or address nagging unemployment rates among Black men still leaves much to be desired.

Democrats have for far too long been a party with poor messaging and even worse messengers to Black men in America. Ms. Harris has an opportunity to reverse this sentiment. Her emergence at the top of the Democratic ticket seemed to signal that she understood this point, evidenced by her economic listening tour targeting Black men and her recent comments to the National Association of Black Journalists, in which she acknowledged a need to earn the Black male vote. There still seems to be, however, a disconnect between what Ms. Harris may recognize as a problem and what the party seems to prioritize.

Why would any sizable number of Black men shun the efforts of the Democratic Party that believes it has presented itself as the most viable option for decades -- especially in light of the alternative, Donald Trump, and his absolutely abysmal history with Black men? It is seductive to place the blame largely on the shoulders of the Biden presidency, or to assign too much credit to Mr. Trump's ability to connect with the most base elements of some Black men's humanity. Neither of these reasons can be summarily dismissed, but they fail to give the context or nuance that this conversation deserves.

Democrats have spent too much time drawing symbolic distinctions with Republicans without illuminating substantive differences. If I am to be last under blue, as I was last under red -- but able to survive both -- then I am largely unmoved by being sold a vision of ''less last.''

The immediate concern for Ms. Harris and Democrats isn't a sizable exodus to the Republican Party but the possibility that Black men may not vote. Failing to acknowledge the growing drift of Black men away from the Democrats is exactly how we arrived here. A denial of this problem, no matter how adamant, will not make the problem itself disappear.

Ms. Harris's entrance in the presidential race appears to have slowed the drip for Democrats. Her numbers among likely Black voters are far better than Mr. Trump's and outperform President Biden's among this same demographic at the time he abandoned his candidacy. She has to contend with the couch as much as she does Mr. Trump. It also seems that leaning into forward-facing messaging has begun to land with voters who were all but checked out of this election cycle.

Democrats' ability to craft clear and direct messaging to Black men can help them win more of their votes. Sound civil rights policy is one of the clearest ways to signal to Black men, many of whom may have doubts about the ''big tent'' inclusiveness of the Democratic Party, that their votes matter. Both Ms. Harris and Democrats could benefit from expanding the umbrella of what civil rights entails. Even if abolishing the carceral state or defunding the police would be out of line with Ms. Harris's political ideology and too radical in a tight election cycle, there are other ways to connect various policy efforts to civil rights.

Where access to employment has left Black men behind, the ability to gain access to the full benefits of America's economy is an issue of civil rights. Protection from environmental racism is a civil rights issue. So is removing barriers to success that disproportionately affect Black business owners, as is closing the achievement gap among Black men in primary school. Learning to engage Black men and, more broadly, Black communities around issues like the struggle to enter and stay in the middle class is the political equivalent of walking and chewing gum, and Democrats must learn to do it better.

The more Democrats shift their immediate thinking to see Black men as persuadable voters, and court them in the aggressive manner that they do independents and centrists -- not only through messaging but also through sincere policy efforts -- while stretching to keep hard-line progressives happy, the better the chance they have of regaining Black men who have left or who are considering leaving the party.

Charles Coleman Jr. (@CFColemanJr) is a civil rights lawyer, a former prosecutor and a co-host of the MSNBC special ''Black Men in America: The Road to 2024.''

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/opinion/democrats-black-male-voters.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/08/opinion/democrats-black-male-voters.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page SR10.

**Load-Date:** October 13, 2024

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[***Vance Lays Out a Blue-Collar Vision That Clashes With Trump’s Record***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CHB-BW51-DXY4-X4S9-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 18, 2024 Thursday 19:45 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1383 words

**Byline:** Jonathan Weisman Jonathan Weisman is a politics writer, covering campaigns with an emphasis on economic and labor policy. He is based in Chicago.

**Highlight:** J.D. Vance, the Republicans’ vice-presidential nominee, wants to center the ***working class*** in a Trump second term, but economists on the left and right question whether his prescriptions would actually help.

**Body**

J.D. Vance, the Republicans’ vice-presidential nominee, wants to center the ***working class*** in a Trump second term, but economists on the left and right question whether his prescriptions would actually help.

J.D. Vance, the Republicans’ vice-presidential nominee, has embraced a vision to lift the American ***working class*** with policies that would break radically with Republican economic orthodoxy, and at times with former President Donald J. Trump’s own plans.

Now he faces questions from left-leaning and right-leaning economists on whether it would actually work.

The broad vision, laid out in [*the Ohio senator’s acceptance speech*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/17/us/politics/read-the-transcript-of-jd-vances-convention-speech.html) on Wednesday night and [*through interviews*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/17/us/politics/read-the-transcript-of-jd-vances-convention-speech.html) and detailed somewhat in the truncated Republican platform, seeks to raise wages and restore American manufacturing in two basic ways: impose across-the-board tariffs on all imports to favor American-made products, and reduce downward pressure on wages by deporting millions of undocumented immigrants and narrowing the path into the country for legal immigrants.

Meantime, the Republican platform, adopted just ahead of the convention, pledges to end inflation, increase energy production, stop sending manufacturing jobs overseas, cut taxes for workers and corporations, keep the dollar the world’s reserve currency and protect the largest domestic programs, Social Security and Medicare, from any cuts.

“We’re done, ladies and gentlemen, catering to Wall Street — we’ll commit to the working man,” Mr. Vance said in his speech. “We’re done importing foreign labor, we’re going to fight for American citizens and their good jobs and their good wages.”

To some economists on the left and the right, the policies might have political appeal to blue-collar workers, but they are economically incoherent and inherently inflationary, and will ultimately harm the people they purport to help.

“It’s a maximal prescription for stagflation,” said Lawrence H. Summers, a Harvard economist and former Treasury secretary in the Obama administration, referring to the economic stagnation and price inflation of the 1970s. “It brings together the worst of macroeconomic irresponsibility, the worst of a supply-side shock populism and the worst of anti-business diminutions of confidence.”

Republican economists were not more charitable.

“What is absolutely missing is consumer sovereignty, the respect for individuals to make private decisions,” said Douglas Holtz-Eakin, an economic adviser in George W. Bush’s White House and the economic architect of Senator John McCain’s presidential campaign. “It uses the power of the state to solve all our problems.”

But James K. Galbraith, a senior liberal economist at the University of Texas, said the Vance vision was a remarkable shift, for the Republican Party and for Mr. Trump, whose first-term policies were “largely an oligarch’s presidency.”

“We’re in the early stage of a very interesting moment that could represent the transformation of American politics,” Professor Galbraith said, marveling that Republicans are at least rhetorically centering the ***working class*** in their policies.

In Mr. Vance’s view, the policies of both parties have been geared toward maximizing profit for corporations and stock owners by globalizing manufacturing, allowing work to flow abroad in search of cheap labor while imports have flowed back unimpeded. Those companies forced to stay in the country could chase cheap wages by importing workers, legally or illegally. But those companies have also had to deal with burdensome regulations imposed by Democratic presidents to shape consumer choices, especially favoring clean energy and electric cars.

There are some obvious contradictions in this view. For all of Mr. Vance’s talk of “Wall Street barons” and selling out to “multinational corporations,” [*Mr. Trump told Bloomberg News*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/17/us/politics/read-the-transcript-of-jd-vances-convention-speech.html) in a lengthy interview that he wanted to cut the corporate income tax he slashed in his first term even further, to 15 percent. And he said he would consider nominating Jamie Dimon, the face of Wall Street as chief executive of JPMorgan Chase, as Treasury secretary.

He said he would also keep the Federal Reserve chairman he appointed, Jerome H. Powell, who has shown his willingness to raise interest rates to tame inflation. If Mr. Trump’s policies cause inflation, higher interest rates would most likely slow the promised economic growth.

The budget deficit, already in dangerous territory at $1.7 trillion, is on course to reach $3.8 trillion in 10 years, under current policies, assuming the tax cuts passed in Mr. Trump’s term are extended next year. Yet the Republican platform promises not to touch Social Security and Medicare, to cut taxes ever further, and to expand spending on the military, veterans and the border wall. That doesn’t include [*the billions of dollars that would be required*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/17/us/politics/read-the-transcript-of-jd-vances-convention-speech.html) to fulfill Mr. Trump’s promise to deport the 11 million undocumented immigrants in the country.

At the same time, the platform promises to keep the dollar the world’s most potent and valuable currency.

To do that, Mr. Holtz-Eakin said, “you’d better fix Social Security and Medicare.”

But economists of all stripes would rather dwell on a larger question: Would any of it work?

Brian M. Riedl, an economic policy expert at the conservative Manhattan Institute who was a budget adviser to Senate Republicans, called the policies “totally incoherent.”

A blanket 10 percent tariff on all imports would raise the prices of goods not only made abroad, but at home, Mr. Riedl said. Domestic manufacturing would most likely see the cost of components rise substantially, he explained. And if the tariff policy does reduce imports, the collapse of international competition would simply allow domestic manufacturers to raise prices and profits, Mr. Summers said.

Jared Bernstein, the chairman of President Biden’s Council of Economic Advisers, has noted on social media that the consumer goods that have seen the largest price drops in recent months are made by industries facing international competition. Trade is a check on inflation.

Decades of economic research have also raised doubts that immigrants — especially undocumented immigrants — really suppress domestic wages. Most immigrant labor goes to work Americans don’t want, like in farm labor and meatpacking. Legal immigrants are often highly skilled, imported specifically for industries where skilled Americans are in short supply.

Liberal economists may like the goals laid out by Mr. Vance, but they too question the path. If you want to raise wages, they argue, raising the minimum wage and enforcing labor standards, like overtime pay, would be a lot more efficient than a sprawling deportation effort. Mr. Galbraith noted that tariffs might raise the cost of imports, but for American manufacturers to take up the slack, they would need more engineers, better education and a coherent industrial policy to get industries off the ground. That would take time.

Until then, consumers, especially struggling workers, would take it on the chin. Tax cuts for corporations coupled with higher prices on cheap imports at the local Walmart is hardly centering the ***working class***, Democrats have said.

And the manufacturers that exist, facing higher-cost workers, would be encouraged to modernize with robotics and artificial intelligence, becoming productive without many workers.

That is precisely what happened with the U.S. steel industry. Tariffs were imposed on imported steel in 2001, after brutal international competition had brought domestic employment to 122,000 workers, down tens of thousands from the peak. Even after a slight rebound under President Biden’s Buy American policies that mandate the use of domestic steel for federally funded infrastructure projects, employment has nudged up from its trough by only 3,400 workers, to 83,600, [*according to the Federal Reserve*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/17/us/politics/read-the-transcript-of-jd-vances-convention-speech.html).

“George W. Bush imposed steel tariffs in 2001 to save the steel industry, and how did that work out?” Mr. Holtz-Eakin said. “Isn’t it time to say look at the evidence?”

PHOTO: Some economists on the left and the right said that while Senator J.D. Vance’s policies might have political appeal to blue-collar workers, they are economically incoherent and inherently inflationary. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Haiyun Jiang for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***'Brain Rot' Is New Word Of the Year***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DJH-0FY1-JBG3-600M-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 2, 2024 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 912 words

**Byline:** By Jennifer Schuessler

**Body**

It's not just you. Oxford University Press, the publisher of the august Oxford English Dictionary, is also going a bit fuzzy between the ears.

After digging through its enormous database, it has chosen ''brain rot'' -- specifically, the kind brought on by digital overload -- as its 2024 Word of the Year.

It's been quite a journey for ''brain rot,'' which triumphed over a shortlist of contenders including ''lore,'' ''demure,'' ''romantasy,'' ''dynamic pricing'' and ''slop.'' According to Oxford, its earliest known appearance was in 1854, in ''Walden,'' Henry David Thoreau's classic account of moving alone to a cabin in the woods.

''While England endeavors to cure the potato-rot,'' Thoreau lamented, ''will not any endeavor to cure the brain-rot, which prevails so much more widely and fatally?''

The answer, apparently, is no. These days, according to Oxford, it's often invoked by young people on social media to describe the ''supposed deterioration of a person's mental or intellectual state,'' particularly stemming from overconsumption of trivial online content.

That usage surged by about 230 percent over the past year. Casper Grathwohl, the president of Oxford Languages, the company's dictionary division, said the term's rise reflects the breakneck speed of social media-driven language change.

''With 'brain rot,''' he said, ''it's a phenomenon of young people skewering language trends on TikTok, almost exactly after they themselves have churned out that language.''

Oxford's Word of the Year is based on usage evidence drawn from its continually updated corpus of some 26 billion words, which is drawn from news sources across the English-speaking world. The idea, according to the announcement, is to reflect ''the moods and conversations that have shaped 2024,'' backed by data.

As in the past few years, Oxford invited the public to vote on the shortlist. The winner was chosen by the publisher's team of experts, based on the vote (roughly 37,000 people weighed in) and further analysis. ''Choosing the Word of the Year,'' Grathwohl acknowledged, ''is a bit of a dark art.''

The contest began 20 years ago, with the selection of ''chav'' (British slang for ***working class***). Over the years, it has anointed enduring new words like ''podcast,'' ''selfie'' and ''post-truth,'' along with a few head-scratchers. (Youthquake, from 2017, came in for particular abuse.)

And the contest has itself affected the language. Last year, after Oxford chose ''rizz'' (Gen Z or Gen Alpha slang for ''style, charm or attractiveness,'' possibly derived from ''charisma''), a flood of news coverage caused usage to spike by more than 1500 percent. Current usage remains twice as high as it was immediately before last fall's announcement, according to Oxford's data.

''It was a huge hit,'' Grathwohl said. ''It's got swagger, real energy, and was just the shot in the arm people needed at that time -- even if for the young people who drove its use, it was already passé.''

This year's list is short on flashy neologisms or blended words like ''broflake'' or ''lumbersexual.'' This year's lone portmanteau, ''romantasy,'' refers to ''a genre of fiction that combines elements of romance and fantasy.''

Instead, Grathwohl noted, the finalists were heavy on old-fashioned words that young people had repurposed in semi-ironic ways -- the linguistic equivalent, he said, of ''bell-bottoms coming back into fashion.''

Take ''demure.'' The earliest recorded usage, according to Oxford, was in 1377, in a reference to the sea being calm. By the late 1400s, it commonly appears as a description of people who are serious, reserved or grave in demeanor.

Usage surged in August, after the influencer Jools Lebron posted a TikTok video describing her makeup and dress as ''very demure, very mindful,'' sparking a deluge of posts across various platforms reusing the phrase.

The ''demure'' moment, Grathwohl noted, came shortly after the singer Charli XCX sent ''brat'' surging. ''It's the other side of the coin,'' he said.

''Lore,'' which dates back almost 1,000 years, is another old-timey word that has been refashioned by young social media users, to refer to facts or beliefs around a celebrity or a fictional character, or even one's own personal history.

''Slop'' has undergone a similar update. There was a spike of more than 300 percent over the past year in references not to pig feed, but to ''art, writing or other content generated using artificial intelligence, shared and distributed online in an indiscriminate or intrusive way, and characterized as being of low quality, inauthentic or inaccurate,'' according to Oxford.

Like ''brain rot,'' ''it ''represents the underbelly of today's linguistic churn,'' Grathwohl said. ''There's a sense that we are drowning in mediocre experiences as digital lives get clogged.''

Oxford, it must be noted, is not the only language kingmaker. In recent weeks, there have also been Word of the Year announcements from Cambridge University Press (''manifest'') and Dictionary.com (justice for ''demure''!).

Which raises an unsettling question: Could all these rival words -- and the flood of news articles about them -- contribute to brain rot?

''I don't want to overblow the Word of the Year,'' Grathwohl said. ''It's something fun and engaging.''

''The most successful ones,'' he added, ''are the ones that are slightly counterintuitive and make people think.''

Video at top: CreativeSource/Getty Images

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/01/arts/brain-rot-oxford-word.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/01/arts/brain-rot-oxford-word.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page C1, C4.

**Load-Date:** December 2, 2024

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[***JD Vance, Elon Musk and the Future of America; Ross Douthat***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DKJ-HVS1-JBG3-628N-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 7, 2024 Saturday 15:13 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 905 words

**Byline:** Ross DouthatRoss Douthat has been an Opinion columnist for The Times since 2009. He is the author, most recently, of &amp;#8220;The Deep Places: A Memoir of Illness and Discovery.&amp;#8221;

**Highlight:** How the two men’s visions for America come together or clash is a key to the new administration’s success.

**Body**

Beneath all the furor around Donald Trump’s appointments — Matt Gaetz down and out, Pete Hegseth down but maybe coming back, the Kash Patel drama waiting in the wings — the most important figures in this administration’s orbit have not changed since Election Day: Besides the president himself, the future of Trumpism is still most likely to be shaped and stamped by two men, JD Vance and Elon Musk.

Not just because of their talent and achievements, and not just because Vance is the political heir apparent and Musk would be one of the world’s most influential men even if he didn’t have the ear of the president-elect. It’s also because they represent, more clearly than any other appointee, two potent visions for a 21st-century right, and their interaction is likely to shape conservatism for the next four years and beyond.

Musk is the dynamist, the believer in growth and innovation and exploration as the lodestars of American civilization. His dynamism was not always especially ideological: The Tesla and SpaceX mogul was once a Barack Obama Democrat, happy to support an active and sometimes spendthrift government so long as it spent freely on his projects. But as Musk has moved right, he has adopted a more libertarian pose, insisting on the profound wastefulness of government spending and the tyranny of the administrative state.

Vance meanwhile is the populist, committed to protect and uplift those parts of America neglected or left behind in an age of globalization. Along with his support for the Trumpian causes of tariffs and immigration restriction, this worldview has made him more sympathetic than the average Republican senator to certain forms of government investment — from longstanding programs like Social Security to new ideas about industrial policy and family policy.

Despite this contrast, the Musk and Vance worldviews overlap in important ways. Musk has moved in a populist direction on immigration, while Vance has been a venture capitalist and clearly has a strong sympathy for parts of the dynamist worldview, especially its critique of the regulatory state. Both men share a farsighted interest in the collapsing birthrate, a heretofore-fringe issue that’s likely to dominate the later parts of the 21st century. And there is [*modest-but-real convergence*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/19/opinion/vance-tech-alliance.html) between the Muskian “tech” worldview and Vance’s more “neo-trad” style of religious conservatism, based on not just a shared antipathy toward wokeness but also similar views about the intelligibility of the cosmos and the providential place of humankind in history.

So you can imagine a scenario, in Trump’s second term and beyond, where these convergences yield a dynamist-populist fusionism — a conservatism that manages to simultaneously aim for the stars and uplift and protect the ***working class***, in which economic growth and technological progress help renew the heartland (as Musk’s own companies have brought [*jobs and optimism*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/19/opinion/vance-tech-alliance.html) to South Texas) while also preserving our creaking social compact.

That’s the potential Musk-Vance synthesis. But the potential tensions here are also important, as are the ways in which each man’s worldview can fail. Populism without a strong commitment to dynamism can easily yield stagnation: The combination of tariffs and immigration restriction and the Trump-Vance pledge to protect Social Security and Medicare threatens a certain kind of sclerosis unless it’s matched by libertarian efforts in other areas of the economy, a war on red tape and cartels, deregulation in a variety of forms. And the spirit of populism, its political psychology, needs a dose of the libertarian impulse, an element of American entrepreneurial can-do, to avoid becoming a purely defensive and zero-sum worldview.

But by the same token, a dynamism that imagines itself capable of waving a magic wand over the government and making much of the welfare state somehow disappear will end up meeting the same fate as the Tea Party and the Mitt Romney-Paul Ryan presidential campaign — fracturing the Trump coalition and shedding downscale swing voters for the sake of an unrealistic libertarianism.

In some of Musk’s post-election posting, especially, you can see intimations of this worldview, which veers between penny-ante criticisms of governmental waste and a root-and-branch [*critique*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/19/opinion/vance-tech-alliance.html) of programs like Social Security. If this is where DOGE, his “Department of Government Efficiency,” tries to take the Trump-era G.O.P. — away from a limited-but-positive vision of government’s role toward a more ideological agenda — then Muskism will be a political dead end.

The Musk America needs is the great rocketeer and technological impresario, bending politics to serve a futuristic vision. The Vance America needs is the populist who believes in a constructive role for government in the building of that future, and in making sure its society and economy has a place for ordinary working people. The great test that awaits the second Trump administration is making these visions work together — while the more they end up in conflict, the more likely it becomes that Trump 2.0 will fail.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/19/opinion/vance-tech-alliance.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/19/opinion/vance-tech-alliance.html). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/19/opinion/vance-tech-alliance.html).

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This article appeared in print on page SR2.

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[***A Well-Documented Childhood. A Very Private Life.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DSN-4SY3-RS34-43BN-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Sheryl Gay Stolberg

**Body**

Jimmy Carter's daughter had an extraordinary and well-documented childhood in the White House. Since then she has for the most part lived a very private life.

The moment lingers in the national memory: a 9-year-old girl, golden haired and slightly awkward, traipsing off to public school in the nation's capital with the Secret Service in tow.

For Americans of a certain age, that image and others of Amy Carter -- the youngest child of former President Jimmy Carter and the first young child to live in the White House since the days of President John F. Kennedy -- defined for the public a new and very different president. Mr. Carter, a Baptist Sunday school teacher and onetime peanut farmer, was determined to live simply and modestly after the wrenching scandal and national upheaval of Watergate.

During Mr. Carter's time in office, Amy roller-skated on the driveway near the White House South Lawn; had dinner with one of her favorite actors, John Travolta; and sat behind the historic Resolute desk, which had been returned to the Oval Office at her father's request. Her cat, a Siamese named Misty Malarky Ying Yang, became famous.

Now, after decades of quiet living in the Atlanta area, Ms. Carter, 57, will once again be in the spotlight as her family prepares to lay her father to rest in a funeral that will draw dignitaries from around the world.

It is unclear how much of a public role she will take. When her mother, Rosalynn Carter, died in November 2023, a tearful Ms. Carter read a love letter her father had written to his wife 75 years earlier, when he was serving in the Navy and they were apart.

''My mom spent most of her life in love with my dad,'' she said. ''Their partnership and love story was a defining feature of her life. Because he isn't able to speak to you today, I'm going to share some of his words about loving and missing her.''

Those who know Ms. Carter say she is reticent to the point of being shy. She has taught art, part time, at the Paideia School, a private school in Atlanta that her two sons have attended. Her name is not on the school's website, and the school did not respond to email messages.

''She is a private person and likes to live a private life,'' said Jan Williams, who taught Ms. Carter in 1976, when she was in the fourth grade in Plains, Ga., while Mr. Carter was running for president.

Shortly after he won the presidency, Mr. Carter announced that his daughter would attend the Thaddeus Stevens School, a public elementary school in Washington with a majority Black student body.

Only one other sitting president, Theodore Roosevelt, had sent a child to public school. But Mr. Carter had accepted the Democratic presidential nomination by condemning the ''political and economic elite'' who were out of touch with ***working-class*** Americans.

''When the public schools are inferior or torn by strife, their children go to exclusive private schools,'' he said then.

In Washington and around the country, Americans debated whether the president and first lady were making decisions about their daughter's education to score a political point. Amy has three older brothers -- Jack, Chip and Jeff, all now in their 70s. Chip and Jeff Carter and their wives also lived in the White House for a time.

But the public's fixation was with Amy, so much younger than her brothers that some people assumed she was an only child.

''She didn't like all the limelight that was put on her,'' Ms. Williams said. ''She preferred to just do young child things -- walk up and down the railroad tracks, climb a tree, ride a bike.''

Ms. Carter cut a bookish, innocent figure as a child. She played in a treehouse designed by her father on the White House South Lawn. At Mr. Carter's first state dinner in 1977, which honored the president of Mexico, she touched off a debate about etiquette after reading a book called ''The Mystery of the Screaming Clock'' at the dinner table.

The next week, at a state dinner for the prime minister of Canada, she brought two books, ''Charlie and the Great Glass Elevator'' and ''The Story of the Gettysburg Address.''

It was, by any account, an extraordinary childhood. In a 1995 interview on the NPR program ''Fresh Air,'' Ms. Carter recalled being especially drawn to Anwar el-Sadat, the president of Egypt. ''He was so kind and would come and say good night to me before he left,'' she said.

And she ''was completely overwhelmed'' by meeting Mr. Travolta and the singer Cher, whose long fingernails were etched in her memory. ''I feel like she spoke to me about an hour alone -- made me feel adult,'' she said.

Ms. Carter's views appeared to carry weight with her father. During a 1980 presidential debate against Ronald Reagan, Mr. Carter told the audience that he had asked his daughter what she thought the ''most important issue'' was.

''She said she thought nuclear weaponry and the control of nuclear arms,'' Mr. Carter said.

Ms. Carter did have a brief stint as a newsmaker in her own right -- as a teenage activist. In 1985, she was arrested at the South African Embassy in Washington while protesting that country's racial policy of apartheid. The next year, as a freshman at Brown University, she was arrested at an anti-apartheid protest in Rhode Island. And later that year, she was arrested in Massachusetts along with the 1960s antiwar activist Abbie Hoffman and others in a demonstration against the C.I.A.'s involvement in Nicaragua under her father's successor, Mr. Reagan.

Ms. Carter was accused of disorderly conduct, while some other protesters were charged with trespassing. She and 14 others were tried and acquitted. She said in a 1986 interview that her parents were ''neither excited nor upset'' at her activities.

''Amy is a very shy girl, contrary to the image you see projected in the news media,'' Mr. Carter said at the time, adding that he agreed with her stance. ''But she believes very strongly in what she's doing.''

In 1987, Ms. Carter severed her ties with Brown after being asked to leave for neglecting her studies in favor of political activism. She said she had not been expelled but chose not to go back. Years later, in the NPR interview, she said the experience made her ''consider what kind of environment I really felt comfortable in'' and prompted her return to the South, to study at the Memphis College of Art.

The last time Ms. Carter was in the public eye in any significant way was when she partnered with her father on a children's book, ''The Little Baby Snoogle-Fleejer,'' which was published in 1995. The story, about a boy who befriends a sea monster, was based on a fairy tale that Mr. Carter made up to tell his own children.

Ms. Carter, then a graduate student in art history at Tulane University, did the illustrations. Mr. Carter said at the time that he wanted to write the book because it gave him the chance to work with his daughter.

Dr. William Foege, who served as director of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention under Mr. Carter and later was executive director of the Carter Center, said the experience drew the father and daughter closer.

''The two of them bonded over that book,'' Dr. Foege said.

Ava Sasani contributed reporting.Ava Sasani contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/30/us/politics/amy-carter-jimmy.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/30/us/politics/amy-carter-jimmy.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Amy Carter, the daughter of Jimmy Carter, was the first child of a U.S. president to attend public school since Theodore Roosevelt. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CHUCK FISHMAN/GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page A16.

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[***Why Is Trump Gaining With Black and Hispanic Voters?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D5T-MXK1-DXY4-X4S4-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** UPSHOT

**Length:** 2248 words

**Byline:** Nate CohnNate Cohn is The Times&amp;#8217;s chief political analyst. He covers elections, public opinion, demographics and polling.

**Highlight:** Five possible explanations for the increases in support, particularly among young men.

**Body**

Five possible explanations for the increases in support, particularly among young men.

In 2016, Donald J. Trump became the Republican nominee and ultimately won the presidency after calling many Mexican immigrants rapists and falsely claiming that Barack Obama was not born in the United States.

Eight years later, the polls suggest that he might well return to the White House by faring better among Black and Hispanic voters combined than any Republican presidential nominee since the enactment of the Civil Rights Act in 1964.

How is this possible? It’s a question I get often, and the latest New York Times/Siena College [*polls of Black*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/12/us/elections/times-siena-poll-black-likely-electorate.html) and [*Hispanic voters*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/12/us/elections/times-siena-poll-black-likely-electorate.html) nationwide represent our best effort at answering it.

Like our other surveys this cycle, [*the polls find*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/12/us/elections/times-siena-poll-black-likely-electorate.html) Mr. Trump faring unusually well for a Republican among Black and Hispanic voters. Overall, [*Kamala Harris is ahead,*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/12/us/elections/times-siena-poll-black-likely-electorate.html) 78 percent to 15 percent, among Black voters, and she’s leading, 56-37, among Hispanic voters.

Almost any way we can measure it, Mr. Trump is running as well or better among Black and Hispanic voters as any Republican in recent memory. In 2020, Joe Biden’s Black support was 92 percent among major-party voters; his Hispanic support was 63 percent, according to Times estimates.

The poll offers plenty of insight into Mr. Trump’s strengths and Ms. Harris’s weaknesses, but it does not offer a simple, definitive answer. This may be unsatisfying, but it should not be surprising. After all, analysts are still debating whether Mr. Trump’s strength among white ***working-class*** voters is attributable to the economy, racism, ideology, sexism, Hillary Clinton’s liabilities or one of countless other theories. There still isn’t a definitive answer, even with the benefit of the final results and almost a decade of research.

The truth is there are many explanations and they’re hard to untangle. Here, I’ll offer five explanations offered by the survey. This list is not comprehensive — not even close. But each one plays a role in the story.

Before going on, an important thing to keep in mind: While Mr. Trump is doing far better than prior Republicans, he is still far from winning a majority of the Black or Hispanic vote. As a consequence, many of the factors helping Mr. Trump apply only to a minority of Black and Hispanic voters. Even so, Democrats have typically won these groups by such wide margins that even modest support by Black or Hispanic voters can lay the groundwork for politically significant gains.

1. They don’t mind the dog whistles

To liberals, Mr. Trump’s views on race, crime and immigration are little more than racist [*dog whistles*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/12/us/elections/times-siena-poll-black-likely-electorate.html).

Many Black and Hispanic voters feel similarly, but a surprising number hear those dog whistles and like what they’re hearing.

* Around 40 percent of Black voters and 43 percent of Hispanic voters say they support building a wall along the Southern border. Similarly, 45 percent of Hispanic voters and 41 percent of Black voters say they support deporting undocumented immigrants.

1. Half of Hispanic voters and nearly half — 47 percent — of Black voters say that crime in big cities is a major problem that’s gotten out of control. That’s essentially the same as the share of white voters (50 percent) who say the same.

The support for Mr. Trump’s views extends beyond issues related to race and immigration. A majority of Black and Hispanic voters seem to sympathize with his “America First” foreign policy, saying that America ought to pay less attention to problems overseas and concentrate on problems at home. Previous Times/Siena surveys have found that a substantial share of Black and Hispanic voters agree with Mr. Trump on trade as well.

Or put differently: There’s a lot about Mr. Trump’s core populist, conservative message that resonates with a sizable chunk of Black and Hispanic voters.

2. They’re not offended; they might even be entertained

Of course, Mr. Trump hasn’t just used dog whistles in his campaigns. Sometimes, he’s used a bullhorn.

During his time in national politics, he has offended millions of Black and Hispanic voters, including by recently saying that Haitian refugees [*eat cats and dogs*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/12/us/elections/times-siena-poll-black-likely-electorate.html) and that undocumented immigrants are “[*poisoning the blood*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/12/us/elections/times-siena-poll-black-likely-electorate.html) of our country.”

But a sizable minority of Black and Hispanic voters aren’t necessarily so offended.

Overall, 20 percent of Black voters say that those offended by Mr. Trump take him too seriously, while 78 percent agree people have good reason to be offended.

Similarly, 40 percent of Hispanic voters say people offended by Mr. Trump take his words too seriously, while 55 percent say there’s good reason to be offended. And importantly, only about one-third of Hispanic voters say Mr. Trump is talking about them when he’s talking about problems with immigration.

Why aren’t more Black and Hispanic voters offended by Mr. Trump? One possible factor: He hasn’t necessarily offended them so much recently.

While most voters have been offended by Mr. Trump at some point, a substantial 53 percent of Hispanics and 35 percent of Black voters said they hadn’t found anything he has said recently to be offensive. Those tallies are down a bit from earlier in the year — perhaps the remarks about Haitian refugees are a factor — but I’d guess more voters would have said they had been offended recently if we had asked the same question in the heart of the 2016 campaign.

Another factor: A sizable number of Black and Hispanic voters appear to be entertained by Mr. Trump.

In this survey, we asked voters whether they thought Ms. Harris or Mr. Trump was more “fun” — a question that could potentially capture everything from Ms. Harris’s claim to “joy” to Mr. Trump’s “locker-room talk.”

Overall, voters said Ms. Harris was more “fun” than Mr. Trump — she even led on “fun” among white voters, even though Mr. Trump led among white voters in the poll.

But among Black and Hispanic voters, the story was a bit more complicated. They do rate Ms. Harris as more “fun,” but by a much narrower margin than her lead over Mr. Trump in the presidential race. Mr. Trump’s relative strength on “fun” comes almost entirely from men; he led on the measure among Hispanic men. Age is a factor, too: Younger voters are far likelier to find Mr. Trump “fun” with respect to Ms. Harris than voters over 65.

Put all of this together, and Mr. Trump isn’t quite as unpopular as you might guess among Black and Hispanic voters. Overall, 17 percent of Black voters and 41 percent of Hispanic voters say they have a favorable view of him.

3. It’s the economy, stupid

It’s obvious, and yet it still doesn&#39;t get enough attention.

Many people assume that Democrats win Black and Hispanic voters simply because of the party’s commitment to advancing racial equality, but the role of economic self-interest should not be underestimated. Democrats started winning Black and Hispanic voters in the 1930s, not in the 1960s, because Franklin D. Roosevelt’s New Deal helped redefine the Democrats as the party of the ***working class***, not just the party of the former Confederacy.

Just 20 percent of Hispanic voters and 26 percent of Black voters say the current economic conditions are good or excellent. More than half of both groups say they have “often” cut back on groceries over the last year because of the cost.

This is important for economically vulnerable voters — especially those who have previously voted for Democrats on the assumption that they represented their economic interests. Overall, the economy was the most-cited issue among Black and Hispanic voters when asked what would most decide their vote this November.

As a celebrity billionaire businessman, Mr. Trump has always had an advantage on this issue, whether against Mrs. Clinton or Mr. Biden. Now, Mr. Trump is running again at a time when voters are more dissatisfied with the economy than before, and when many look back on Mr. Trump’s presidency as a prosperous and peaceful time. Ms. Harris has a mere 69-25 lead among Black voters who rate the economy as the most important factor for their vote; Mr. Trump leads, 61-35, among Hispanic voters who say the economy matters most.

When combined with the rest of Mr. Trump’s populist pitch, the poll finds that the Democratic core brand advantage as the party of the ***working class*** has eroded. Black and Hispanic voters still see Democrats as the party of the ***working class***, but only by a 76-18 margin in the case of Black voters and a 56-35 advantage among Hispanics. It’s a notable shift from September 2022, when Democrats had a 58-27 lead among Hispanic voters by this measure.

4. The end of hope and change

Even beyond the poor state of the economy, there’s something deeper holding Democrats back: a sense that voting for them just won’t make much of a difference.

Of all the questions in the survey, perhaps the single worst one for Democrats was on the question of which party best “keeps its promises.” Just 63 percent of Black voters and 46 percent of Hispanic voters said “keeps its promises” describes the Democratic Party better than the Republicans.

Black and Hispanic voters don’t necessarily doubt Democratic intentions, but they are disappointed in the results. Democrats fared poorly on questions like whether the party can “fix the problems facing people like me,” even as they excelled on “understand the problems facing people like me.”

In the presidential race, few seem to be convinced that Ms. Harris will make a difference in their lives. Just 50 percent of Hispanic voters said Ms. Harris would do more to help them personally, while 37 percent said the same for Mr. Trump. Among Black voters, 73 percent said Ms. Harris would do more to help them personally, compared with 14 percent who said the same for Mr. Trump.

Why are Democrats doing so poorly on these measures? Much of it, of course, is about the state of the economy today. But for a decade this problem could be heard between the lines — in focus groups and interviews and polls of Black and Hispanic voters — stemming from a perceived failure of Mr. Obama’s presidency to bring the kind of change that many hoped it might.

In a way, Democrats are suffering the cost of having held the presidency for 12 of the last 16 difficult years. The period began with high hopes, most of all for Black voters. Today, voters remain deeply dissatisfied with the state of the country and the economy. Great expectations weren’t met.

5. For a new generation, Trump is ‘normal’

The Times/Siena polls suggest Mr. Trump has made his largest gains among young Black and Hispanic voters — especially young Black and Hispanic men.

Overall, he has a 55-38 lead among Hispanic men 45 or younger. Ms. Harris leads among Black men under 45, but only by 69-27. The results among 18-to-29-year-old Hispanic and Black men are even more striking, though the samples are small.

In contrast, Ms. Harris holds far more typical leads for a Democrat among younger women, with a 68-30 edge among Hispanic women under 45 and 87-6 among young Black women.

These young men came of age long after the civil rights movement that cemented nearly unanimous Democratic support among Black voters 60 years ago. The youngest were toddlers during the Obama ’08 campaign. They may not have a vivid memory of Mr. Trump’s 2016 campaign. To them, Mr. Trump may be “normal” — a fixture of their lives to this point, naturally making it harder to depict him as a norm-defying “threat to democracy.”

While these events forged and cemented Democratic loyalties among their elders, today’s young Black and Hispanic voters have come of age in a different era. There was the political, economic and cultural upheaval of the Trump era and the pandemic, including lockdowns and vaccine mandates; the Black Lives Matter movement; and the backlash against “[*woke*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/12/us/elections/times-siena-poll-black-likely-electorate.html)” that followed. They experienced rising cost of goods and housing just as they entered their first years of independent living.

The poll offers relatively little evidence about how these events shaped the political views of young Black and Hispanic men. [*Prior Times/Siena polling*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/12/us/elections/times-siena-poll-black-likely-electorate.html) has found a sliver of young Black and Hispanic men who appear relatively moderate on traditional economic and cultural issues, but also seem to [*resent*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/10/12/us/elections/times-siena-poll-black-likely-electorate.html) the prevailing “politically correct” or “woke” cultural norms of their generation. It may also be worth noting that young voters were especially likely to say Mr. Trump was “fun.”

What’s perhaps most important, however, is that Mr. Trump has made his largest gains among voters who were political blank slates. If Mr. Trump was going to surge among groups with traditional loyalties to Democrats, it makes sense that it manifested among the younger, less engaged voters who had weak or no previous attachment to the Democratic Party.

This same phenomenon, however, leaves lingering doubts about whether all of Mr. Trump’s gains will materialize on Election Day. Young Black and Hispanic men are not the most reliable, high-turnout voters. Indeed, a disproportionate share of Mr. Trump’s Black and Hispanic supporters say they will “probably” support Mr. Trump, but not “definitely.”

But whatever happens this November, today’s young Black and Hispanic voters will be the regular Black and Hispanic voters of the future. Even if Mr. Trump’s support is not fully realized in the final results this November, it may only be a matter of time before Republicans break through.

PHOTO: A Trump event in the Bronx in May rallied Black and Latino support. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Hiroko Masuike/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 24, 2024

**End of Document**



[***She Exalted The Beauty Of Dance***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DSN-4SY3-RS34-439V-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Elizabeth Kendall

**Body**

She was The New Yorker's first dance critic. Her wit could be devastating but behind it was a belief in beauty.

Arlene Croce, who died last week at 90, made dance as important in arts criticism as painting, music, theater and books. The New Yorker's dance critic from 1973 to 1996, Croce amassed a cult following and not a few detractors. She was also, despite insular origins, one of the most daring and stylish critics in the American canon.

In the 1970s, a dance boom hit New York City, and The New Yorker created its first-ever dance critic slot, filling it with a 40-year-old editor and film critic plucked from small-magazine obscurity: Croce.

But Croce wasn't created by the dance boom. She created herself, through a stubborn, private, almost secret ambition, and a sort of homemade feminism that morphed into an Olympian credo about art. She believed in beauty. And she believed that a mix of virtuosity and classicism -- she loved that word -- lifted you out of the reach of messy human emotions.

She was born into a large, extended Italian American ***working-class*** family in Providence, R.I., that rose to the middle class as her father, a textile mill manager, followed the industry to North Carolina. While displaced, the Croces retained their rituals (stuffed shells for special occasions) and wry speech rhythms, which Arlene absorbed even as she ventured beyond the family.

Her first epiphany, she told me once, came from an after-school program that took children to the movies to watch Disney cartoons. She noticed that the college-age chaperones reacted differently from the kids: They weren't just laughing, they were analyzing.

Other epiphanies followed. Just out of Barnard, she was physiologically shaken, she said in a 1979 interview in Vogue, by the premiere of George Balanchine's ''Agon'' in 1957. She was similarly moved by a retrospective of the 1930s Astaire-Rogers films at the Museum of Modern Art.

Film and dance merged in her perceptions. She became an Astaire-Rogers ''fan'' (her term for herself), and in 1972, she wrote ''The Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers Book.'' It caught the notice of The New Yorker's movie critic, Pauline Kael, who offered a template for a vividly subjective critical style (and eventually helped Croce onto The New Yorker staff). And somewhere in there came Croce's conversion from the left-populist Roman Catholicism of Dorothy Day to the right-wing politics of William Buckley, on whose National Review she worked as an editor.

In 1965, Croce founded, with David Vaughan and Robert Cornfield, the small magazine Ballet Review, the only serious magazine in the United States to address dance. (It folded in 2020.)

I was one of the young writers brought into Ballet Review's orbit, through Croce's constant need to fill the magazine and keep the dance conversation going. Others in that orbit -- it was actually more like an entourage, or a court, with the usual jostling for notice -- were Robert Greskovic, Don Daniels, Mindy Aloff, Joan Acocella, Claudia Roth Pierpont and Alastair Macaulay, all of whom became distinguished critics in their own right. (Macaulay was The New York Times dance critic from 2007 to 2018.)

Croce educated us, or at least me, into the belief that writing about one art meant engaging with all the arts. She sent me to Eugene O'Neill plays on Broadway; to film retrospectives at MoMA, including a 1975 D.W. Griffith festival. As payment for my first Ballet Review article, she gave me the two-LP set of Benny Goodman's 1938 Carnegie Hall concert, apologizing that it wasn't money. She loved, and talked about, cultural artifacts as different as Louis Armstrong's songs and French New Wave cinema, Beethoven string quartets and designer clothes.

We went shopping. She once pressed me so hard to buy a Geoffrey Beene suit on sale (beige jacket, beige tweed skirt, forest-green satin blouse) that I succumbed, violating my slender budget.

Croce, with her tweed skirts, her trim Italian shoes, her coifed black hair, small red lips and urban drawl, was a city creature through and through. It was as if her taste had been formed in that Lisa Fonssagrives 1950s moment of ultra-detached chic, tempered by Hollywood's sartorial prescription for working female journalists.

It wasn't quite real, her world; it was modern and antiquated both. It didn't have any place, for instance, for contemporary caution about body shaming. She was called to task several times for borderline-cruel, even borderline-racist, descriptions of dancer's bodies. Nor could she seem to deal with the emotions surrounding the AIDS crisis. In 1994, Croce was widely criticized for condemning Bill T. Jones's piece about terminally ill people, ''Still/Here,'' without attending a performance (she called it ''victim art'').

Nevertheless, Croce drew readers in -- she does still -- by her seemingly casual deployment of a devastating wit. One line I remember especially, because reading it on a hot summer day in 1974 on a bench at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, convinced me I was in the right profession. Croce was describing the new (and short-lived) Harkness Theater on 62nd and Broadway, bought and outfitted by the oil heiress Rebekah Harkness for her Harkness Ballet. After noting the semi-pornographic murals framing the stage and its negligee-style, nylon apricot curtain, she took a swipe at the repertory: ''And when that curtain rises, it is, indeed, indecent exposure.''

But it isn't just the wit you admire in Croce's reviews. It's the overall prose rhythms: the long sentences followed by short clinchers. The clauses so calibrated they need no commas. The compressed descriptions that don't crowd the reader. The word choice: surgical, precise, kinetic. She wielded verbs and adverbs to enhance the precision, while imperceptibly zooming out to a wider field of reference -- philosophy, religion, idealism.

Take this 1974 description of the newly formed, all-male Ballets Trockadero de Monte Carlo (still performing today). After noting that only two could dance on pointe, she tells us that ''the rest of the company totter, gallop, or bourrée in a flat-footed scuffle through the scene, or else lumpily decorate it in poses.'' Then she lobs in a compliment: ''Although they do what they do brutally, they never do it sloppily.''

The descriptions prepare the reader for what Croce believes. Ballet, she writes, is ''a world of signs and designs'': that is, a language complete in itself that operates in parallel with the ones we speak or gesture in. ''Ballet is fantasy, true,'' she concludes, ''but even when it is erotic fantasy, its transfigured realism reorders the sensations that flow from physical acts, and our perceptions change accordingly. The arabesque is real, the leg is not.''

It is clear from Croce's writing that she revered Balanchine above all other choreographers, for his clarity about the language; for his belief that art should be separate from life, the better to mirror it.

But even Balanchine wasn't let off Croce's critical hook: She was never, contrary to her own description, just a fan. The ballet ''Chaconne'' in its 1976 premiere looked unfinished, ''two-sided,'' because it imperfectly yoked together earlier choreography with new passages for its principal dancers. ''What happens in the middle of 'Chaconne,''' she wrote, ''is that a whole new ballet crystallizes.''

Then, a week after the premiere, another ''Chaconne'' performance changed her mind. The dancers had settled in, finding the classicism, the inner harmony, that Croce was always looking for. ''There was such euphoria onstage and in the pit,'' she wrote, ''that the final chaconne, loose ends and all, came together and held as if by miracle, and stars, demis, corps, orchestra, and audience were wafted together into Tiepolo skies.''

Ah, those Tiepolo skies. They must be her idea of heaven.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/27/arts/dance/arlene-croce-dance-critic-appraisal.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/27/arts/dance/arlene-croce-dance-critic-appraisal.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Arlene Croce, above in the 1980s, was The New Yorker's first dance critic. Her ''Fred Astaire & Ginger Rogers Book'' caught the notice of that magazine's film critic, Pauline Kael, who offered a template for a vividly subjective style. (C5) This article appeared in print on page C1, C5.

**Load-Date:** December 31, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Trump's MAGA Heir Fell in Line and Reaped the Reward***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DC4-PS31-DXY4-X4DF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 7, 2024 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 9

**Length:** 1351 words

**Byline:** By Michael C. Bender

**Body**

Mr. Vance's victory caps his ideological reversal from anti-Trump author to pro-Trump senator.

JD Vance, a 40-year-old senator who transformed himself from a biting critic of Donald J. Trump to one of his fiercest defenders, was elected the next vice president of the United States on Wednesday, becoming the third youngest and among the least experienced and most polarizing politicians ever to hold the office.

The country's 50th vice president will be sworn in just two years after assuming his first public office as a senator from Ohio. Mr. Vance is unlike any other vice president before him in the modern era: None has started the job with such an extensive public record of condemning his or her boss.

He rose to national prominence with his 2016 memoir, ''Hillbilly Elegy,'' a best seller that liberal voters devoured to better understand Mr. Trump's victory and the frustrations of the white ***working class*** that had put him in the White House. Mr. Vance also seemed an ideal translator for Blue America as a Midwestern conservative who detested the new president, likening him in an essay to ''cultural heroin.''

But Mr. Vance then started professing a change of heart and mind about the leader of his party as he prepared his own initial run for office. Mr. Trump not only forgave his young convert but also rewarded him with a game-changing endorsement in a fiercely competitive, four-way Senate primary and then, in the general election, helped push Mr. Vance's underperforming campaign over the finish line.

Now, Mr. Vance is more politically indebted to Mr. Trump than any other vice president has been to the top of the ticket in modern times, said Joel Goldstein, a professor emeritus at the St. Louis University School of Law who has spent decades studying the vice presidency.

''When you have someone whose entire political career is owed to Donald Trump, it really raises a question as to whether JD Vance is somebody who is capable of telling him when he's wrong,'' Mr. Goldstein said.

Raised by his grandmother in a ***working-class*** town in Ohio as his mother struggled with drug addiction, Mr. Vance will soon be first in the presidential line of succession. His against-all-odds upbringing was a key component of his speeches on the campaign trail as he introduced himself to voters and sought common ground with Mr. Trump's base of blue-collar supporters.

But Mr. Vance also has strong connections to deep-pocketed donors in Silicon Valley, including Peter Thiel, the iconoclastic tech pioneer and billionaire investor. Mr. Thiel, who hired Mr. Vance at his investment firm in 2017, spent $15 million on a super PAC that supported the Ohioan's Senate bid in 2022.

Now, Mr. Vance has been all but anointed by Mr. Trump as the successor to the MAGA movement, driven by blue-collar voters who helped bolster two successful presidential campaigns in 2016 and 2024.

He performed on the trail just as Mr. Trump had instructed, as an indefatigable critic of Vice President Kamala Harris while delivering a sharp debate performance that cast himself as a more three-dimensional figure than the caricature portrayed by his critics.

A former media relations officer in the Marines, Mr. Vance also showed a preternatural skill at staying on message while performing one of the most challenging jobs in politics -- defending Mr. Trump on live television. He sat for television interviews on Sunday news shows multiple times during his 16 weeks as Mr. Trump's running mate and, in a unique move for a candidate on a presidential ticket, engaged in frequent exchanges with journalists by taking questions during many of his public events.

''He's a fighter,'' Donald Trump Jr., Mr. Trump's eldest child, said of Mr. Vance at a rally while campaigning with him in Las Vegas in the final days of the race. ''And, more importantly, what we have in JD is we now have an 'America First' bench -- we have now people who can carry that torch, people unafraid to stand up to the tyranny of our government and fight.''

As Mr. Vance assists Mr. Trump in assembling an administration, a likely priority will be illegal immigration.

Mr. Vance promoted baseless claims that Haitian migrants were eating pets in Springfield, Ohio, and aggressively leaned into the Trump campaign's description of violent gangs of migrants overtaking apartment complexes and towns across the country, claims that even Republican officials disputed as dangerously inaccurate.

He has called for mass deportations as the immediate and primary focus in a new Trump-Vance era, and he has promised to ''ensure that American homes go to Americans.''

''Pack your bags, illegal immigrants,'' Mr. Vance said at a rally last week in Selma, N.C., ''because in three months, you're going back home.''

He proved to be a skillful, dogged campaigner. In his four months on Mr. Trump's ticket, he hosted 44 fund-raisers, gave at least 149 interviews and held nearly seven dozen public events, a vast majority of which were in Pennsylvania, Michigan, North Carolina, Wisconsin and Arizona, according to the campaign.

And Mr. Vance reveled in the experience. He brought family members -- most frequently his wife, Usha, a lawyer and the daughter of Indian immigrants -- on the campaign plane, as well as occasionally the family dog, a German shepherd named Atlas. At a high-dollar event with the party's elite in Tennessee, he was joined by his mother, who is recovering from her addiction.

To walk beside Mr. Trump is to reconcile with the ubiquity of controversy. That means the political test for Trump Republicans is less about dodging scandals and more about surviving them.

For Mr. Vance, that included an onslaught of criticism immediately after joining the ticket for his jolting put-downs of ''childless cat ladies.'' He had eagerly brandished the phrase to attack public officials without biological children, revealing a disregard for blended families or adoption.

As the pressure mounted, he ripped a page from the Trump playbook and refused to back down. Mr. Vance said later that he regretted the phrasing but stood by the sentiment. He pivoted to attacking the news media or portraying himself as the victim of a hostile press.

On the campaign trail, Mr. Vance followed his running mate's lead with attacks that critics denounced as misogynistic, including a barb in the final days of the race that seized on a remark from Mr. Biden, who appeared to have referred to Trump supporters as ''garbage.''

''We're going to take out the trash,'' Mr. Vance said at an Atlanta rally. ''And the trash's name is Kamala Harris.''

Mr. Vance never apologized for his false attacks on Haitian migrants -- even after the town's mayor and the state's governor, both fellow Republicans, refuted and condemned the claims. Instead, Mr. Vance claimed that he was simply passing along complaints from concerned constituents.

Mr. Vance also managed to avoid minefields in his well-received performance in the vice-presidential debate. He surprised critics by refusing to rely on his well-worn attacks against Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, his Democratic counterpart, and instead seeking common ground. He also unspooled some bold claims to help him sidestep some questions.

He shrugged off the violence from the Jan. 6, 2021, riot at the Capitol by pointing out that Mr. Trump peacefully left office two weeks later. He suggested Mr. Trump had saved Obamacare, despite his having tried repeatedly to erase it from federal law. And he said he favored policies ''to give women more options'' when it came to abortion, without saying that, for him, abortion is not one of those options.

Mr. Vance will become the nation's youngest vice president since 1953, when Richard M. Nixon, who celebrated his 40th birthday just days before inauguration, was sworn in as Dwight D. Eisenhower's vice president. John C. Breckinridge, who was 36 when he assumed office in 1857 as James Buchanan's vice president, holds the record for the nation's youngest vice president.

Both of the younger vice presidents eventually sought the White House themselves.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/jd-vance-wins-vp.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/jd-vance-wins-vp.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Senator JD Vance at a rally last week. Mr. Vance will become the youngest U.S. vice president since 1953, when Richard M. Nixon, who was also 40, was sworn in as vice president. (PHOTOGRPAH BY NICK HAGEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Mr. Vance, with Donald J. Trump at a 9/11 event in New York, professed a change of heart after once likening Mr. Trump to ''cultural heroin.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIC LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A9.

**Load-Date:** November 7, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Amy Carter, Thrust Into the Public Eye at a Young Age, Has Since Receded***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DSG-WSS3-RSS6-C36J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 30, 2024 Monday 22:44 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1229 words

**Byline:** Sheryl Gay StolbergSheryl Gay Stolberg covers health policy for The Times from Washington. A former congressional and White House correspondent, she focuses on the intersection of health policy and politics.

**Highlight:** Jimmy Carter’s daughter had an extraordinary and well-documented childhood in the White House. Since then she has for the most part lived a very private life.

**Body**

Jimmy Carter’s daughter had an extraordinary and well-documented childhood in the White House. Since then she has for the most part lived a very private life.

The moment lingers in the national memory: a 9-year-old girl, golden haired and slightly awkward, traipsing off to public school in the nation’s capital with the Secret Service in tow.

For Americans of a certain age, that image and others of Amy Carter — the youngest child of former President Jimmy Carter and the first young child to live in the White House since the days of President John F. Kennedy — defined for the public a new and very different president. Mr. Carter, a Baptist Sunday school teacher and onetime peanut farmer, was determined to live simply and modestly after the wrenching scandal and national upheaval of Watergate.

During Mr. Carter’s time in office, Amy [*roller-skated on the driveway*](https://twitter.com/CarterLibrary/status/1423705616330207235) near the White House South Lawn; [*had dinner with one of her favorite actors*](https://twitter.com/CarterLibrary/status/1423705616330207235), John Travolta; and [*sat behind the historic Resolute desk*](https://twitter.com/CarterLibrary/status/1423705616330207235), which had been returned to the Oval Office at her father’s request. Her cat, a Siamese named [*Misty Malarky Ying Yang*](https://twitter.com/CarterLibrary/status/1423705616330207235), became famous.

Now, after decades of quiet living in the Atlanta area, Ms. Carter, 57, will once again be in the spotlight as her family prepares to lay her father to rest in a funeral that will draw dignitaries from around the world.

It is unclear how much of a public role she will take. When her mother, Rosalynn Carter, [*died in November 2023*](https://twitter.com/CarterLibrary/status/1423705616330207235), a tearful Ms. Carter read a love letter her father had written to his wife 75 years earlier, when he was serving in the Navy and they were apart.

“My mom spent most of her life in love with my dad,” she said. “Their partnership and love story was a defining feature of her life. Because he isn’t able to speak to you today, I’m going to share some of his words about loving and missing her.”

Those who know Ms. Carter say she is reticent to the point of being shy. She has taught art, part time, at the Paideia School, a private school in Atlanta that her two sons have attended. Her name is not on the school’s website, and the school did not respond to email messages.

“She is a private person and likes to live a private life,” said Jan Williams, who taught Ms. Carter in 1976, when she was in the fourth grade in Plains, Ga., while Mr. Carter was running for president.

Shortly after he won the presidency, Mr. Carter announced that his daughter [*would attend the Thaddeus Stevens School*](https://twitter.com/CarterLibrary/status/1423705616330207235), a public elementary school in Washington with a majority Black student body.

Only one other sitting president, Theodore Roosevelt, had sent a child to public school. But Mr. Carter had accepted the Democratic presidential nomination by condemning the “political and economic elite” who were out of touch with ***working-class*** Americans.

“When the public schools are inferior or torn by strife, their children go to exclusive private schools,” he said then.

In Washington and around the country, Americans debated whether the president and first lady were making decisions about their daughter&#39;s education to score a political point. Amy has three older brothers — Jack, Chip and Jeff, all now in their 70s. [*Chip and Jeff Carter*](https://twitter.com/CarterLibrary/status/1423705616330207235) and their wives also lived in the White House for a time.

But the public’s fixation was with Amy, so much younger than her brothers that some people assumed she was an only child.

“She didn’t like all the limelight that was put on her,” Ms. Williams said. “She preferred to just do young child things — walk up and down the railroad tracks, climb a tree, ride a bike.”

Ms. Carter cut a bookish, innocent figure as a child. She played in a [*treehouse designed by her father on the White House South Lawn*](https://twitter.com/CarterLibrary/status/1423705616330207235). At Mr. Carter’s first state dinner in 1977, which honored the president of Mexico, she touched off a debate about etiquette after [*reading a book*](https://twitter.com/CarterLibrary/status/1423705616330207235) called “The Mystery of the Screaming Clock” at the dinner table.

The next week, at a state dinner for the prime minister of Canada, she [*brought two books*](https://twitter.com/CarterLibrary/status/1423705616330207235), “Charlie and the Great Glass Elevator” and “The Story of the Gettysburg Address.”

It was, by any account, an extraordinary childhood. In a [*1995 interview*](https://twitter.com/CarterLibrary/status/1423705616330207235) on the NPR program “Fresh Air,” Ms. Carter recalled being especially drawn to Anwar el-Sadat, the president of Egypt. “He was so kind and would come and say good night to me before he left,” she said.

And she “was completely overwhelmed” by meeting Mr. Travolta and the singer Cher, whose long fingernails were etched in her memory. “I feel like she spoke to me about an hour alone — made me feel adult,” she said.

Ms. Carter’s views appeared to carry weight with her father. During a 1980 presidential debate against Ronald Reagan, Mr. Carter told the audience that he had asked his daughter what she thought the “most important issue” was.

“She said she thought nuclear weaponry and the control of nuclear arms,” Mr. Carter said.

Ms. Carter did have a brief stint as a newsmaker in her own right — as a teenage activist. In 1985, she [*was arrested*](https://twitter.com/CarterLibrary/status/1423705616330207235) at the South African Embassy in Washington while protesting that country’s racial policy of apartheid. The next year, as a freshman at Brown University, she [*was arrested*](https://twitter.com/CarterLibrary/status/1423705616330207235) at an anti-apartheid protest in Rhode Island. And later that year, she was [*arrested in Massachusetts*](https://twitter.com/CarterLibrary/status/1423705616330207235) along with the 1960s antiwar activist Abbie Hoffman and others in a demonstration against the C.I.A.’s involvement in Nicaragua under her father’s successor, Mr. Reagan.

Ms. Carter was accused of disorderly conduct, while some other protesters were charged with trespassing. She and 14 others were [*tried and acquitted*](https://twitter.com/CarterLibrary/status/1423705616330207235). She said in a 1986 interview that her parents were “neither excited nor upset” at her activities.

“Amy is a very shy girl, contrary to the image you see projected in the news media,” Mr. Carter said at the time, adding that he agreed with her stance. “But she believes very strongly in what she’s doing.”

In 1987, Ms. Carter [*severed her ties with Brown*](https://twitter.com/CarterLibrary/status/1423705616330207235) after being asked to leave for neglecting her studies in favor of political activism. She said she had not been expelled but chose not to go back. Years later, in the NPR interview, she said the experience made her “consider what kind of environment I really felt comfortable in” and prompted her return to the South, to study at the Memphis College of Art.

The last time Ms. Carter was in the public eye in any significant way was when she partnered with her father on a children’s book, “The Little Baby Snoogle-Fleejer,” which was published in 1995. The story, about a boy who befriends a sea monster, was based on a fairy tale that Mr. Carter made up to tell his own children.

Ms. Carter, then a graduate student in art history at Tulane University, did the illustrations. Mr. Carter said at the time that he wanted to write the book because it gave him the chance to work with his daughter.

Dr. William Foege, who served as director of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention under Mr. Carter and later was executive director of the Carter Center, said the experience drew the father and daughter closer.

“The two of them bonded over that book,” Dr. Foege said.

Ava Sasani contributed reporting.

Ava Sasani contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Amy Carter, the daughter of Jimmy Carter, was the first child of a U.S. president to attend public school since Theodore Roosevelt. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CHUCK FISHMAN/GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page A16.

**Load-Date:** December 30, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Back With Their Hits, And That Oasis Hair***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D0P-2WG1-DXY4-X1T3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 19, 2024 Thursday

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**Section:** Section D; Column 0; Style Desk; Pg. 3; CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

**Length:** 768 words

**Byline:** By Guy Trebay

**Body**

News of a new tour put the band -- and the rough-hewed hairstyles popularized by its sibling frontmen, Liam and Noel Gallagher -- back in the spotlight.

For the legions of Oasis fans who thought a reunion would never happen after the band broke up 15 years ago and vowed to regroup only when hell froze over, the recent announcement of a 2025 tour came as something almost life-altering. The news was also a boon for a smaller, though no less passionate, group of rock exegetes: those who track the history of music and culture through hair.

That hair is foundational to pop identity is beyond dispute. Think, at random, of Little Richard's lacquered pompadour; James Brown's conk; the Beatles' mop tops; Sinead O'Connor's shaved head; Johnny Rotten's mohawk; Boy George's plaits; the jet-black nimbus -- part bouffant, part rat's nest -- of the Cure's lead singer, Robert Smith. Think Billie Eilish's slime-green roots.

''Hair is essential to rock 'n' roll as a music and to rock stars as idols,'' said Joe Levy, a former executive editor at Rolling Stone and the curator of a forthcoming photographic history of rocker hair and style for the Illuminarium theater in Atlanta. ''It's a flag of freedom.''

Surely it was that for the brothers Noel and Liam Gallagher in the long-ago 1990s, when they formed Oasis in Manchester, England. They wore hairstyles that could be described as tough, northern-English versions of the '60s mod cuts popularized by the Beatles (a band Oasis plundered from liberally and without compunction).

''It's this very English kind of look that morphed from '60s Stones and Beatles, the mods, into this Gallagher version with bangs, side burns and a short crop at the top,'' said Guido Palau, a go-to hairstylist for designers like Kim Jones and Marc Jacobs and a man Vogue once deemed to be among the most in-demand coiffeurs in the world.

Mr. Palau, an Englishman himself, added that there had often been a grittiness to British rock 'n' roll and youth cultures that was missing among their American counterparts. ''There's always more of an in-your-face class thing, a peacocking punkiness,'' he said, adding that the Oasis members' hair ''doesn't seem cut so much as chewed.''

Now in their 50s, the Gallagher brothers are expectedly showing signs of wear, plagued by the usual indignities of aging (psoriasis and a hip replacement for Liam) and by the physical consequences of hard-partying lives. Yet there is enough vigor left in the their looks to remind us, as Mr. Levy said, of the role hair played in making them and Oasis world-famous.

Recently, as the Evening Standard of London reported, Gallagher hair has been embraced by an army of Gen Z-ers in the British capital -- and also online. Predictably, tutorials demonstrating myriad ways to achieve a cut that, for all its studiedness, looks as though it was hacked with a pair of nail scissors, have mushroomed on TikTok.

Like so much else about the Oasis members' style -- the oversized parkas, the vintage anoraks, the baggy jeans, the retro track suits, the polo shirts and the grandpa cardigans -- their hair telegraphed the band's roots in a ***working-class*** city in the industrial north of England. Though the look might have appeared un-self-conscious and drawn from unglamorous everyday life, the Oasis members' clothes and hair were in many ways no less performance props than the proper-looking collarless suits and mod cuts favored by the Beatles in their early years.

''In reality, those guys were tough, ***working-class*** men and the suits were a complete costume,'' said Thomas Beller, an English professor at Tulane University and the author of a memorable 1997 profile of Oasis for Spin magazine, referring to the Beatles. The Gallaghers, Mr. Beller added, were themselves to some degree in costume, though a slicker version of the one they were used to.

When the band's blockbuster debut album, ''Definitely Maybe,'' came out in 1994, its members were flag bearers for a class still reeling from the aftereffects of the systematic dismantling of Britain's social safety net by Margaret Thatcher, the former prime minister. Spewing profanity, lips curled in a sneer, hair coarsely shredded, they conveyed that most essential element of rock identity: rebellion.

''Oasis changed my life a little bit in their sense of bravado, of 'Do what you want, wear what you want, say what you've got to say, and don't let anyone get in your way,''' Mr. Beller said. And, as with other rocker renegades, the hairstyles the Gallaghers wore then -- and essentially still do -- played no small part in signaling that.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/13/style/oasis-reunion-liam-noel-gallagher-hair.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/13/style/oasis-reunion-liam-noel-gallagher-hair.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Noel, far left, and Liam Gallagher of Oasis in 1994, the year the band released its debut album, ''Definitely Maybe.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY KOH HASEBE/SHINKO MUSIC, VIA GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page D3.

**Load-Date:** September 19, 2024

**End of Document**



[***A Painter With an Eye for the Ridiculous; T Introduces***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D61-M591-DXY4-X114-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 14, 2024 Monday 21:17 EST

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**Section:** T-MAGAZINE

**Length:** 441 words

**Byline:** Rose Courteau

**Highlight:** The artist Ambera Wellmann’s work explores sex and climate change, while incorporating mermaids, tarot cards and memes.

**Body**

The artist Ambera Wellmann’s work explores sex and climate change, while incorporating mermaids, tarot cards and memes.

[*T Introduces*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/t-introduces) highlights the debut of a singular person, place or thing.

When the Canadian artist Ambera Wellmann painted “[*Strobe*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/t-introduces)” (2021), a Surrealist beach landscape measuring 30 feet in length, she had just moved to New York, where she’d found representation with Company Gallery. Before that, she’d produced relatively small works, but now she was thinking big. “New York loves sensationalism in a way that’s kind of refreshing,” she says. “People like to make a splash.”

When the piece was included in the 2021 New Museum Triennial, it did just that. And while none of the paintings in her upcoming solo show — opening simultaneously next year in Manhattan at Company and Hauser &amp; Wirth, which now jointly represent her — are quite so enormous, they also allude to the ocean and its degradation. “If the sea can no longer house anything,” asks Wellmann, “where does mythology live?”

Wellmann, 42, grew up surrounded by water in rural Nova Scotia, the second of three children in a ***working-class*** family. “I wanted to be an artist since I was very young, in the most clichéd way,” she says, though she didn’t attend art school until she was 25, eventually receiving an M.F.A. from the University of Guelph in Ontario.

In July, she was working on paintings for the show in her Bushwick, Brooklyn, studio, where printouts of online images and news headlines were strewn across the floor. Her art deals with existential concerns as intimate as sex and as global as climate change, but it’s also funny and whimsical, incorporating everything from Instagram memes to tarot cards and depictions of cunnilingus. In one painting, a topless mermaid lounges on a couch, her beautiful, bored eyes glued to a laptop screen while a female mannequin head presides imperiously over the room from a side table. In another, a skeleton crouches next to a naked fisherman who has washed ashore with a shoal of fish. “You have to embrace how ridiculous the painting is,” she says.

Wellmann admits that she grapples with self-doubt, sometimes shifting gears midway through a painting. The best strategy, she now believes, is to think of each work not as distinct but as part of a larger whole. “I find that paintings are done when they generate the idea for the next painting,” she says, “so they’re inherently connected.”

PHOTO: The painter Ambera Wellmann, photographed at her studio in Brooklyn on Aug. 26, 2024. In the background, unfinished works for an upcoming show. (PHOTOGRAPH BY AUNDRE LARROW) This article appeared in print on page M251.

**Load-Date:** October 17, 2024

**End of Document**



[***To Reach Neglected Voters, Harris Staffers Went Rogue***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DKS-PKP1-DXY4-X4MG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 8, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 2139 words

**Byline:** By Nicholas Nehamas, Maya King and Zolan Kanno-Youngs

**Body**

Worried that the campaign was neglecting voters of color in Philadelphia and other battleground cities, organizers secretly gathered at a Dunkin' Donuts and elsewhere to get out the vote.

Two days before the November election, a rogue team of campaign organizers for Vice President Kamala Harris turned a Dunkin' Donuts in Philadelphia into their secret headquarters.

Their mission was simple: Knock on the doors of as many Black and Latino voters as they could in neighborhoods that they believed the Harris campaign had neglected in its get-out-the-vote-operation. And they could not let their bosses find out.

They called it Operation Dunkin'kirk, a gallows-humor joke about the desperate World War II mission to save Allied troops trapped by Nazi armies in France.

Fueled by boxes of coffee in their impromptu boiler room, the small team of operatives crunched internal campaign data beneath purloined Harris-Walz signs and directed dozens of volunteers across the city's core Democratic wards. Many of the thousands of Black and Latino voters they talked to said they had never heard from the campaign, a stunning breakdown so close to Election Day.

''I was the first one knocking on these doors,'' said Amelia Pernell, a Harris campaign organizer involved in setting up the clandestine Dunkin' Donuts field office in North Philadelphia. ''They hadn't talked to anybody. It was like: 'Hey, nobody has come to our neighborhood. The campaign doesn't care about us.'''

The Dunkin' Donuts office and several similar efforts in Philadelphia, often funded independently by Democratic donors through nonprofit voter-education groups, reflected deep frustration within the campaign. Numerous Harris organizers believed it was failing to invest in mobilizing Black and Latino voters in the nation's sixth-largest city, the biggest prize in the election's most populous battleground state.

This article is based on interviews with 11 Harris campaign staff members and volunteers who were directly involved in organizing the stealth efforts in the weeks before the election, most of whom insisted on anonymity to talk candidly about internal campaign matters. The New York Times also spoke with more than 20 other campaign officials, volunteers, Democratic Party operatives and elected leaders who were involved in voter outreach around the country and described how it fell short.

The covert operations, many of them led by Black organizers, represented extraordinary acts of insubordination against the Harris campaign.

Campaign organizers in Philadelphia said they were told not to engage in the bread-and-butter tasks of getting out the vote in Black and Latino neighborhoods, such as attending community events, registering new voters, building relationships with local leaders and calling voters.

Instead, they said, they were instructed to spend most of their days phoning the same small pool of volunteers and asking them to knock on voters' doors and help run field offices. The strategy essentially turned experienced organizers into glorified telemarketers making hundreds of calls daily, with some harried volunteers begging to be taken off call lists.

Staff members also said that the campaign did not hire enough Black and Latino campaign workers or political consulting firms that were owned by people of color and had expertise in reaching such voters -- a source of continuing frustration among Democratic operatives that they say has contributed to the erosion of the party's multiracial base.

The Harris campaign said it had made sustained and comprehensive efforts to reach voters of color, including a paid canvassing operation that knocked on the doors of 1.3 million Black and Latino voters in Pennsylvania. It also said it had teams of staff members separate from its field-organizing division who were dedicated to community engagement. Those teams worked with local leaders and took on projects like distributing 1,000 ''We Won't Go Back'' posters to Black and Latino small businesses and painting murals in well-trafficked areas. The campaign began buying ads targeted to Black and Latino voters in the fall of 2023.

And Ms. Harris made frequent appearances across Philadelphia -- including visiting a church, a barbershop and a Puerto Rican restaurant in one day -- while the campaign deployed top surrogates to the city, including Senator Raphael Warnock of Georgia and Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez of New York.

Kellan White, a senior adviser to the Harris campaign in Pennsylvania, said in a statement: ''This campaign did more in Philadelphia to reach Black and Latino voters than any campaign has done in a long time. The issue is not that we didn't knock on these doors -- we knocked on a ton of doors. The problem was that the message itself didn't connect -- and that's what we as a party need to spend our time and energy on, trying to understand why when we knocked these doors, what we had to say didn't resonate with enough voters.''

But Isaiah Thomas, a Philadelphia City Council member, said the campaign had waited too long to harness the energy generated by Ms. Harris's nomination.

''The blitz that happened at the end of the campaign was too little, too late,'' he said. ''The momentum got down because there was no activity happening.''

'No sign that we were in the fight of our lives'

On election night, Ms. Harris drastically underperformed in Philadelphia.

Although she picked up support in white precincts near downtown, she lost votes in some Latino and Black neighborhoods elsewhere in the city.

In interviews, many Democrats expressed little surprise, saying that the Harris campaign had devoted much of its energy to winning over moderate white voters in wealthier neighborhoods and suburbs, both in Philadelphia and around the nation. In an October memo, her campaign wrote that the ''path to win Pennsylvania capitalizes on Trump's unprecedented weakness in the suburbs.''

As a result, many staff members felt that Philadelphia's racially diverse neighborhoods were ignored.

Even though the campaign raised $1.5 billion, many of its field offices in the city were filthy and lacked basic supplies like tables, chairs, cleaning products and printers, staff members said. Several recounted being forced to raid the campaign's better-stocked suburban offices or to raise money independently. One office received more than 20 boxes of campaign T-shirts, only to discover an embarrassing misspelling: ''Harriz-Walz.''

The offices were sometimes far from the communities they were supposed to serve. One office meant to get out the vote in West Philadelphia, a predominantly Black area, was so far west that it sat on the border with Montgomery County, a wealthy white suburb.

Others were set up in gentrifying neighborhoods where the campaign could easily reach young, white professionals but struggled to engage ***working-class*** voters of color. In South Philadelphia, another racially diverse neighborhood, campaign staff members were operating out of public parks, grocery-store parking lots and church basements until the month before Election Day.

''There were no yard signs, there was no visibility, there were no T-shirts,'' said Donnel Baird, who worked on the presidential campaigns of John Kerry and Barack Obama and volunteered with Ms. Harris's get-out-the-vote operation in Philadelphia for two months. ''There was nobody handing out literature. There were no bumper stickers. There was no sign that we were in the fight of our lives in the most important city in a presidential campaign.''

The Trump campaign and its allies sensed an opportunity, using targeted advertising and a handful of outreach events to reach voters of color, especially young men, and to make inroads with key parts of the Democratic base.

The problems went beyond Philadelphia. Mayor Dwan B. Walker of Aliquippa, a small city outside Pittsburgh, said the campaign had agreed to fund a get-out-the-vote bus tour for the state's Black mayors, many of whom represent rural areas. But he said the money was pulled with little explanation.

''You know politics is local,'' Mr. Walker said. ''We keep saying that. But this campaign didn't touch it.''

Some Democrats in other battleground states expressed similar concerns. Ms. Harris lost every swing state, including Pennsylvania.

Keith McCants, the chair of a county Democratic Party in a rural part of Georgia with many Black voters, said the Harris campaign's get-out-the-vote operation had been nonexistent, even as he had pleaded for resources.

''They didn't do nothing, absolutely nothing,'' he said. ''They thought: 'Those Black voters are going to come home. They will vote for her regardless because she's a Black woman. So let's just focus on the suburbs.'''

A fight over strategy

Many Democrats have argued that Ms. Harris's loss was primarily caused by factors like inflation and President Biden's late decision to drop out -- and that she could have done little differently.

But her campaign's strategic choices have still come under intense scrutiny as the party debates whether it needs to rebuild itself from the ground up.

Ms. Harris's top advisers have said that her campaign greatly improved on Mr. Biden's early-summer standing, and that they had too little time to run a full campaign. As evidence that their tactics produced results, they pointed to the fact that Ms. Harris did better in the battleground states, where she campaigned heavily, than in solidly blue states, where she did not.

Ryan Boyer Sr., a labor leader in Philadelphia, said he thought the Harris campaign's problem was a message that did not connect with ***working-class*** Americans, not a flaw in its get-out-the-vote infrastructure.

''I think that we had a lot of reproductive-rights commercials and not enough bread-and-butter economic messaging,'' he said.

But many Black campaign staff members and political operatives said campaign leadership dismissed concerns that Democrats were taking their base for granted.

After Ms. Harris's loss, Black campaign employees set up a call to talk about career opportunities with Angela Rye, a political strategist and podcast host. The discussion quickly shifted as they shared their anger at how the campaign had treated them, and how underfunded and haphazard their field operations had been in several battleground states, according to a recording of the call obtained by The Times.

An internal survey commissioned by the Harris campaign also found that Black staff members were frustrated with campaign leaders and felt that their ideas were ignored at a rate far higher than their peers'. Some complained of outright racial discrimination. The campaign's leadership was made aware of the survey's results.

Few of those frustrations have been leaked to the public.

In an all-staff call after the election, Quentin Fulks, the principal deputy campaign manager, told staff members that talking to the press would ruin their career prospects, four people on the call said.

Lauren Hitt, a Harris campaign spokeswoman, denied that Mr. Fulks had used that language or tone on the call, and said that he had instead counseled staff members against saying something in a moment of anger that could come to hurt themselves or the vice president.

Campaigning under the radar

In Philadelphia, Operation Dunkin'kirk was not the only freelance effort organized by frustrated campaign workers.

One staff member said he had raised tens of thousands of dollars to pay for operations to register voters and distribute campaign literature at public-transit stops, as well as to put up lawn signs in Black and Latino neighborhoods.

Another described a rogue surrogate operation that brought the actor Delroy Lindo and former Mayor Michael Nutter of Philadelphia to speak at Black churches and barbershops.

Others set up a program to text voters in Arabic.

Quentin James, a founder of the Collective PAC, a group that focuses on Black elected officials and voters and that worked with the Harris campaign, recounted frantic campaign staff members in Philadelphia, Detroit and North Carolina calling him in the final weeks of the race to say they did not have enough money to provide food or water to volunteers.

''Black staffers reached out to me directly and said we need additional support,'' Mr. James said.

Even with defeat staring them in the face, Harris campaign leaders seemed in denial about the situation in Philadelphia. Late on election night, Jen O'Malley Dillon, the campaign chair, wrote an all-staff email saying that the Harris campaign had ''over-performed turnout expectations there,'' especially in areas with nonwhite voters.

It was not enough.

In the end, Ms. Harris received roughly 35,000 fewer votes in Philadelphia than Mr. Biden did four years earlier.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/07/us/politics/harris-philadelphia-black-latino-voters.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/07/us/politics/harris-philadelphia-black-latino-voters.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Left and center, details from inside a campaign office for Vice President Kamala Harris in Philadelphia's Germantown neighborhood. Right, campaign literature left on a front door in the West Oak Lane neighborhood of North Philadelphia. Ms. Harris ultimately lost Pennsylvania.

At a Dunkin' Donuts in North Philadelphia, a group of Harris staffers planned ''Operation Dunkin'kirk'' to reach core Democratic wards. They had to hide it from their bosses. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MICHELLE GUSTAFSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A17.

**Load-Date:** December 8, 2024

**End of Document**



[***The Paranoid Style in Tariff Policy***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C8X-23R1-DXY4-X0CR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 18, 2024 Tuesday 14:45 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 470 words

**Byline:** Paul Krugman Paul Krugman has been an Opinion columnist since 2000 and is also a distinguished professor at the City University of New York Graduate Center. He won the 2008 Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences for his work on international trade and economic geography.

**Highlight:** Trump’s new economic idea would raise taxes substantially on ***working-class*** Americans.

**Body**

A few days ago Donald Trump floated a truly terrible, indeed unworkable economic proposal. I’m aware that many readers will say, “So what else is new?” But in so doing, you’re letting Trump benefit from the soft bigotry of rock-bottom expectations, not holding him to the standards that should apply to any presidential candidate. A politician shouldn’t be given a pass on nonsense because he talks nonsense all the time.

But in a way the most interesting thing about Trump’s latest awful policy idea is the way his party responded, with the kind of obsequiousness and paranoia you normally expect in places like North Korea.

What Trump reportedly proposed was an “[*all tariff policy*](https://www.cnbc.com/2024/06/13/trump-all-tariff-policy-to-replace-income-tax.html)” in which taxes on imports replace income taxes. Why is that a bad idea?

First, the math doesn’t work. Annual income tax receipts are around [*$2.4 trillion*](https://www.cnbc.com/2024/06/13/trump-all-tariff-policy-to-replace-income-tax.html); imports are around [*$3.9 trillion*](https://www.cnbc.com/2024/06/13/trump-all-tariff-policy-to-replace-income-tax.html). On the face of it, this might seem to suggest that Trump’s idea would require an average tariff rate of around 60 percent. But high tariffs would reduce imports, so tariff rates would have to go even higher to realize the same amount of revenue, which would reduce imports even more, and so on. How high would tariffs have to go in the end? I did a [*back-of-the-envelope calculation*](https://www.cnbc.com/2024/06/13/trump-all-tariff-policy-to-replace-income-tax.html) using highly Trump-favorable assumptions and came up with a tariff rate of 133 percent; in reality, there’s probably no tariff rate high enough to replace the income tax.

And to the extent that we did replace income taxes with tariffs, we’d in effect sharply raise taxes on ***working-class*** Americans while giving the rich a big tax cut — because the income tax is fairly progressive, falling most heavily on [*affluent taxpayers*](https://www.cnbc.com/2024/06/13/trump-all-tariff-policy-to-replace-income-tax.html), while tariffs are de facto a kind of sales tax that falls most heavily on the ***working class***.

So this is a really bad idea that would be highly unpopular if voters knew about it.

But here’s the kicker: How did the Republican National Committee respond when asked about it? By having its representative [*declare*](https://www.cnbc.com/2024/06/13/trump-all-tariff-policy-to-replace-income-tax.html), “The notion that tariffs are a tax on U.S. consumers is a lie pushed by outsourcers and the Chinese Communist Party.”

Now, economists have been saying that tariffs are a tax on domestic consumers for the past two centuries or so; I guess they’ve been working for China all along. Yes, there are exceptions and qualifications, but if you imagine that Trump is thinking about [*optimal tariff theory*](https://www.cnbc.com/2024/06/13/trump-all-tariff-policy-to-replace-income-tax.html), I have a degree from Trump University you might want to buy.

Anyway, look at how the R.N.C. responded to a substantive policy question: by insisting not just that Dear Leader’s nonsense is true, but that anyone who disagrees is part of a sinister conspiracy.

Don’t brush this off. It’s one more piece of evidence that MAGA has become a dangerous cult.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Ian Maule/Agence France-Presse — Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** June 20, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Adams Proposes Tax Cut for Nearly 600,000 New Yorkers With Low Incomes***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DK3-X101-JBG3-6396-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 5, 2024 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 19

**Length:** 875 words

**Byline:** By Jeffery C. Mays and Benjamin Oreskes

**Body**

Under indictment and facing re-election, Mr. Adams has turned his attention to the city's affordability crisis.

Amid voter concerns over the cost of rent, food and child care, Mayor Eric Adams announced a plan on Wednesday to eliminate New York City income taxes for more than 400,000 of the lowest wage earners.

Under the proposal, which requires approval by the State Legislature, New Yorkers who earn 150 percent of the federal poverty level, or between roughly $31,000 to $46,000 depending on family size, would have their city income taxes eliminated.

Others who earn slightly more could also have their taxes reduced, bringing to 582,000 the number of people affected by the plan. Households who qualify would save an average of $350, according to city officials.

If the plan is approved, the city would forfeit roughly $63 million a year in tax revenue, but administration officials believe that other revenue such as corporate taxes or cannabis sales taxes would make up for the loss.

''How do we put money back into the pockets of New Yorkers?'' Mr. Adams said at a news conference announcing the plan. ''We can't bring down the cost of bread, but we can give you some bread to pay for the bills and the necessities that you have.''

The announcement comes as Mr. Adams, who is under a federal corruption indictment and scheduled to go to trial in April, has focused on affordability as a major plank in his campaign for re-election. The mayor has labeled this week ''affordability week'' and has rolled out a series of proposals and announcements designed to make living in the city more manageable, especially for ***working-class*** New Yorkers.

A few hours after announcing his income tax proposal, the mayor broke ground on a plan to build affordable housing and a soccer stadium in Willets Point, Queens.

The City Council will also vote this week on the mayor's City of Yes zoning overhaul, designed to allow the construction of 80,000 additional homes.

It was not immediately clear how the tax plan would fare in Albany, but legislative leaders seemed open to discussion. It will be introduced by State Senator Leroy Comrie of Queens and Assemblywoman Rodneyse Bichotte Hermelyn of Brooklyn, both allies of the mayor.

Senator Liz Krueger, who chairs the body's finance committee, called the idea ''more of a gimmick than a significant tax policy reform.'' She was unsure how other Senate colleagues would respond to the idea but said ''if the City Council asks us to do this, along with the mayor, there is probably not a big 'hold on here' from us.''

Mr. Adams faces several challengers in the June primary, and many of his rivals have criticized his administration's efforts at managing the city's $112 billion budget and improving affordability.

Zellnor Myrie, a state senator from Brooklyn who officially launched his mayoral campaign Tuesday with a plan to build and preserve one million housing units in a decade, said that ''every dollar helps'' but that the mayor wasn't doing enough to bring down the cost of housing.

''New York's cost of living will keep rising until we put forward solutions as big as the challenges we face,'' Mr. Myrie said.

Brad Lander, the city comptroller who is also running for mayor, called the proposal a ''good idea'' but said Mr. Adams was failing to deliver for struggling New Yorkers ''on things he actually has control over'' such as early childhood education, library funding and delivering financial assistance in a timely fashion.

But the plan's fate lies in Albany, where Democrats hold large majorities in the State Assembly and Senate. They are also eager to tackle problems relating to affordability. But some have expressed reluctance to work with Mr. Adams, whom they had viewed as disengaged on the issue and mostly concerned with maintaining his own political career.

Even on Tuesday, some dissension was evident. A spokeswoman for Mr. Adams said that his office had notified leaders of the Assembly and the State Senate of his plan, but legislative leaders said they had not been briefed.

Still, Mike Murphy, a spokesman for the Senate Democrats, said in a written statement that ''affordability has always been a major component of our agenda.''

''We look forward to working with our partners in Albany to continue addressing the affordability crisis affecting everyday New Yorkers across New York State,'' Mr. Murphy added.

Mike Whyland, a spokesman for Assembly Speaker Carl E. Heastie, called the proposal ''promising'' and part of a larger affordability agenda under discussion with Gov. Kathy Hochul.

Ms. Hochul was ''supportive'' of efforts to lower the personal income tax and praised the mayor for ''continuing to focus on affordability,'' said her spokesman, Avi Small.

Senator Michael Gianaris, the deputy majority leader, said that the Senate would always consider ideas from Mr. Adams and that the city's upcoming mayoral election would not factor into how senators dealt with the proposal. Addressing affordability is a priority for elected officials from across the state, he added.

''But there are a lot of ideas about how to do that,'' Mr. Gianaris said. ''We will have a robust discussion with our colleagues to figure out the best way forward.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/04/nyregion/adams-income-tax-cut-nyc.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/04/nyregion/adams-income-tax-cut-nyc.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Mayor Eric Adams plan to trim income tax would reduce the city's annual revenue by an estimated $63 million, but officials said that could be replaced by corporate taxes or cannabis sales taxes. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HIROKO MASUIKE/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A19.

**Load-Date:** December 5, 2024

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[***Harris Asked Voters to Protect Democracy. Here’s Why It Didn’t Land.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DC0-YVH1-JBG3-650F-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 6, 2024 Wednesday 23:00 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1366 words

**Byline:** Shawn HublerShawn Hubler is based in Sacramento and covers California news, policy trends and personalities. She has been a journalist for more than four decades.

**Highlight:** In more than 200 interviews, voters worried not about an endangered country, but about paying rent.

**Body**

In more than 200 interviews, voters worried not about an endangered country, but about paying rent.

Her campaign pitch was moving, even high-minded. If Vice President Kamala Harris were elected to the White House, she would safeguard the ideals of a good nation. Voters had a choice, she said: democracy, constitutional rights and bedrock freedoms — or Donald J. Trump’s “chaos and division.”

On Tuesday, the nation replied. The answer from more than half of voters seemed to dismiss warnings that Mr. Trump was a threat to principles on which the country had been founded. Abstract truths mattered less, voters said, than tangible issues, like the ability to pay rent or concerns over border crossings. In a time of widespread distrust in institutions, Ms. Harris’s call to protect the nation’s norms rang hollow for many Americans.

In more than 200 interviews across the country in the four days preceding the election, voters, especially in swing states, spoke not of endangered democracy or institutions but of diminished prospects. Their words echoed repeated pre-election polling that showed that majorities of Americans believed the nation was headed in the wrong direction, even as the pandemic had ebbed, the rate of inflation was falling and crime and unemployment rates had remained historically low.

“Electric, water, groceries, my dues for where I live,” said Mary Chastain, 74, a retiree on a fixed income who voted for Mr. Trump on Tuesday in Waleska, Ga., a city of roughly 1,000 people in a rural stretch north of Atlanta. “Everything has gone up.”

“Something has to change,” said Idelle Halona, 51, of Phoenix, standing in line to vote for Mr. Trump on Tuesday. In the past two years, she said, her rent had nearly doubled and mounting mortgage rates had priced her out of homeownership. “I have wealthy friends, and I have friends who are living paycheck to paycheck. Everybody’s hurting. Everybody.”

“We never had it as good as when he was president,” said Harry Rakestraw, 84, a retired factory worker, who cast his ballot for Mr. Trump in Antrim County, Mich. “I’m not better off today than I was then.”

Mr. Trump’s campaign appealed to the struggling rural areas and the ***working class*** voters who in 2016 delivered him the White House. His rhetoric reached out to red states that have become redder as the nation has sorted and polarized according to affluence and education; it also appealed to male breadwinners who have felt left behind by shifting cultural norms and technological advances.

At rallies, Mr. Trump, 78, excited nostalgia for the heady early years of his tenure, highlighting the 2017 tax cut and his conservative Supreme Court appointments. He vowed to lower taxes still further for nearly every audience he spoke to, from waiters — “no taxes on tips” — to billionaires.

His economic promises were often overshadowed by his attacks. He derided scientists and medical experts, while playing down the [*nearly 350,000 American deaths*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/31/us/covid-death-rates.html) from Covid-19 that occurred during his last year in office. He lashed out in vulgar and sometimes violent terms at Democrats, immigrants and women. His ads conjured fear of unchecked borders, rampant crime and transgender adolescents. He falsely maintained that he had not lost the 2020 election — a claim that triggered a riot at the Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021, by his supporters. He vowed payback.

And many voters expressed reservations in interviews about Mr. Trump’s character, felony convictions, fondness for autocrats and fitness for office. But many also used phrases like “the lesser of two evils” to describe him.

In Bucks County, Pa., Marina Raimondo, 41, an aesthetician and mother of two who had immigrated to the United States as a child from Ukraine, said she was “not super gung-ho” for Mr. Trump or the propaganda he repeated about migrants.

“They’re eating the cats, they’re eating the dogs — what is that?” she wondered. She said she had even briefly considered sitting out the election. But she had voted for the former president over Ms. Harris because he seemed to be “stronger,” she said.

“Let’s just say I’ve held my nose and voted a couple of times,” said Tad Fogel, 80, a retiree and unaffiliated voter in Hendersonville, N.C., who said he voted for Mr. Trump because he agreed with his positions on illegal immigration and the economy.

Ms. Harris, 60, had offered to “turn the page” on the Trump era. Black and South Asian, the child of immigrants who had risen as a prosecutor in California, she promised a “new generation” of leadership and a more positive, truthful and even joyful politics of inclusion. Hard-line Trump backers, it was understood, were probably never going to shift their support. But she extended herself to moderate and Republican voters who viewed Mr. Trump as a divisive incompetent and his camp as dangerous extremists more interested in power and wealth than the common good of the nation. “We are not going back,” she repeatedly vowed.

In interviews, those voters did not seem moved by her promise of good government and “hard work.” In Arizona, in fact, Lele Pierce, 27, a student at the for-profit Grand Canyon University, said she voted for Mr. Trump because he was a “business guy” who showed that “anyone could technically run for the presidency.”

In Lewiston, Maine, Ridwan Mohamed, 19, a home-care aide who often works 80-hour weeks, said he voted for Mr. Trump because Mr. Trump said that he would eliminate federal taxes on overtime pay.

In Austin, Texas, Khalid Marshall, 42, an animal protection officer who described himself as a Republican-leaning independent, said on Monday that he would vote for Mr. Trump because “he still acts like a guy, which is kind of what got him in trouble, maybe,” and because he is “better for the population of men.”

Ms. Harris had come late to the campaign, parachuting in when Mr. Biden bowed out after his debilitating performance during the first presidential debate. With only a few months to fully introduce herself nationally to voters, she sought to emphasize Mr. Trump’s norm-breaking candidacy, but also introduce economic proposals on [*housing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/31/us/covid-death-rates.html), [*child care*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/31/us/covid-death-rates.html) and inflation. She [*talked about*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/31/us/covid-death-rates.html) helping small businesses.

But that agenda could not contend with an unpopular administration.

A key stumbling block was the inflation that had spiked during the Biden administration, as factory shutdowns from Covid-19 hit global supply chains and the president pumped federal pandemic aid into the economy to protect middle- and ***working-class*** employment.

Yet another was the all-too-tangible reality of need at home, as natural disasters pummeled state after state, raising the question of whether Americans could still afford idealism elsewhere.

“I moved from North Carolina,” Jacob Dettloff, a 31-year-old salesman, said just after casting a ballot for Mr. Trump in Antrim County, Mich., his new home. “The hurricane damage up there, especially in the Appalachian region, where they’re really poor, it seems like they’re not getting enough help.”

“All I ever hear is ‘We still need more help,’” he said, comparing the significant assistance Ukraine is receiving from the United States with the federal response to Hurricane Helene’s victims.

“I’m not saying don’t help out your fellow man, especially other countries, but God dang it, they’re our brothers,” he said. “We should help those guys first, I think.”

Reporting was contributed by JoAnna Daemmrich, Sam Easter, Nicole Ludden, Dave Montgomery, Christina Morales, Rick Rojas, Jenna Russell and Kate Selig.

Reporting was contributed by JoAnna Daemmrich, Sam Easter, Nicole Ludden, Dave Montgomery, Christina Morales, Rick Rojas, Jenna Russell and Kate Selig.

PHOTOS: Grocery shopping in Miami Beach. Many voters, especially in swing states, voiced concern about their diminished prospects. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SCOTT MCINTYRE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); MARY CHASTAIN, 74, above, a retiree on a fixed income who voted for Donald J. Trump in Waleska, Ga. (PHOTOGRAPH BY NICOLE CRAINE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); One voter questioned aid sent to Ukraine while storm victims in North Carolina struggle to recover. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MIKE BELLEME FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A16) This article appeared in print on page A1, A16.

**Load-Date:** November 6, 2024

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[***JD Vance, Trump’s MAGA Successor, Will Be One of America’s Youngest Vice Presidents***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DBY-6831-JBG3-64M2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 6, 2024 Wednesday 23:03 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1414 words

**Byline:** Michael C. BenderMichael C. Bender is a Times political correspondent covering Donald J. Trump, the Make America Great Again movement and other federal and state elections.

**Highlight:** Mr. Vance’s victory caps his ideological reversal from anti-Trump author to pro-Trump senator.

**Body**

Mr. Vance’s victory caps his ideological reversal from anti-Trump author to pro-Trump senator.

JD Vance, a 40-year-old senator who transformed himself from a biting critic of Donald J. Trump to one of his fiercest defenders, was elected the next vice president of the United States on Wednesday, becoming the third youngest and among the least experienced and most polarizing politicians ever to hold the office.

The country’s 50th vice president will be sworn in just two years after assuming [*his first public office*](https://www.senate.gov/senators/Class_III.htm) as a senator from Ohio. Mr. Vance is unlike any other vice president before him in the modern era: None has started the job with such an extensive public record of condemning his or her boss.

He rose to national prominence with his 2016 memoir, “Hillbilly Elegy,” a best seller that liberal voters devoured to better understand Mr. Trump’s victory and the frustrations of the white ***working class*** that had put him in the White House. Mr. Vance also seemed an ideal translator for Blue America as a Midwestern conservative who detested the new president, likening him in an essay to “cultural heroin.”

But Mr. Vance then started professing a change of heart and mind about the leader of his party as he prepared his own initial run for office. Mr. Trump not only forgave his young convert but also rewarded him with a game-changing endorsement in a fiercely competitive, four-way Senate primary and then, in the general election, helped push Mr. Vance’s underperforming campaign over the finish line.

Now, Mr. Vance is more politically indebted to Mr. Trump than any other vice president has been to the top of the ticket in modern times, said Joel Goldstein, a professor emeritus at the St. Louis University School of Law who has spent decades studying the vice presidency.

“When you have someone whose entire political career is owed to Donald Trump, it really raises a question as to whether JD Vance is somebody who is capable of telling him when he’s wrong,” Mr. Goldstein said.

Raised by his grandmother in a ***working-class*** town in Ohio as his mother struggled with drug addiction, Mr. Vance will soon be first in the presidential line of succession. His against-all-odds upbringing was a key component of his speeches on the campaign trail as he introduced himself to voters and sought common ground with Mr. Trump’s base of blue-collar supporters.

But Mr. Vance also has strong connections to deep-pocketed donors in Silicon Valley, including Peter Thiel, the iconoclastic tech pioneer and billionaire investor. Mr. Thiel, who hired Mr. Vance at his investment firm in 2017, spent $15 million on a super PAC that supported the Ohioan’s Senate bid in 2022.

Now, Mr. Vance has been all but anointed by Mr. Trump as the successor to the MAGA movement, driven by blue-collar voters who helped bolster two successful presidential campaigns in 2016 and 2024.

He performed on the trail just as Mr. Trump had instructed, as an indefatigable critic of Vice President Kamala Harris while delivering a [*sharp debate performance*](https://www.senate.gov/senators/Class_III.htm) that cast himself as a more three-dimensional figure than the caricature portrayed by his critics.

A former media relations officer in the Marines, Mr. Vance also showed a preternatural skill at staying on message while performing one of the most challenging jobs in politics — defending Mr. Trump on live television. He sat for television interviews on Sunday news shows multiple times during his 16 weeks as Mr. Trump’s running mate and, in a unique move for a candidate on a presidential ticket, engaged in frequent exchanges with journalists by taking questions during many of his public events.

“He’s a fighter,” Donald Trump Jr., Mr. Trump’s eldest child, said of Mr. Vance at a rally while campaigning with him in Las Vegas in the final days of the race. “And, more importantly, what we have in JD is we now have an ‘America First’ bench — we have now people who can carry that torch, people unafraid to stand up to the tyranny of our government and fight.”

As Mr. Vance assists Mr. Trump in assembling an administration, a likely priority will be illegal immigration.

Mr. Vance promoted baseless claims that Haitian migrants were eating pets in Springfield, Ohio, and aggressively leaned into the Trump campaign’s description of violent gangs of migrants overtaking apartment complexes and towns across the country, claims that even Republican officials disputed as dangerously inaccurate.

He has called for mass deportations as the immediate and primary focus in a new Trump-Vance era, and he has promised to “ensure that American homes go to Americans.”

“Pack your bags, illegal immigrants,” Mr. Vance said at a rally last week in Selma, N.C., “because in three months, you’re going back home.”

He proved to be a skillful, dogged campaigner. In his four months on Mr. Trump’s ticket, he hosted 44 fund-raisers, gave at least 149 interviews and held nearly seven dozen public events, a vast majority of which were in Pennsylvania, Michigan, North Carolina, Wisconsin and Arizona, according to the campaign.

And Mr. Vance reveled in the experience. He brought family members — most frequently his wife, Usha, a lawyer and the daughter of Indian immigrants — on the campaign plane, as well as occasionally the family dog, a German shepherd named Atlas. At a high-dollar event with the party’s elite in Tennessee, he was joined by his mother, who is recovering from her addiction.

To walk beside Mr. Trump is to reconcile with the ubiquity of controversy. That means the political test for Trump Republicans is less about dodging scandals and more about surviving them.

For Mr. Vance, that included an onslaught of criticism immediately after joining the ticket for his jolting put-downs of “childless cat ladies.” He had eagerly brandished the phrase to attack public officials without biological children, revealing a disregard for blended families or adoption.

As the pressure mounted, he ripped a page from the Trump playbook and refused to back down. Mr. Vance said later that he regretted the phrasing but stood by the sentiment. He pivoted to attacking the news media or portraying himself as the victim of a hostile press.

On the campaign trail, Mr. Vance followed his running mate’s lead with attacks that critics denounced as misogynistic, including a barb in the final days of the race that seized on a remark from Mr. Biden, who appeared to have referred to Trump supporters as “garbage.”

“We’re going to take out the trash,” Mr. Vance said at an Atlanta rally. “And the trash’s name is Kamala Harris.”

Mr. Vance never apologized for his false attacks on Haitian migrants — even after the town’s mayor and the state’s governor, both fellow Republicans, refuted and condemned the claims. Instead, Mr. Vance claimed that he was simply passing along complaints from concerned constituents.

Mr. Vance also managed to avoid minefields in his well-received performance in the vice-presidential debate. He surprised critics by refusing to rely on his well-worn attacks against Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, his Democratic counterpart, and instead seeking common ground. He also unspooled some bold claims to help him sidestep some questions.

He shrugged off the violence from the Jan. 6, 2021, riot at the Capitol by pointing out that Mr. Trump peacefully left office two weeks later. He suggested Mr. Trump had saved Obamacare, despite his having tried repeatedly to erase it from federal law. And he said he favored policies “to give women more options” when it came to abortion, without saying that, for him, abortion is not one of those options.

Mr. Vance will become the nation’s youngest vice president since 1953, when Richard M. Nixon, who celebrated his 40th birthday just days before inauguration, was [*sworn in as Dwight D. Eisenhower’s vice president*](https://www.senate.gov/senators/Class_III.htm). John C. Breckinridge, who was 36 [*when he assumed office in 1857*](https://www.senate.gov/senators/Class_III.htm) as James Buchanan’s vice president, holds the record for the nation’s youngest vice president.

Both of the younger vice presidents eventually sought the White House themselves.

PHOTOS: Senator JD Vance at a rally last week. Mr. Vance will become the youngest U.S. vice president since 1953, when Richard M. Nixon, who was also 40, was sworn in as vice president. (PHOTOGRPAH BY NICK HAGEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Mr. Vance, with Donald J. Trump at a 9/11 event in New York, professed a change of heart after once likening Mr. Trump to “cultural heroin.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIC LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A9.

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[***How Alarmed Harris Staffers Went Rogue to Reach Black and Latino Voters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DKJ-6V91-DXY4-X46F-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Nicholas Nehamas, Maya King and Zolan Kanno-YoungsNicholas Nehamas is a Times political reporter covering the presidential campaign of Vice President Kamala Harris.

**Highlight:** Worried that the campaign was neglecting voters of color in Philadelphia and other battleground cities, organizers secretly gathered at a Dunkin’ Donuts and elsewhere to get out the vote.

**Body**

Worried that the campaign was neglecting voters of color in Philadelphia and other battleground cities, organizers secretly gathered at a Dunkin’ Donuts and elsewhere to get out the vote.

Two days before the November election, a rogue team of campaign organizers for Vice President Kamala Harris turned a Dunkin’ Donuts in Philadelphia into their secret headquarters.

Their mission was simple: Knock on the doors of as many Black and Latino voters as they could in neighborhoods that they believed the Harris campaign had neglected in its get-out-the-vote-operation. And they could not let their bosses find out.

They called it Operation Dunkin’kirk, a gallows-humor joke about the desperate World War II mission to save Allied troops trapped by Nazi armies in France.

Fueled by boxes of coffee in their impromptu boiler room, the small team of operatives crunched internal campaign data beneath purloined Harris-Walz signs and directed dozens of volunteers across the city’s core Democratic wards. Many of the thousands of Black and Latino voters they talked to said they had never heard from the campaign, a stunning breakdown so close to Election Day.

“I was the first one knocking on these doors,” said Amelia Pernell, a Harris campaign organizer involved in setting up the clandestine Dunkin’ Donuts field office in North Philadelphia. “They hadn’t talked to anybody. It was like: ‘Hey, nobody has come to our neighborhood. The campaign doesn’t care about us.’”

The Dunkin’ Donuts office and several similar efforts in Philadelphia, often funded independently by Democratic donors through nonprofit voter-education groups, reflected deep frustration within the campaign. Numerous Harris organizers believed it was failing to invest in mobilizing Black and Latino voters in the nation’s sixth-largest city, the biggest prize in the election’s most populous battleground state.

This article is based on interviews with 11 Harris campaign staff members and volunteers who were directly involved in organizing the stealth efforts in the weeks before the election, most of whom insisted on anonymity to talk candidly about internal campaign matters. The New York Times also spoke with more than 20 other campaign officials, volunteers, Democratic Party operatives and elected leaders who were involved in voter outreach around the country and described how it fell short.

The covert operations, many of them led by Black organizers, represented extraordinary acts of insubordination against the Harris campaign.

Campaign organizers in Philadelphia said they were told not to engage in the bread-and-butter tasks of getting out the vote in Black and Latino neighborhoods, such as attending community events, registering new voters, building relationships with local leaders and calling voters.

Instead, they said, they were instructed to spend most of their days phoning the same small pool of volunteers and asking them to knock on voters’ doors and help run field offices. The strategy essentially turned experienced organizers into glorified telemarketers making hundreds of calls daily, with some harried volunteers begging to be taken off call lists.

Staff members also said that the campaign did not hire enough Black and Latino campaign workers or political consulting firms that were owned by people of color and had expertise in reaching such voters — a source of continuing frustration among Democratic operatives [*that they say has contributed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/24/us/politics/young-minority-voters-harris-campaign.html) to the erosion of the party’s multiracial base.

The Harris campaign said it had made sustained and comprehensive efforts to reach voters of color, including a paid canvassing operation that knocked on the doors of 1.3 million Black and Latino voters in Pennsylvania. It also said it had teams of staff members separate from its field-organizing division who were dedicated to community engagement. Those teams worked with local leaders and took on projects like distributing 1,000 “We Won’t Go Back” posters to Black and Latino small businesses and [*painting*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/24/us/politics/young-minority-voters-harris-campaign.html) [*murals*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/24/us/politics/young-minority-voters-harris-campaign.html) in well-trafficked areas. The campaign began buying ads targeted to Black and Latino voters in the fall of 2023.

And Ms. Harris made frequent appearances across Philadelphia — including visiting a church, a barbershop and [*a Puerto Rican restaurant*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/24/us/politics/young-minority-voters-harris-campaign.html) in one day — while the campaign deployed top surrogates to the city, including Senator Raphael Warnock of Georgia and Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez of New York.

Kellan White, a senior adviser to the Harris campaign in Pennsylvania, said in a statement: “This campaign did more in Philadelphia to reach Black and Latino voters than any campaign has done in a long time. The issue is not that we didn’t knock on these doors — we knocked on a ton of doors. The problem was that the message itself didn’t connect — and that’s what we as a party need to spend our time and energy on, trying to understand why when we knocked these doors, what we had to say didn’t resonate with enough voters.”

But Isaiah Thomas, a Philadelphia City Council member, said the campaign had waited too long to harness the energy generated by Ms. Harris’s nomination.

“The blitz that happened at the end of the campaign was too little, too late,” he said. “The momentum got down because there was no activity happening.”

‘No sign that we were in the fight of our lives’

On election night, Ms. Harris [*drastically underperformed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/24/us/politics/young-minority-voters-harris-campaign.html) in Philadelphia.

Although she picked up support in white precincts near downtown, she lost votes in some Latino and Black neighborhoods elsewhere in the city.

In interviews, many Democrats expressed little surprise, saying that the Harris campaign had devoted much of its energy to winning over moderate white voters in wealthier neighborhoods and suburbs, both in Philadelphia and around the nation. In an October memo, her campaign [*wrote*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/24/us/politics/young-minority-voters-harris-campaign.html) that the “path to win Pennsylvania capitalizes on Trump’s unprecedented weakness in the suburbs.”

As a result, many staff members felt that Philadelphia’s racially diverse neighborhoods were ignored.

Even though [*the campaign raised $1.5 billion*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/24/us/politics/young-minority-voters-harris-campaign.html), many of its field offices in the city were filthy and lacked basic supplies like tables, chairs, cleaning products and printers, staff members said. Several recounted being forced to raid the campaign’s better-stocked suburban offices or to raise money independently. One office received more than 20 boxes of campaign T-shirts, only to discover an embarrassing misspelling: “Harriz-Walz.”

The offices were sometimes far from the communities they were supposed to serve. One office meant to get out the vote in West Philadelphia, a predominantly Black area, was so far west that it sat on the border with Montgomery County, a wealthy white suburb.

Others were set up in gentrifying neighborhoods where the campaign could easily reach young, white professionals but struggled to engage ***working-class*** voters of color. In South Philadelphia, another racially diverse neighborhood, campaign staff members were operating out of public parks, grocery-store parking lots and church basements until the month before Election Day.

“There were no yard signs, there was no visibility, there were no T-shirts,” said Donnel Baird, who worked on the presidential campaigns of John Kerry and Barack Obama and volunteered with Ms. Harris’s get-out-the-vote operation in Philadelphia for two months. “There was nobody handing out literature. There were no bumper stickers. There was no sign that we were in the fight of our lives in the most important city in a presidential campaign.”

The Trump campaign and its allies sensed an opportunity, using targeted advertising and [*a handful of outreach events*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/24/us/politics/young-minority-voters-harris-campaign.html) to reach voters of color, especially young men, and to make inroads with key parts of the Democratic base.

The problems went beyond Philadelphia. Mayor Dwan B. Walker of Aliquippa, a small city outside Pittsburgh, said the campaign had agreed to fund a get-out-the-vote bus tour for the state’s Black mayors, many of whom represent rural areas. But he said the money was pulled with little explanation.

“You know politics is local,” Mr. Walker said. “We keep saying that. But this campaign didn’t touch it.”

Some Democrats in other battleground states expressed similar concerns. Ms. Harris lost every swing state, including Pennsylvania.

Keith McCants, the chair of a county Democratic Party in a rural part of Georgia with many Black voters, said the Harris campaign’s get-out-the-vote operation had been nonexistent, even as he had pleaded for resources.

“They didn’t do nothing, absolutely nothing,” he said. “They thought: ‘Those Black voters are going to come home. They will vote for her regardless because she’s a Black woman. So let’s just focus on the suburbs.’”

A fight over strategy

Many Democrats have argued that Ms. Harris’s loss was primarily caused by factors like inflation and President Biden’s late decision to drop out — and that she could have done little differently.

But her campaign’s strategic choices have still come under intense scrutiny as the party debates whether it needs to rebuild itself from the ground up.

Ms. Harris’s top advisers have said that her campaign greatly improved on Mr. Biden’s early-summer standing, and that they had too little time to run a full campaign. As evidence that their tactics produced results, they pointed to the fact that Ms. Harris did better in the battleground states, where she campaigned heavily, than in solidly blue states, where she did not.

Ryan Boyer Sr., a labor leader in Philadelphia, said he thought the Harris campaign’s problem was a message that did not connect with ***working-class*** Americans, not a flaw in its get-out-the-vote infrastructure.

“I think that we had a lot of reproductive-rights commercials and not enough bread-and-butter economic messaging,” he said.

But many Black campaign staff members and political operatives said campaign leadership dismissed concerns that Democrats were taking their base for granted.

After Ms. Harris’s loss, Black campaign employees set up a call to talk about career opportunities with Angela Rye, a political strategist and podcast host. The discussion quickly shifted as they shared their anger at how the campaign had treated them, and how underfunded and haphazard their field operations had been in several battleground states, according to a recording of the call obtained by The Times.

An internal survey commissioned by the Harris campaign also found that Black staff members were frustrated with campaign leaders and felt that their ideas were ignored at a rate far higher than their peers’. Some complained of outright racial discrimination. The campaign’s leadership was made aware of the survey’s results.

Few of those frustrations have been leaked to the public.

In an all-staff call after the election, Quentin Fulks, the principal deputy campaign manager, told staff members that talking to the press would ruin their career prospects, four people on the call said.

Lauren Hitt, a Harris campaign spokeswoman, denied that Mr. Fulks had used that language or tone on the call, and said that he had instead counseled staff members against saying something in a moment of anger that could come to hurt themselves or the vice president.

Campaigning under the radar

In Philadelphia, Operation Dunkin’kirk was not the only freelance effort organized by frustrated campaign workers.

One staff member said he had raised tens of thousands of dollars to pay for operations to register voters and distribute campaign literature at public-transit stops, as well as to put up lawn signs in Black and Latino neighborhoods.

Another described a rogue surrogate operation that brought the actor Delroy Lindo and former Mayor Michael Nutter of Philadelphia to speak at Black churches and barbershops.

Others set up a program to text voters in Arabic.

Quentin James, a founder of the Collective PAC, a group that focuses on Black elected officials and voters and that worked with the Harris campaign, recounted frantic campaign staff members in Philadelphia, Detroit and North Carolina calling him in the final weeks of the race to say they did not have enough money to provide food or water to volunteers.

“Black staffers reached out to me directly and said we need additional support,” Mr. James said.

Even with defeat staring them in the face, Harris campaign leaders seemed in denial about the situation in Philadelphia. Late on election night, Jen O’Malley Dillon, the campaign chair, wrote an all-staff email saying that the Harris campaign had “over-performed turnout expectations there,” especially in areas with nonwhite voters.

It was not enough.

In the end, Ms. Harris received roughly 35,000 fewer votes in Philadelphia than Mr. Biden did four years earlier.

PHOTOS: Left and center, details from inside a campaign office for Vice President Kamala Harris in Philadelphia’s Germantown neighborhood. Right, campaign literature left on a front door in the West Oak Lane neighborhood of North Philadelphia. Ms. Harris ultimately lost Pennsylvania.; At a Dunkin’ Donuts in North Philadelphia, a group of Harris staffers planned “Operation Dunkin’kirk” to reach core Democratic wards. They had to hide it from their bosses. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MICHELLE GUSTAFSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A17.

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[***Obama Is the Same. His Coalition Isn’t.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D95-NKV1-JBG3-60NC-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Jess BidgoodJess Bidgood is a managing correspondent for The Times and writes the newsletter, a guide to the 2024 election and beyond.

**Highlight:** Democrats failed to preserve his coalition, and Harris is now trying to assemble a different one.

**Body**

Democrats failed to preserve his coalition, and Harris is now trying to assemble a different one.

Tony Jones, 58, a truck driver and a member of the Teamsters union, drove from his home in rural Maybee, Mich., to see former President Barack Obama campaign for Vice President Kamala Harris last week in Detroit.

Jones, a Democrat, had voted for Obama in 2008 and 2012, and as he stood in the tightly packed convention center, he felt the energy he remembered when so many of the people he knew wanted change and voted for Obama.

This year, though, he said many of them won’t join him in voting for Harris.

“They think there’s a change to the negative with the Democrats,” Jones said. “It’s a hard fight, and I’m not sure how to get through to somebody like that, that doesn’t understand.”

As Obama, who is headlining another rally tonight in Philadelphia, hops from swing state to swing state campaigning for Harris, Democrats have flocked to see him and relive the heady days of 2008. His presence on the campaign trail as both an orator and a wisecracking foil to Donald Trump has delighted her supporters — but it is also a reminder of their party’s failure to hold his coalition together.

Some of the assumptions that followed Obama’s victories — namely, that an “ascendant coalition” of the young and nonwhite voters who supported him heralded a long-term shift toward Democrats — [*did not bear out*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/15/podcasts/run-up-trump-republicans-democrats.html) through the upheaval of the Trump years. Instead, Democratic support among some of the key groups who helped to send Obama to the White House, including Black and Latino voters, has dropped off somewhat.

Harris and her allies say they are not trying to recreate the Obama coalition, and that they do not need to. “Elections are different. Coalitions are different. Obama last won 12 years ago,” said Lt. Gov. Garlin Gilchrist of Michigan, a state Obama won by more than 16 percentage points in 2008. “The goal is to win in 2024.”

Harris is knitting together her own coalition, her allies say, concocting a recipe that they hope will look a lot like President Biden’s winning coalition in 2020 — along with a healthy contingent of disaffected Republicans who might have backed Mitt Romney or John McCain in the past. The Obama coalition is no longer the road map.

“It’s just not, and I don’t think it was for anybody not named Barack Obama,” said Amy Walter, the publisher and editor in chief of the Cook Political Report. “The Obama coalition, only Obama could win.”

The Obama coalition, revisited

The understanding of who makes up a candidate’s winning coalition can be somewhat imprecise — and it can shift over time. In 2008, Obama [*lost among white voters overall*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/15/podcasts/run-up-trump-republicans-democrats.html), but it [*later became clear that he performed much better with white* ***working-class*** *voters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/15/podcasts/run-up-trump-republicans-democrats.html), like Tony Jones and his friends, than Hillary Clinton had. They, it turned out, had been a key part of his coalition, who helped him in 2008 to win states like North Carolina, Ohio and even Indiana.

He also won 95 percent of Black voters and 67 percent of Hispanic voters, and 66 percent of voters between 18 and 29 years old, [*according to exit polls*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/15/podcasts/run-up-trump-republicans-democrats.html). The [*latest national poll by The New York Times and Siena College*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/15/podcasts/run-up-trump-republicans-democrats.html) found Harris trailing Obama’s pace with all of those groups. She wins 81 percent of Black voters, 52 percent of Hispanic voters, and 55 percent of voters between 18 and 29 in a head-to-head matchup with Trump, the poll found.

Some of the electoral headwinds Harris is facing are part of long-term trends that point to a larger realignment of voters in the age of Trump, said Tom Bonier, a Democratic political strategist who is the senior adviser to TargetSmart, a polling and data firm. These days, he said, voters are divided more by educational attainment than they were in the days of Obama’s campaigns.

“It’s undeniable that Democratic support among Hispanic voters has eroded in the last 12 years,” Bonier said. “There has been a fairly constant erosion with white ***working-class*** voters since 2012.”

Harris certainly does not need to perform as well as Obama did with each group to win the election. There are some signs, including from The Times’s polling, that [*she is lagging behind Biden’s 2020 results with some key groups*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/15/podcasts/run-up-trump-republicans-democrats.html), including Black and Latino voters, [*although other polling has shown her performing better*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/15/podcasts/run-up-trump-republicans-democrats.html).

“Every candidate wanted the Obama coalition, but now we’re talking about, ‘Can she put together the Biden coalition?’” Walter said. “Harris can win people these other guys couldn’t. Is it enough? That’s what we don’t know.”

A different coalition

Harris has shown considerable strength with a group Obama lost to Romney in 2012: white, college-educated voters. In 2012, Romney won 56 percent of those voters to Obama’s 42 percent; in the most recent poll by The Times, Harris won 56 percent of those voters to Trump’s 40 percent. She appears to be performing considerably better with voters over 65 than Obama did in either of his elections.

Her allies are also hoping that an advantage with women will carry her over the top.

“We’re likely to see, or almost certain, to see, more Republican women voting for Harris than voted for Obama, and then potentially younger women,” Bonier said, adding that there has been a surge of voter registrations by young Black and Latino women this year. “Both in terms of turnout and persuasion, it’s almost certain that women will be a larger share of a winning Harris coalition than they were in Obama’s 2012 coalition.”

Harris is also working hard to shore up her support with Black and Latino voters, men and women alike. She spent yesterday in Philadelphia [*meeting voters of color*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/15/podcasts/run-up-trump-republicans-democrats.html) and visiting their businesses.

Trump, by contrast, held a Madison Square Garden rally where [*a comedian told racist jokes about Latino and Black voters,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/15/podcasts/run-up-trump-republicans-democrats.html) prompting a wave of condemnation from celebrities like Bad Bunny, the Puerto Rican megastar, and even some Republican elected officials.

Will.i.am will not be doing a Harris song

Back in 2008, the Black Eyed Peas frontman will.i.am wrote songs for Obama’s presidential run, but he won’t be doing that for Harris this time, he told my colleague Maya King. She explains why.

Staring down a polarized electorate poised to vote in a weighty presidential election, will.i.am, 49, told me that musical artists can still play an important role in galvanizing voters.

But the last thing this moment calls for, he said, is a catchy tune.

“You bring an umbrella out when it rains. Sometimes you use it when it’s sunny to protect you from the sun. Not every tool is for every time,” he said in an interview. “So to assume that a song right now is what is going to move people — people are different now.”

The videos for two of his Obama-related songs, “Yes We Can” and “It’s a New Day,” have garnered a combined more than 10 million views on YouTube. He performed at Obama’s first inaugural concert, too.

He did not write a song in 2012, he said. “And then we tried our hardest in ’16, but a song wasn’t — there was nothing to pull from to use that muscle,” he said.

And these days, he said, voters “need something else,” he said. “What that something else is — it’s community. We need dialogue. We need belonging.”

— Maya King

— Maya King

PHOTO: Former President Barack Obama spoke at a campaign rally for Vice President Kamala Harris in Clarkson, Ga., last week. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Erin Schaff/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Before Seeking Office, Vance Likened Trump To 'Cultural Heroin'***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CH1-Y6K1-JBG3-600T-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

He once called Donald Trump ''cultural heroin'' and said he feared he could be ''America's Hitler.'' But over an eight-year transformation, the Ohio senator became one of his most ardent supporters.

Follow the latest news from Day 2 of the Republican National Convention.

Senator J.D. Vance, who joined former President Donald J. Trump's 2024 ticket on Monday, once described his new running mate as a kind of ''cultural heroin'' -- and privately feared that he could be ''America's Hitler.''

That was nearly a decade ago, when Mr. Trump's political ascent coincided with Mr. Vance's rise as the author of ''Hillbilly Elegy,'' his memoir of growing up poor in rural Kentucky and Ohio. Mr. Vance was frequently interviewed for his views on the white ***working-class*** communities described in his book, full of the types of voters drawn to Mr. Trump's ''Make America Great Again'' pitch, and to his insistence that he alone could save a nation in decline.

In a 2016 article in The Atlantic, ''Opioid of the Masses,'' Mr. Vance wrote: ''During this election season, it appears that many Americans have reached for a new pain reliever.'' He went on: ''It enters minds, not through lungs or veins, but through eyes and ears, and its name is Donald Trump.'' But, he argued, Mr. Trump was not the solution.

Times change.

By 2018, Mr. Vance's stance had softened, as he viewed Mr. Trump as speaking, if coarsely, to the frustrations of the people he had written about. By 2022, when Mr. Vance was running for Senate in Ohio, the self-described ''Never Trump guy'' from six years earlier received a race-changing Trump endorsement.

Here is a look back at Mr. Vance's MAGA evolution.

'Hillbilly Elegy'

Mr. Vance's memoir drew critical acclaim. Well-timed for the 2016 election, it made best-seller lists and was frequently hailed as a must-read for Americans seeking to understand Mr. Trump's support from white ***working-class*** voters.

In media appearances promoting his book, Mr. Vance was regularly asked for his take on Mr. Trump's rise. His views were not positive.

In a 2016 opinion column for USA Today, Mr. Vance wrote, ''Trump's actual policy proposals, such as they are, range from immoral to absurd.''

That year, Mr. Vance told NPR that Mr. Trump was the only presidential candidate who was trying to tap into rural frustrations but that he was ''leading the white ***working class*** to a very dark place.''

In a private Facebook message from these Never-Trump years that was reported in 2022, Mr. Vance told his former classmate at Yale Law School he thought Mr. Trump was ''America's Hitler'' and a ''cynical asshole.''

On 'Charlie Rose' on PBS to talk about his book, Mr. Vance used the epithet that also appears in his takedown of Mr. Trump in The Atlantic: Trump is ''cultural heroin.''

''I find him reprehensible,'' Mr. Vance wrote in 2016 on Twitter, saying that Mr. Trump made immigrants and Muslims in the United States afraid.

''In 4 years, I hope people remember that it was those of us who empathized with Trump's voters who fought him most aggressively,'' he wrote in another Twitter post from 2017 after Mr. Trump won.

A Turn Toward Trump

In 2017, Mr. Vance wrote an opinion essay in The New York Times, arguing that while he was glad to see Barack Obama's policies end with the beginning of Mr. Trump's term, he admired the hope that Mr. Obama had given him.

But in February 2018, Mr. Vance's hard line on Mr. Trump appeared to soften. Among the Republican Party's problems, Mr. Vance said in an interview with The Financial Times, the then-president was among the ''least worrisome.''

Mr. Vance said he believed the bigger problem was the party's insistence on Reagan-era messaging about tax cuts for the wealthy, which held no sway with ***working-class*** voters in need of a boost.

''He is one of the few political leaders in America that recognizes the frustration that exists in large parts of Ohio, Pennsylvania, eastern Kentucky and so forth,'' Mr. Vance told The Financial Times.

A Trump Endorsement

In 2020, Mr. Vance supported Mr. Trump's re-election bid, and the next year, he announced his campaign for Senate in Ohio. He apologized for having called Mr. Trump ''reprehensible,'' and he deleted his numerous critical social media posts.

''I regret being wrong about the guy,'' he told Fox News in July 2021.

After Mr. Trump's loss in 2020, Mr. Vance advanced his unsubstantiated claims about widespread election fraud. He told a Youngstown, Ohio, newspaper that there were ''certainly people voting illegally on a large-scale basis,'' and he has repeatedly said that the election was not free and fair.

After Mr. Vance supported Mr. Trump, the former president threw his valuable endorsement the other way. ''Vance may have said some not-so-great things about me in the past, but he gets it now,'' Mr. Trump said in his endorsement.

Mr. Vance, in response, posted on Twitter that he was ''incredibly honored'' and that he would support Mr. Trump's agenda in office. ''He was an incredible fighter for hard working Americans in the White House, he will be again,'' he wrote.

In 2022 on Fox News, Mr. Vance suggested that Democrats could not win the midterm elections unless they opened the border to ''replace the voters that are already here.'' Once a supporter of expanding immigration and a critic of Mr. Trump's xenophobic rhetoric, Mr. Vance pushed for $3 billion to finish Mr. Trump's border wall.

In an interview this month with the New York Times columnist Ross Douthat, Mr. Vance stated his support for Mr. Trump plainly: ''I like him.''

''When they say, 'He's threatening the foundation of American society,' I can't help but roll my eyes,'' he said of Mr. Trump's critics.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/jd-vance-quotes-donald-trump.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/jd-vance-quotes-donald-trump.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Top, J.D. Vance during his first political race in 2022. When he published his memoir in 2016, Mr. Vance excoriated Donald J. Trump, saying he found him ''reprehensible'' and fearing he could become ''America's Hitler.'' He is now his running mate. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MADDIE MCGARVEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

JEFFREY DEAN/ASSOCIATED PRESS) This article appeared in print on page A13.

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[***Nancy Pelosi Insists the Election Was Not a Rebuke of the Democrats; The Interview***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCK-2P41-DXY4-X212-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** MAGAZINE

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**Byline:** Lulu Garcia-NavarroLulu Garcia-Navarro is a writer and co-host of , a series focused on interviewing the world&amp;#8217;s most fascinating people.

**Highlight:** The former House Speaker reflects on Donald Trump’s victory, Kamala Harris’s candidacy and the future of the Democratic Party.

**Body**

Perhaps no Democratic politician has been a greater antagonist to Donald Trump than Nancy Pelosi. As the House minority leader and then speaker of the House during Trump’s first term, she participated in two Trump impeachments, memorably ripped up a copy of Trump’s State of the Union address after he delivered it and was targeted by an angry mob during the attack on the Capitol on Jan. 6. Pelosi vowed to never allow Trump back in the White House for another term. By all accounts, she was a key voice in persuading Biden to end his campaign this summer and give another Democrat a shot at beating Trump.

We now know how that turned out. Vice President Kamala Harris suffered a stinging loss in Tuesday’s election. Republicans regained control of the Senate, and while the House has yet to be called for either party, the G.O.P. may very well control that chamber too. Trump made inroads across the country, including in safely blue states like New York and New Jersey. Now he is the president-elect with a sweeping mandate and promises to undo many of Pelosi and the Democrats’ legislative achievements.

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In her first extended interview since the Democrats’ defeat, Pelosi sat down with me at The New York Times office in Washington on Thursday evening. While Democratic voters and politicians wring their hands over what happened, and what’s next, Pelosi seemed unwilling or unable to concede that her party had been handed a crushing electoral rebuke and rejected the criticism of the party’s direction.

First of all, obviously a huge disappointment for you and the Democrats. How are you feeling? Well, on the presidential level, I feel sad for the American people. The policies that have been put forth by the president-to-be are some that are very, shall we say, if his first term is any indication, it’s going to favor the very rich at the expense of working families. From a political standpoint, I’m very proud of Kamala Harris. I think she did an excellent job putting forth an agenda for the future — a person that has not only a to-do list but a substantial to-do list for the American people. And she gave us hope, with dignity and grace, and I’m very proud of her candidacy. The people have spoken, Donald Trump has won and now we will have a peaceful transfer of power in our country.

You were at Harris’s concession speech on Wednesday afternoon. Have you spoken to her since the election and, if so, what was that conversation like? What is she feeling at this moment? Yes, I’ve spoken to her. I’ve told her how proud we are of her, thanking her for again giving us hope with great dignity. Obviously, it takes time to absorb an election. It takes actually a while to understand how certain things have happened. But they did happen, and she accepts that. She’s my personal friend as well, so I have a lot of respect for her. For me, it was emotional to have the conversation in a way that was praiseworthy of her patriotic leadership but sad for her personally.

When you say emotional, what does that mean exactly? It’s sad. You know, we’re talking about the presidency of the United States. We’re talking about a woman, a good person, a person who cares about people. That’s why she’s in the civic arena. And then, politically, very astute. You don’t get to be the nominee of the party unless you know your politics. But we are on the verge. I understand that it looked like a very red outcome yesterday, but we are on the verge of perhaps winning the House and making Hakeem Jeffries the speaker of the House. There are votes to be counted in Arizona, Oregon and California, and we’re optimistic that we can win.

You might win the House, but you definitely lost the presidency, you lost the Senate and there is a good chance that the G.O.P. remains in control in the House. There has already been a lot of parsing of what happened, and I know that there’s going to be a lot to come. But what is your main takeaway from that terrible night for the Democrats? Well, it was not a good night for the Democrats, but as I say, I don’t accept right now, and we won’t even know by the time this goes to print, what the outcome is of the House races. But understand this: The big assault that was made, this big red map across America — we lost two of our incumbents, maybe three. We’re still waiting to hear from one in Alaska. But that was a big save. I mean, what we call our frontline candidates, by and large, won in places where the Republicans were raging with their vote for the president and the Senate. The House members did very well. As I say, it’s still a possibility that we can win, but just that it’s a possibility tells you that the House ran against the tide. Already we have started our organizing for the future. We don’t agonize over what happened. We organize about what comes next.

But I do think it’s important to discuss a little bit about what you think could have been done differently. And a lot of the discussion has centered on how much President Biden’s delay in deciding to leave the race following the debate in June hurt the vice president’s campaign. You were very involved in encouraging him to leave. There’s reporting that you were concerned about his being the candidate well before the debate in June. And polls were showing that the American people were very concerned about President Biden’s age and his ability to lead into another term. Do you wish you had gotten involved earlier than you did? No. The president made his own decision to step aside and to endorse Kamala Harris. He made a patriotic, selfless decision, for which we are all very grateful. I think that was one of the reasons we were able to save so many House seats. So I thank him for that. I had no reason to earlier say anything to the president. I wish that they had in the first two years of the president’s term been more out there about what we had accomplished. The rescue-package money in people’s pockets. Shots in their arms. People back to work. Children safely back to school. The Biden child-tax credit. All those things. There could have been more of a presentation of that. I was not asking the president to step aside. What I was asking the president to do is to have the campaign be more clear.

Do you think he should have ever run for a second term? Well, that’s a whole other conversation. The decisions that people make. I just say this: The president is the president, candidates for president have their campaigns. But the rest of us have to mobilize at the grass-roots level to own the ground. So they win. We have to have a message that has clarity and unity to it and not divisiveness just in terms of alienating people, and third, the money to get the job done. We did all that we needed to to win the House as well as the White House. It’s up to the candidate for president to make his or her own decision about timing, policy.

But do you think the timing hobbled Harris? Because she had 100 days to get a campaign off the ground, to mobilize people, to get her message across, to get herself known. This was an incredibly truncated campaign, and many people think that maybe she was set up to fail just by the timeline alone. I don’t think she was set up to fail, but let me just say this: We’re only a couple of days since the election. There’ll be many reviews of timing and the who, what, when, why and where as we go forward. And books will be written about it. The fact is she did a great job with the time constraint that she had. Had the president gotten out sooner, there may have been other candidates in the race. Kamala, I think, still would have won, but she may have been stronger, having taken her case to the public sooner.

You’ve talked about your interest in having had an open primary. Yeah.

As you know, it would have uncovered her weaknesses, her strengths, it would have tested her electability. That’s what the primary system is intended to do. And it would have also perhaps resulted in a nominee that wasn’t so tied to an unpopular president. It’s interesting that you say those things. I don’t think that any review of the election should be predicated on weaknesses but strengths of Kamala Harris. She gave people hope. She caused a great deal of excitement in all this. It’s about winning. You don’t have to tell me that. But the fact is, we’re set up for what comes next.

Should there have been an open primary, though? Well, see, we thought that there would be. The anticipation was that, if the president were to step aside, that there would be an open primary. And as I say, Kamala may have, I think she would have done well in that and been stronger going forward. But we don’t know that. That didn’t happen. We live with what happened. And because the president endorsed Kamala Harris immediately, that really made it almost impossible to have a primary at that time. If it had been much earlier, it would have been different. But that’s not, we’re not here to agonize. We’re here, again, to organize on how we go forward. We’re going to have fresh, new talent — perhaps Kamala among them, that’s up to her — to go forward for the next election. But I think people need a little rest from elections right now. We’re still fighting to win the House, so we’re not finished with our race. But, it’s a pretty exciting road ahead, and time goes by quite quickly.

I’m sympathetic to the desire to move on from what is a very difficult moment. I do, though, feel as if the Democratic electorate is looking for some reflection now and some understanding of how things ended up the way that they did. When you look at what happened on Tuesday, you can see it in two ways. You can see that the country embraced Trump or you can see that they rejected the Democratic Party more broadly and the Biden-Harris administration. How do you see it? Well, I don’t see the Democratic Party more broadly. We lost two seats in the House, and we expect to pick up some more to offset that. Right now, we’re about even. So I don’t think whatever you said, with all due respect, applies to the House Democrats.

House races are run very locally. They message specifically for their district. But the brand of the Democratic Party overall seems to have been hurt this election cycle. Well, we lost the presidential election, [but] in many cases, our Democrats in the House ran ahead of the presidential ticket. So, your branding that we all got rejected, we didn’t. We’re still in the fight right now, and it’s going to be a very close call. I don’t see it as an outright rejection of the Democratic Party. Now, I do have a discomfort level with some of the Democrats right now who are saying, “Oh, we abandoned the ***working class***.” No, we didn’t. That’s who we are. We are the kitchen table, ***working-class*** party of America. And that’s why we are a close call in the House right now in a year where the map is bright red across the board.

I want to pick up on this ***working-class*** issue because, in a statement after the election, Senator Bernie Sanders said, “It should come as no great surprise that a Democratic Party, which has abandoned ***working-class*** people, would find that the ***working-class*** has abandoned them.” And Joe Manchin, who’s now an independent, but was an important moderate Democrat for years, also weighed in and had a similar diagnosis of what went wrong and that was that the party doesn’t stand for what it used to. Well, I just completely disagree. And, in fact, Kamala Harris ran ahead of Bernie Sanders in Vermont.

What does that tell you? It tells you that the fact is, what we do, what our purpose is in the Democratic Party, is for America’s working families.

Then why did voters — Go ask Bernie Sanders. Bernie Sanders has not won. Let me, with all due respect, and I have a great deal of respect for him, for what he stands for, but I don’t respect him saying that the Democratic Party has abandoned the ***working-class*** families. That’s where we are. For example, under President Biden, you see the rescue package, money in the pockets of people, shots in the arm, children in school safely, working people back to work. What did, what’s his name? What did Trump do when he was president? One bill that gave a tax cut to the richest people in America.

Then why did voters who earned less than $100,000 go for Trump in such large numbers? Well, there are cultural issues involved in elections as well. Guns, God and gays — that’s the way they say it. Guns, that’s an issue; gays, that’s an issue, and now they’re making the trans issue such an important issue in their priorities; and in certain communities, what they call God, what we call a woman’s right to choose.

So you feel as if it was the culture war — I think that’s part of it. Nothing is “it.” It’s part of it. Because it’s really hard to understand how someone would vote for somebody like Trump who’s been there for the wealthiest people. And again, I think the message that Bernie Sanders has put out is not the winning message for the American people. I love him. I think he’s great. He’s been a wonderful, shall we say, champion for his point of view, but his point of view is not correct when he says the Democrats have abandoned working families. Same thing with Manchin. I love Manchin. We have our Italian American Catholic connection, and we’ve worked together, but we have not abandoned working families.

Most of the voters, though, said that they voted on the economy and inflation and immigration. These were the main issues. Those aren’t cultural issues. Those are policy issues. Well, immigration’s a cultural issue. When the candidate for president is saying that these people coming in are murderers, rapists, thieves and all the rest of that. He made that a cultural issue.

But there were millions of people that came in through the border at a time — And he said they were criminals. And they weren’t. They weren’t.

People felt quite strongly that they didn’t want to see immigrants sleeping in police stations, at airports. I don’t think we were clear enough by saying fewer people came in under President Biden than came under Donald Trump. It’s clarity of the message, and if that’s what Bernie’s talking about, and that’s what Joe Manchin’s talking about, we weren’t clear in our message as to what things are, then I agree with that. And that was one of the concerns I expressed about saying we haven’t put forth what was done. It’s our legacy, too. [Pelosi bangs on the table.] The rescue package. [Pelosi bangs on the table.] Infrastructure Bill. [Pelosi bangs on the table again.] The CHIPS Act. But that didn’t come across as well as it should have. So I think if you’re talking about messaging, you’re talking about communications, that’s one thing. If you’re talking about what we stand for versus what they stand for, the public’s in for a big surprise. I didn’t come here today to go through the list of grievances against Donald Trump. He’s now the president. We wish our country well under the leadership of any president, but we will disagree with him where we disagree and try to find common ground where that exists. We have that responsibility to the American people. But there’s nothing in evidence of what he has done before. When he says Obamacare sucks and he’s going to get rid of that. They might even get rid of the CHIPS Act, which is a big jobs issue in our country. So, again, I’m not here to take him down. He won the election, congratulations, good luck to him there, but hopefully we can find common ground.

I want to make sure I’m understanding where you’re at in this moment. You say the Democrats had a strong case for ***working-class*** voters. Yes.

And you say Harris was not especially weighed down by Biden’s record. I didn’t say that.

OK. So do you feel that Harris was weighed down by Biden’s record or the perception of Biden’s record? I think that any vice president is, like it or not, tied to the record of the president. I think what Biden did was great, and being tied to his record is a great thing but not the way the record was perceived. This is a record of job creation. Sixteen million jobs as opposed to the record of her opponent who had the worst job-creation record since Herbert Hoover. Yes, 16 million jobs, turning around inflation, all the things that we did to build the infrastructure of America, reduce the cost of prescription drugs.

Did you think she should have taken a page out of your book? I remember, when you were speaker of the House, you would always tell all of the people running, “You can run against me, you can cuss me out, you can disavow me as long as you win your race.” Do you think she should have taken that tack with Biden? Let me just say this about the presidential. The presidential is a very special banner to carry. I never advise presidential candidates on what they should be doing. The presidency is a different initiative. I’m not going to start today giving presidents advice.

But you are a brilliant political mind. Many things can be said about you, but you are a brilliant tactician. Well, I would rather say strategist than tactician.

So then, as a strategy, should she not have tried to differentiate herself? She was tagged as being an extension of President Biden. Let me ask you this. Do you think that the Republican candidate for president and his campaign would have let it? No, they were going to be advertising against Joe Biden and Kamala Harris. So it’s not a question of what she would do. It’s a question of how they would present it. That’s why I leave it up to them. They have the intelligence from the campaigns. They have the talent out there to do the job. And I respect Kamala Harris as our candidate for president.

What does it say to you that many parts of the electorate didn’t find the argument about democracy being so important, about what happened on Jan. 6 being disqualifying, about many of the egregious examples of Trump’s rhetoric being offensive — ultimately, it didn’t change their vote. I don’t think it was a question of changing their vote. I think that’s where they were. Now, the fact of Jan. 6, that was an assault on our Congress, assault on the Capitol, this beacon of democracy to the world, an assault on the Constitution of the United States. It was insurrection, instigated by the president of the United States. They knew how bad it was. That’s why they had to have revisionist history to change the story. And that’s really shameful. God bless Liz Cheney for speaking out. And Adam Kinzinger speaking out on all that.

Why do you think, though, that the American voters didn’t care? Well you’d have to ask the American voters because I think sometimes when I’m listening to them, they’re saying: “American democracy is very strong. It can withstand anything.” Well, I hope they’re right.

That somehow Americans have never experienced democratic backsliding as you’ve seen in other countries and they just sort of discounted the argument? Some of them. I have great confidence in the American people. I believe by and large, they’re patriotic. They care about our Constitution and that they are good people. An election is an election, but I do believe that we’ll have an opportunity now to show a distinction when they see what comes down the pike, and hopefully it’ll be not so harmful. And so I don’t know that we can label everybody, saying everybody thought democracy was not at risk. No, plenty of people did. Plenty of people did.

A lot of Democrats stayed home. That’s what the numbers show: that there wasn’t as robust a turnout as had been hoped. Why do you think that was? In some places it was because there weren’t really races. You know, in other words, they use examples of some big cities. There were no races that mattered. Who would be president was clear in their state and also in terms of Congress and other races, there was clearly going to be Democratic. So some people were not motivated to turn out, but that’s not unusual.

Do you worry about what you’re seeing in California, New York, big Democratic strongholds? Quite a bit of erosion. I mean, a lot of the competitive House races are in California. When you look at the map, does it concern you? New York picked up four Democratic seats in the last nine months. Tom Suozzi to begin with earlier in the year, but three Tuesday night. So, no, I’m not worried about that.

Trump performed 20 percentage points better in the Bronx and Queens than he did in 2020. So I guess my question is: Is this the Trump effect — that he is just a uniquely popular person — or is this something that the Democrats aren’t doing right? No, we did it right. We won four seats in New York. You need to focus where you need to focus to win. And the focus was in those seats. New York knew it was going to go for the Democrat. It was going to go for Kamala Harris. So, within the state, we were focusing on how we increase the number of House races. So we go to those districts. And we go to those districts, and we won those districts.

But that shift, it doesn’t concern you? In the Bronx and Queens? From one race to the other, it just depends on what the issues are that are there. What we were told in the last election in New York is that safety was a big issue, and the emphasis was not as strong as it should have been. But you have to talk to the New Yorkers about their district. I’m just so proud of them. And Hakeem Jeffries, he will be speaker, either in a few days or in a couple years, but I think it will be in a few days, and he did a masterful job in New York in this election.

You yourself were re-elected on Tuesday. Congratulations. Yes, thank you.

To your 20th term, which is extraordinary. It is that. I’m very proud of that.

Is it your last term? I’m not here to talk about that. I’m here to fight the fight so that we win in the next election. I must have thought I’ve had the last term over and over again, but as fate would have it, the mission called.

Some of Trump’s actual last words on the campaign were [*about you*](https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/the-interview/id1624946521). He called you evil, sick, crazy. He called you the b-word and then stopped himself. He has promised to prosecute you and other Democrats if re-elected. Are you concerned that he’s going to make good on his threat? I’m concerned about what his presidency means to the everyday life of the American people. That is why we’re here. For the people. So again, if I was concerned about what he said about me, that’s been going on since what, 2016? What I am concerned about is what it means when he says, with his Project 2025, that he’s going to eliminate the Department of Education, that he’s going to take over the Department of Justice, that he’s going to repeal the Affordable Care Act and now they’re saying even the CHIPS Act. That’s what concerns me. If I were concerned about what he says about me, what would be my worth?

Your husband, Paul Pelosi, whom I know a little because we serve on a university board together, he was the victim of political violence. So I imagine that threats against you ring differently now because of that. Well, the thing is, I’m so sad about that. They violated the sanctity of our home, the safety of my husband, looking for me. Where is Nancy? Where is Nancy? Echoing what was said on Jan. 6 in the Capitol, when they were coming after me to put a bullet in my head. And he was going to punish me for what I had said about Donald Trump. So yeah, that’s a concern to me because of what happened to my husband when they were looking for me. What was sad about it, too, for my children, my grandchildren, my husband and for me was that President Trump thought it was funny. He made a joke of it, as did his children, as did the Republican governor of Virginia, as did Elon Musk. They thought that was really funny, that he would get almost murdered by somebody hitting him over the head with a hammer. They thought that was funny, and it’s not funny. Whether he thinks so or not, it’s not funny. It’s serious, and politics and government are the peaceful resolution of disagreement and disagreement is what a democracy is about. So we don’t expect everybody to think the same. That’s not what that is. What this is — it’s about having your differences of opinion. As President Thomas Jefferson said, every difference of opinion is not a difference of conscience. But when you have a difference, you have to stand your ground.

President Trump has promised to use the Justice Department and the attorney general to go after his perceived enemies. He has said that over and over again, and you’re one of them. Well, you would think that that would be enough reason for people not to vote for him. But that’s what he said. So when people say to me, “Why do you think our democracy is in danger?” I’ll say, well, let’s define our democracy. What is democracy? Free and fair elections? Peaceful transfer of power, independence of the judiciary, the rule of law, all of those kinds of things are part of a democracy. So if he’s going after those things, and thank God, the only, shall we say, peace of mind that we have today is that we don’t have the assault on the system that would have been there had Kamala Harris won. That isn’t right. It shouldn’t be that way. And that he would say — maybe thought it, might even want to do it, but to say it and the American people will say, “That’s OK with me ”?

They did say it’s OK with them because that’s who they elected. So I wonder if this has been a moment for you to re-evaluate whether you think you actually understand this country? No, I do. I do. I understand what was happening out there. I’ve traveled the country quite a bit. You know, look, I’ve been the target not just of him, but a lot of these people who are out there who don’t like the fact that I criticize him. But I think that we make a very big mistake if we underestimate the greatness of the American people and the greatness of our democracy and the greatness of our country. So no, I don’t think that at all. I think that we have elections, people make decisions, we go on to the next thing and then we show the difference between the two parties and any other party that is involved in it, and with great pride, what we stand for. And that’s what we have to point out: the difference. And that’s why I had my concerns earlier this year that there wasn’t enough clarification in the public mind as to what we set out to do. We have to do that better next time.

I don’t have to tell you that right now it’s pretty ugly among Democrats. There’s a lot of blame going around. There’s a lot of reflection happening. And there’s a lot of discussion about how the party rebuilds after this and how does it not tear itself apart. Well, I disagree. I don’t think it’s very ugly among Democrats now. Yeah, we don’t like losing. I was on a meeting this morning, which I don’t talk about what happens at a caucus meeting, but I can say it was unified and respectful of what the responsibilities that we have to go forward, praiseworthy of our leadership. It was long, and people took their time to tell how they saw things. And it was, in my view, as unifying as I’ve ever seen it. And it wasn’t without concern. It wasn’t without wisdom and intelligence about what happened. It wasn’t Pollyanna-ish, but it was productive and it was about how we go forward to be bipartisan where we can, be transparent in all cases, accountable to the public, but prepare to win the next time. So, yeah, we don’t like losing, and there are people who professionally go around saying what Bernie said and what some press say, but I don’t think it’s ugly in the Democratic Party now at all.

I’ve traveled a lot and worked a lot in other countries, and I’ve seen a lot of populist leaders. And populists have this warping effect on the body politic, because the opposition to them gets distilled into just being against the populist leader as opposed to standing for something bigger. Do you worry that the Democratic Party could be transformed into simply the anti-Trump party? And do you think that is what happened in this election? No, I don’t think so. I think some people perceived it that way, but that’s perception. I don’t think that at all. That’s not our purpose. Now, I will say this in terms of your question. Populism in this country and in some of those countries now is not just about populism in terms of an economic approach or something. It’s about xenophobic, religious populism. So there’s something more, shall we say, to be concerned about, about what they’re saying. They’re saying a religious, a Christian nationalist country. Well, all those words are a problem. A religious country? A nationalist country? No. So, right now, your question is a really important one, because populism is one thing. Xenophobic, religious, nationalist populism is dangerous, and that is what we have to make sure the public sees the difference in. And you can’t just say, we have to accept religious, populist, xenophobic populism because food prices are lower. If that’s what this is about, we’re as bad as the richest people in America saying, “I know Trump is whatever he is, but I just care about my tax return.” Billionaires, not all of them, of course. I don’t paint everybody with the same brush.

You’re talking about Elon Musk and others — We’re talking about the conspicuous ones, but not only them. In any case, America’s a great country. The American people deserve the best we can give them. The election was disappointing, heartbreaking in some ways because of not seeing what was really at stake. But we don’t blame them for that. We have to be clear in our message, and I’m a big believer in mobilization. You can maneuver in Congress and government all you want, and that’s important. But you cannot succeed unless you mobilize outside so that the people weigh in.

What is the plan with the Trump administration? Would you advise Democrats to try and fight and be oppositional? Or are you going to try and work with Republicans? It’s not a question of that. We always try to work with Republicans. That’s a responsibility that we have. It used to be that way until recent times. We always tried to find our common ground. That was our responsibility, and it still is. But I will say this: that where we disagree, we disagree.

He is twice impeached. He has been legally tried. Well, you know, and I have to say, the Supreme Court has been an embarrassment to our founders, just to have immunity for any president, whoever it might be, and to do so and take forever to do it so that justice could not be addressed one way or another. But you know what? I’m not here — again, my thoughts about Donald Trump are well known. I’m not an admirer of his lack of patriotism and the rest, but I’m not here to go into that. He’s the president. We all want the president to succeed. We wanted him to succeed in 2016 until they went down a path that we had to disagree with. But again, let’s give this a chance and see where we can find our common ground. We’ll see what is rhetoric and what is real. Let’s see what materializes, and we’ll fight every fight along the way. But it’s no use going into his personal situation. The public has ignored that or enough of them have. So that’s that. Let’s just move on. But we are going to show the difference. You’re going to see. It’s going to be pretty exciting for what comes next in the Democratic Party.

This interview has been edited and condensed. Listen to and follow “The Interview” on [*Apple Podcasts*](https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/the-interview/id1624946521), [*Spotify*](https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/the-interview/id1624946521), [*YouTube*](https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/the-interview/id1624946521), [*iHeartRadio*](https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/the-interview/id1624946521), [*Amazon Music*](https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/the-interview/id1624946521) or [*the New York Times Audio app*](https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/the-interview/id1624946521).

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[***Democrats Had a Theory of the Election. They Were Wrong.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DC5-3561-DXY4-X51G-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 2902 words

**Byline:** Lydia Polgreen, Tressie McMillan Cottom and Vishakha DarbhaLydia Polgreen is an Opinion columnist and a co-host of the &amp;#8220;&amp;#8221; podcast for The Times.

**Highlight:** Two columnists argue that the left neglected to hear what Americans were telling them over the past four years.

**Body**

The New York Times Opinion columnists Lydia Polgreen and Tressie McMillan Cottom discuss what was revealed about America on Tuesday, why the Democrats failed and what individuals can do about the future.

Below is an edited transcript of an episode of “The Opinions.” We recommend listening to it in its original form for the full effect. You can do so using the player above or on the [*NYT Audio App*](https://apps.apple.com/us/app/nyt-audio/id1549293936), [*Apple*](https://apps.apple.com/us/app/nyt-audio/id1549293936), [*Spotify*](https://apps.apple.com/us/app/nyt-audio/id1549293936), [*Amazon Music*](https://apps.apple.com/us/app/nyt-audio/id1549293936), [*YouTube*](https://apps.apple.com/us/app/nyt-audio/id1549293936), [*iHeartRadio*](https://apps.apple.com/us/app/nyt-audio/id1549293936) or wherever you get your podcasts.

Lydia Polgreen: I’m Lydia Polgreen, a columnist for The New York Times.

Tressie McMillan Cottom: And I am Tressie McMillan Cottom, also a columnist here at The New York Times.

Polgreen: On Tuesday we found out that the nation really, really wanted a change. Not only did Donald Trump take the presidency, but Republicans took the Senate and made gains in blue states like my home state of New York and big gains in New York City, too.

Before we dive into big ideas and a what-this-means and future-facing discussion, let’s just check in. How are you feeling today, Tressie?

McMillan Cottom: I am feeling exhausted, as I suspect many of us are this morning. I wish I could say I was feeling surprised, Lydia. I’m not surprised. I take no pleasure in having thought going into the election that this was Trump’s election to lose. I really, really wanted to be wrong, and I really wanted to be surprised.

And so part of the sort of despondency for me this morning is that things are exactly as I thought they are. You talk about the electorate wanting a change, and in some ways what I think they wanted was a return.

I don’t live in New York full time, I live in the South. I spent a lot of time with ***working-class*** people, people living in the mountains and rural parts of the country. And I also saw a sort of acceptance and integration of Donald Trump’s vision of an America where no one has to give up anything to win. And it appeals a lot to Hispanic voters, to ***working-class*** voters, especially ***working-class*** men. It appealed a lot to people in rural parts of the state of all races. That concerned me and concerned me the entire campaign.

Polgreen: I think I was a bit more optimistic, in part because, to me, this election really turned on this question of who has a stake in the system as it currently exists and who feels that they could benefit from just blowing it all up.

This was a big thing that came up for me in 2016 when Bernie Sanders was running. I ultimately thought Bernie was not going to be able to win because there are just too many people who have 401(k)s who think, like, “If this guy is elected, tomorrow, my 401(k) is going to be worth 40 percent of what it is now, and I know I can’t count on Social Security.” So that sense of having a stake in the status quo — and the Harris campaign, if it was about anything, it was about a kind of “What we got ain’t perfect, but we got to hold on to it.”

I think I felt hopeful that here we had a generic Democrat who had these plain vanilla policies that were not that exciting. They tried to address around the edges some of the issues that people needed from government.

I thought maybe that could work. Maybe there’s just enough chaos, just enough of a sense that this is too dangerous. That gamble was just wrong, and ultimately you were right.

McMillan Cottom: Again, I take no pleasure in that because if I am right, I am right because I thought — and now have evidence — that the anger that Americans feel cannot be directed toward the truth.

Polgreen: Yeah.

McMillan Cottom: I think there’s a lot of anxiety and anger, and I reject this whole economic anxiety argument — not because it doesn’t have some empirical truth to it but the way it’s been misused to paper over racial differences and gender differences, etc.

But there is something to the fact that there is a deep wellspring of anxiety about the fundamentals of American social institutions not being sustainable, not being predictable — to your point about a 401(k).

When people are talking about housing costs, when they are talking about inflation, even when they’re talking about the price of eggs, what they are talking about is an anxiety about their ability to predict their security into the near and distant future.

I always thought that there was a way and an opportunity for Democrats to reclaim a righteous anger. What Donald Trump has done on the other side is he’s given a story, a clear, by the way, articulate story about toxic anger. A way to direct that anger and that anxiety in a toxic direction.

Polgreen: One hundred percent. I think that the reality is that we’re in this political moment where the right is offering a very clear story about where we’re going, and where we’re going is backward. “We’re going to make America great again.” It’s a mythical time. It’s fake. It’s lies.

America has always been what it is. It’s always been this hot mess. There have always been people who’ve been left out of the story. There’s always been inequality. All of these things have always existed. But as long as you can project yourself as subject — and you could be a Latino man, you could be an undocumented migrant — and you could project yourself into that story, into that glorious past.

And the only antidote to that kind of story is a story about the future, a story about progress. And “progress” has become a dirty word. And there is no party on the center-right or the center-left anywhere in the world that is offering anything but a politics of amelioration.

All they’re saying is, “We’re going to tinker around the edges. We’re going to find a way to hold on to the elements of globalization that work. We’re going to find a way to hold on to the technology” — to all of these things that have fundamentally left people feeling alienated and alone and scared about the future.

And nobody’s saying, “No, over there on the horizon, there is some new thing, this new thing that we’re building together.” I think that is the absolute global failure that I see, and it’s way beyond the United States.

The other thing is that we are living in this zero-sum moment where people think giving something to someone else means taking something away from me.

There was that moment where JD Vance was talking about how if immigrants made countries rich, then Springfield, Ohio, would be the richest city in the world, and the United States would be the richest country in the world. Well, news flash, the United States is the richest country in the world.

McMillan Cottom: We are!

Polgreen: So this idea of the zero sum, how do you get beyond that? Where does the idea of progress come from?

McMillan Cottom: One of the things that JD Vance is actually very good at that Donald Trump is not as good at, is he figured out how to take something that is a problem about relative differences and make it feel like an absolute loss.

There are some relative losses, right? Sure, part of being a leader in a globalized society means that the United States has lost some direct power but still has a disproportionate share of soft power around the world, still dominates in economics and markets and in culture, by the way, which I don’t think we pay enough attention to.

But that relative loss, despite the fact that objectively, they are still doing OK, is enough when turned into anxiety and fear and aggression, which Donald Trump is very good at doing, feels like an emotional catharsis. And then JD Vance comes behind and says, “Not only are you losing, but yes, your loss is coming because someone else is gaining.”

What we do not have on the other side, to your point, is either a center or center-left and, I’d even argue, a Democratic center-right story that captures that emotion in the same kind of way. And I’m afraid that we took the wrong lessons from the last four years about the importance of the left to the Democratic Party in crafting that kind of message.

What we have said is, “Look, abolish the police failed. Americans don’t want that. People don’t want Occupy. We tried that. Your so-called identity politics failed.”

And so we’re going to retreat into this tinkering around the edges that you so eloquently described, because when we presented a grand vision that included some elements of what the left wants, America rejected it because we are more conservative than the left wants to believe.

What I think we should have taken from how Americans understood that message and how they responded was: Do better at that messaging. The fundamentals of the rising cost of housing, for example, do not change because you refuse to tell people a story about how you can make it better. They actually do want that story. They just didn’t maybe like the one that we gave them.

One of the things that is important for the left’s role in the Democratic Party is writing that story. That’s what populism on the right has done for the G.O.P., and the message we took was: Our populism on the left is too toxic and too dangerous for us to even entertain salvaging the best parts of their storytelling.

Polgreen: Yeah. And I think that the idea that the Democratic Party has to work within a set of defined rules of the existing order is just a brain disease.

The other thing is, abortion was supposed to be the thing that kind of rode into the rescue. There was a Reductress headline that said, “Nation Rejects Far-left Position of ‘Woman.’”

Let’s talk about gender in this election, because this was supposed to be the one where white women were going to finally abandon the Republican Party and cede their self-interest.

McMillan Cottom: Let me tell you.

Polgreen: And no, we are not going back. No more backroom abortions, women bleeding out in emergency room parking lots. What happened?

McMillan Cottom: What happened is what always happens, which is why I kept saying to people, “Listen, I am hopeful on your behalf, but I do not have my own high hopes that you are going to see a mass exodus of white women from the Republican Party and from carrying the Republican line.” Not even around abortion.

I agree that women are angry and that they were angry across the ideological spectrum. But anger doesn’t mean that they will make the same actions. Once you get to the realm of social action, your anger gets filtered through a whole lot of identities and through a whole lot of relationships.

And at the end of the day, gender did matter, but it was how people thought gender should matter that mattered the most.

If you looked out at the post-Dobbs reality and you’re a conservative woman who may not be particularly religiously conservative and you do believe that women should have bodily autonomy — if you looked at that and you thought two things: One, my husband won’t allow that to happen to our children, and two, this decision has been made; I now need to survive the decision.

And if you want to survive Dobbs, there is a strong conservative case for saying, “OK, then you make better choices in a mate who won’t put you in that position,” and more important, you get enough economic security so that you can buy your way out of the consequences of Dobbs.

And if that is how you’re looking at gender — if you are feeling anxious about your security as a woman, hitching yourself to a man’s economic security is actually a type of solution. It is certainly a solution that doesn’t challenge your core identity as a conservative, as a soccer mom, as a mama bear. You get to keep all of those identities.

Polgreen: Yeah. The other demographic that I think the Democrats have traditionally banked on was young people. And one of the places where I’d love to hear your perspective on this as someone who’s on campus and who’s been dealing with this. I’ve been spending a lot of time thinking about and writing about the war in Gaza and how that is playing out in the hearts and minds of young Americans.

And I have to say that the way in which the campaign bear-hugged the Cheneys —

McMillan Cottom: I thought it was such a mistake.

Polgreen: And just gave the middle finger to the uncommitted movement. The reality is that there was just a complete and total theory of the case that was “We can just ignore this.” So what went wrong here?

McMillan Cottom: I think there are two sides of that, because there’s also a youth conservative movement.

On the one side, I think there’s been a level of organizing young conservative people’s interests to the benefit of the Republican Party. Especially sanitizing Trump for them in a way that makes voting for him palatable.

On the other side, the complete disavowal of young — now, I won’t even call them leftists; I would actually just call them young moral voters — and theirs, to be fair, is a morally righteous cause. It is the mass death and destruction of people across the world.

I think that’s fair. And it is fair to think that your electeds, if not capable of changing the geopolitics, should at least acknowledge why you are so angry about this.

To your point, people may not vote on foreign policy; they do vote on apathy. I think it will go down as a major mistake. I think it will go down as really an arrogance and a hubris on their part that I thought was really unfounded.

You lost to Donald Trump a few years ago, how dare you have any hubris about thinking you can write off parts of the Democratic base? I thought that was ridiculous. And I also think they underestimated how well the Republicans are doing with young voters on the other side.

Polgreen: I think that’s right.

So what happens now to the Democratic coalition? Where do we go from here? Because I don’t think that it’s simply a matter of getting the gang back together again. I wonder if there are generative possibilities in the breakups of these coalitions? Does depolarization by race and by class and by gender and by geography — does that create opportunities?

McMillan Cottom: Yes. Thank you for putting it that way, because I actually think if there is a hopeful glimmer, it is that.

One of the things that has happened is that I think the categories that we have relied on to sort of do this consumer approach to dividing up the electorate so that we can tailor a message to your particular needs — those categories are crumbling.

I think one of the challenges that the Democratic Party has is that it is going to have to rediscover the language of class and not what class meant in the 1960s but the understanding that, really, the ***working class*** today is women and women of color. And so, yeah, building a new factory actually is not responding to their economic needs.

Polgreen: We’re going to have a lot of people listening to this who are really down in the dumps, disappointed by the results and wondering where to go next. I’m curious: Your students are going to ask you this, right? What are you going to tell them, and what would you tell our listeners and readers?

McMillan Cottom: I think maybe I would tell them both the same thing, because in moments like this we’re all kind of students, in the sense that we are looking for someone to help us make sense of the world, and what I have said to them before and what I will say to them in class on Tuesday if they are listening is, “You know how to do this. You may not believe you know how, but you actually have already done this. We have lived through this once before.”

That is not to say that there is not a great existential threat and danger. I think there is, and I’ve always thought there was. But I think it’s important to remember something my mentor told me years ago, when I would be despondent about reparations programs or something and I’d say, “This thing is never going to happen.” And he said to me, “Yeah, that’s what they once said about ending slavery, Tressie.”

The thing is, you don’t know your moment in history until it’s long gone. So you can’t treat things like you know your moment in history. You really do have to operate as if tomorrow is happening.

If you want to feel empowered to do something, know that history actually is only written after the things are settled, and it is our job to settle them. I think Donald Trump is not the last gasp of the G.O.P.’s descent into chaos and madness, but he is a sign that it’s the only strategy they have. They only have one tool.

If there’s an upside today, it’s that, yeah, the tool worked this time, but they only have one. That means there is plenty of opportunity here to build more and better tools, and that’s our job right now.

Polgreen: I totally agree. Tressie, I don’t know about you, but I feel a little better just hearing your voice. Thanks so much for talking with me today.

McMillan Cottom: Thanks for having me.

Thoughts? Email us at [*theopinions@nytimes.com*](https://apps.apple.com/us/app/nyt-audio/id1549293936).

This episode of “The Opinions” was produced by Vishakha Darbha. It was edited by Alison Bruzek and Kaari Pitkin. Mixing by Sonia Herrero. Original music by Carole Sabouraud, Isaac Jones and Pat McCusker. Fact-checking by Marge Marge Locker and Kate Sinclair. Audience strategy by Shannon Busta and Kristina Samulewski. Our executive producer is Annie-Rose Strasser.

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[***Black Men Are Waiting for a Democratic Party That Delivers for Them; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D4R-T8J1-JBG3-61C2-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1720 words

**Byline:** Charles Coleman Jr.

**Highlight:** Democrats have spent too much time drawing symbolic distinctions with Republicans without illuminating substantive differences.

**Body**

Black men today face a unique reality that warrants consideration: Under nearly any relevant index for measuring the quality of American life — [*how far we get in school*](https://hart.sanford.duke.edu/projects/black-male-dropout-rates-and-the-educational-achievement-gap/#:~:text=This%20forty%2Dfive%20percent%20graduation,percent%20of%20white%20students%20graduating).), our [*finances*](https://hart.sanford.duke.edu/projects/black-male-dropout-rates-and-the-educational-achievement-gap/#:~:text=This%20forty%2Dfive%20percent%20graduation,percent%20of%20white%20students%20graduating).) when compared with those of our white counterparts, and [*how long*](https://hart.sanford.duke.edu/projects/black-male-dropout-rates-and-the-educational-achievement-gap/#:~:text=This%20forty%2Dfive%20percent%20graduation,percent%20of%20white%20students%20graduating).) we will live — Black men consistently rank last or near last. There is not a Black man alive in this country right now who has ever seen Black male unemployment equal to or less than that of his white counterparts.

This is true even more acutely for a 34-year-old Black man born in 1990 who may have voted in every presidential election since his 18th birthday, saw the election of a Black president and spent more of his adult life with Democrats in the Oval Office than Republicans.

How could we not be asking ourselves: Come November, which candidate can help us change course?

History might suggest that Kamala Harris’s campaign for commander in chief would be met with near unflinching support from much of the Democratic faithful — [*women, Black, Latino and college-educated voters*](https://hart.sanford.duke.edu/projects/black-male-dropout-rates-and-the-educational-achievement-gap/#:~:text=This%20forty%2Dfive%20percent%20graduation,percent%20of%20white%20students%20graduating).). Pew Center data estimates that from 1994 through 2019, both Black and Latino registered voters have consistently identified as Democrats at rates higher than white voters. Yet in a moment where [*political allegiances of the past*](https://hart.sanford.duke.edu/projects/black-male-dropout-rates-and-the-educational-achievement-gap/#:~:text=This%20forty%2Dfive%20percent%20graduation,percent%20of%20white%20students%20graduating).) would seem to carry the day, Democrats are [*increasingly challenged*](https://hart.sanford.duke.edu/projects/black-male-dropout-rates-and-the-educational-achievement-gap/#:~:text=This%20forty%2Dfive%20percent%20graduation,percent%20of%20white%20students%20graduating).) in maintaining their stronghold among Black male voters.

Black men’s [*reconsideration of the Democratic Party*](https://hart.sanford.duke.edu/projects/black-male-dropout-rates-and-the-educational-achievement-gap/#:~:text=This%20forty%2Dfive%20percent%20graduation,percent%20of%20white%20students%20graduating).) is the worst kept secret of the progressive left. Black voters who aren’t Democrats still may be a small minority, but with the speed and reach of the internet these voices are increasingly amplified at levels exceeding what many ever thought was possible. Regardless of the outcome of the November election, Democrats cannot afford to dismiss this as tomorrow’s problem. The margin for victory will be tight on either side, and even in a world where Ms. Harris is victorious, this issue is not going away or shrinking in its significance.

In many respects, Democrats have themselves to blame for this disturbing trend by [*not controlling what has been in their power to control.*](https://hart.sanford.duke.edu/projects/black-male-dropout-rates-and-the-educational-achievement-gap/#:~:text=This%20forty%2Dfive%20percent%20graduation,percent%20of%20white%20students%20graduating).) While Republicans seemed to ignore the Black vote entirely, Democrats failed to prioritize policies that would have spoken directly to Black voters.

For example, there is no reason that the expiring portions of the Voting Rights Act should have been left to the Supreme Court to begin gutting with Shelby County v. Holder when Democratic legislators had decades to codify many of its tenets. Likewise, a commitment to police reform would have meant that once the George Floyd police reform act died in Senate committee because of Republican stonewalling, Democrats should have remained dogged in their pursuit of these much-needed changes to police conduct.

Where Democrats have had wins on the legislative front, they have been lackluster in trumpeting them to their base, creating a chasm that has been filled with skepticism and unverifiable theories. For Black men, particularly younger Black men who disagree with some of the positions of the Democratic Party, there is a frustration around not feeling like the party’s agenda speaks specifically enough to them and their concerns. They often point to pieces of legislation that target specific groups and give the impression that the party is more interested in courting new demographics of voters while not paying enough attention to its most stalwart supporters.

There is also the sense that, even with the emergence of important members of the Democratic bench, including Wes Moore in Maryland, Maxwell Frost in Florida and Brandon Johnson in Chicago, the party itself has largely become a party of women. This sentiment exists in sharp contrast to Republicans, who seem to be fashioning themselves as a political party of and for men. While some point to a rise in patriarchal appeals and misogynist sentiments [*against Ms. Harris*](https://hart.sanford.duke.edu/projects/black-male-dropout-rates-and-the-educational-achievement-gap/#:~:text=This%20forty%2Dfive%20percent%20graduation,percent%20of%20white%20students%20graduating).) as part of the cause, along with any number of other excuses, those sort of half-baked explanations are not only lazy but also flatly insulting (and alienating) to Black voters.

The laziness is a miscalculation, borne partly out of Democratic Party strategists and leaders who might be more fluent in the language of the liberal elite boardroom than they are the nuanced lingo of the barbershop. Student loan repayment is a worthy cause to champion, especially in a tough economy, but what relevance does that have when [*Black male enrollment on college campuses*](https://hart.sanford.duke.edu/projects/black-male-dropout-rates-and-the-educational-achievement-gap/#:~:text=This%20forty%2Dfive%20percent%20graduation,percent%20of%20white%20students%20graduating).) is dwindling? Opting to lump Black men in with the ***working class*** or small business owners, which has been a widely used Democratic messaging strategy, without specific call outs to our demographic is another example of why a “rising tide lifts all boats” [*approach*](https://hart.sanford.duke.edu/projects/black-male-dropout-rates-and-the-educational-achievement-gap/#:~:text=This%20forty%2Dfive%20percent%20graduation,percent%20of%20white%20students%20graduating).) is not sufficient. An absence of recognition echoes an all too familiar sentiment for Black men of existing in America but never being fully seen.

This is deeper than simply desiring a shout-out onstage. The insulting part is to mischaracterize our concerns by building an agenda for our community around criminal justice and policing reform. While important, this fails miserably to recognize the myriad ways in which issues like the economy, education, health care and employment have unique and disparate impacts on Black people and, more specifically, Black men.

Even as the vice president has centered her economic platform on appealing to ***working-class*** Americans, too little attention has been paid to how many Black men have been marginalized, if not excluded altogether, within the ***working class*** via wage disparity, for instance. Ms. Harris’s recent [*economic speech*](https://hart.sanford.duke.edu/projects/black-male-dropout-rates-and-the-educational-achievement-gap/#:~:text=This%20forty%2Dfive%20percent%20graduation,percent%20of%20white%20students%20graduating).) in Pittsburgh singled out small businesses, but the absence of discussion on how Democrats intend to close America’s racial wealth gap or address nagging unemployment rates among Black men still leaves much to be desired.

Democrats have for far too long been a party with poor messaging and even worse messengers to Black men in America. Ms. Harris has an opportunity to reverse this sentiment. Her emergence at the top of the Democratic ticket seemed to signal that she understood this point, evidenced by her economic listening tour targeting Black men and her [*recent comments to the National Association of Black Journalists*](https://hart.sanford.duke.edu/projects/black-male-dropout-rates-and-the-educational-achievement-gap/#:~:text=This%20forty%2Dfive%20percent%20graduation,percent%20of%20white%20students%20graduating).), in which she acknowledged a need to earn the Black male vote. There still seems to be, however, a disconnect between what Ms. Harris may recognize as a problem and what the party seems to prioritize.

Why would any sizable number of Black men shun the efforts of the Democratic Party that believes it has presented itself as the most viable option for decades — especially in light of the alternative, Donald Trump, and his absolutely abysmal history with Black men? It is seductive to place the blame largely on the shoulders of the Biden presidency, or to assign too much credit to Mr. Trump’s ability to connect with the most base elements of some Black men’s humanity. Neither of these reasons can be summarily dismissed, but they fail to give the context or nuance that this conversation deserves.

Democrats have spent too much time drawing symbolic distinctions with Republicans without illuminating substantive differences. If I am to be last under blue, as I was last under red — but able to survive both — then I am largely unmoved by being sold a vision of “less last.”

The immediate concern for Ms. Harris and Democrats isn’t a sizable exodus to the Republican Party but the possibility that Black men may not vote. Failing to acknowledge the [*growing*](https://hart.sanford.duke.edu/projects/black-male-dropout-rates-and-the-educational-achievement-gap/#:~:text=This%20forty%2Dfive%20percent%20graduation,percent%20of%20white%20students%20graduating).) drift of Black men away from the Democrats is exactly how we arrived here. A denial of this problem, no matter how adamant, will not make the problem itself disappear.

Ms. Harris’s entrance in the presidential race appears to have [*slowed the drip for Democrats.*](https://hart.sanford.duke.edu/projects/black-male-dropout-rates-and-the-educational-achievement-gap/#:~:text=This%20forty%2Dfive%20percent%20graduation,percent%20of%20white%20students%20graduating).) Her numbers among likely [*Black voters are far better than Mr. Trump’s and outperform President Biden’s*](https://hart.sanford.duke.edu/projects/black-male-dropout-rates-and-the-educational-achievement-gap/#:~:text=This%20forty%2Dfive%20percent%20graduation,percent%20of%20white%20students%20graduating).) among this same demographic at the time he abandoned his candidacy. She has to [*contend with the couch*](https://hart.sanford.duke.edu/projects/black-male-dropout-rates-and-the-educational-achievement-gap/#:~:text=This%20forty%2Dfive%20percent%20graduation,percent%20of%20white%20students%20graduating).) as much as she does Mr. Trump. It also seems that leaning into forward-facing messaging has begun to land with voters who were all but checked out of this election cycle.

Democrats’ ability to craft clear and direct messaging to Black men can help them win more of their votes. Sound civil rights policy is one of the clearest ways to signal to Black men, many of whom may have doubts about the “big tent” inclusiveness of the Democratic Party, that their votes matter. Both Ms. Harris and Democrats could benefit from expanding the umbrella of what civil rights entails. Even if abolishing the carceral state or defunding the police would be out of line with Ms. Harris’s political ideology and too radical in a tight election cycle, there are other ways to connect various policy efforts to civil rights.

Where access to employment has left Black men behind, the ability to gain access to the full benefits of America’s economy is an issue of civil rights. Protection from environmental racism is a civil rights issue. So is removing barriers to success that [*disproportionately affect Black business owners*](https://hart.sanford.duke.edu/projects/black-male-dropout-rates-and-the-educational-achievement-gap/#:~:text=This%20forty%2Dfive%20percent%20graduation,percent%20of%20white%20students%20graduating).), as is closing the achievement gap among Black men in primary school. Learning to engage Black men and, more broadly, Black communities around issues like the struggle to enter and stay in the middle class is the political equivalent of walking and chewing gum, and Democrats must learn to do it better.

The more Democrats shift their immediate thinking to see Black men as persuadable voters, and court them in the aggressive manner that they do independents and centrists — not only through messaging but also through sincere policy efforts — while stretching to keep hard-line progressives happy, the better the chance they have of regaining Black men who have left or who are considering leaving the party.

Charles Coleman Jr. ([*@CFColemanJr*](https://hart.sanford.duke.edu/projects/black-male-dropout-rates-and-the-educational-achievement-gap/#:~:text=This%20forty%2Dfive%20percent%20graduation,percent%20of%20white%20students%20graduating).)) is a civil rights lawyer, a former prosecutor and a co-host of the MSNBC special “Black Men in America: The Road to 2024.”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://hart.sanford.duke.edu/projects/black-male-dropout-rates-and-the-educational-achievement-gap/#:~:text=This%20forty%2Dfive%20percent%20graduation,percent%20of%20white%20students%20graduating).) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://hart.sanford.duke.edu/projects/black-male-dropout-rates-and-the-educational-achievement-gap/#:~:text=This%20forty%2Dfive%20percent%20graduation,percent%20of%20white%20students%20graduating).). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://hart.sanford.duke.edu/projects/black-male-dropout-rates-and-the-educational-achievement-gap/#:~:text=This%20forty%2Dfive%20percent%20graduation,percent%20of%20white%20students%20graduating).).

Follow the New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://hart.sanford.duke.edu/projects/black-male-dropout-rates-and-the-educational-achievement-gap/#:~:text=This%20forty%2Dfive%20percent%20graduation,percent%20of%20white%20students%20graduating).), [*Instagram*](https://hart.sanford.duke.edu/projects/black-male-dropout-rates-and-the-educational-achievement-gap/#:~:text=This%20forty%2Dfive%20percent%20graduation,percent%20of%20white%20students%20graduating).), [*TikTok*](https://hart.sanford.duke.edu/projects/black-male-dropout-rates-and-the-educational-achievement-gap/#:~:text=This%20forty%2Dfive%20percent%20graduation,percent%20of%20white%20students%20graduating).), [*WhatsApp*](https://hart.sanford.duke.edu/projects/black-male-dropout-rates-and-the-educational-achievement-gap/#:~:text=This%20forty%2Dfive%20percent%20graduation,percent%20of%20white%20students%20graduating).), [*X*](https://hart.sanford.duke.edu/projects/black-male-dropout-rates-and-the-educational-achievement-gap/#:~:text=This%20forty%2Dfive%20percent%20graduation,percent%20of%20white%20students%20graduating).) and [*Threads*](https://hart.sanford.duke.edu/projects/black-male-dropout-rates-and-the-educational-achievement-gap/#:~:text=This%20forty%2Dfive%20percent%20graduation,percent%20of%20white%20students%20graduating).).

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page SR10.

**Load-Date:** October 13, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Love and Loss in Italy, No Longer Censored***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCB-P411-DXY4-X0Y8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 8, 2024 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; Movies, Performing Arts/Weekend Desk; Pg. 4; REWIND

**Length:** 641 words

**Byline:** By J. Hoberman

**Body**

Long overshadowed by Michelangelo Antonioni's later work, this feature, newly restored, is being revived at Film Forum, complete with once-censored scenes.

Michelangelo Antonioni confounded the 1960 Cannes Film Festival with ''L'Avventura,'' but that high-modernist missing-person mystery did not emerge from a void. Three years before, the Italian master took the top prize at the Locarno festival with a scarcely less radical film, the existential love-story ''Il Grido'' (The Cry).

Long overshadowed by Antonioni's later work, ''Il Grido'' gets a rare revival run at Film Forum in a new restoration, complete with several once-censored scenes.

Bracketed by the sounds of a hurdy-gurdy tarantella, ''Il Grido'' tracks the circular journey of the skilled factory worker Aldo (the rugged American actor Steve Cochran) who, rejected by his longtime common-law wife, Irma (Alida Valli), wanders heartbroken through northern Italy's Po Valley.

Aldo, initially accompanied by his 6-year-old daughter Rosina (Mirna Girardi), takes a few odd jobs and hooks up with several women. A not unattractive if glowering hunk, he first drops in on the fiancée he had jilted (the blacklisted American actress Betsy Blair) only to depart the next morning. Stuck in a nowheresville gas station, he briefly takes up with the proprietress, Virginia (Dorian Gray, her voice dubbed by Antonioni's muse, Monica Vitti), a lusty widow with an alcoholic father.

To please Virginia, Aldo sends Rosina home on a bus, but then takes off himself, eventually stumbling upon a vivacious prostitute, Andreina (the British actress Jacqueline Jones, under the name Lyn Shaw) who works an impoverished stretch of the river. Their brief liaison is less than satisfactory for both. Walking with her by the Po, Aldo starts explaining how he met Irma and lapses into confused silence. ''What kind of story is that?'' Andreina demands.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

The lone ***working-class*** protagonist in Antonioni's oeuvre, Aldo is lost in his own head, seemingly unaware that the Po River has flooded or that his hometown, selected by the government as the site for a new airfield, is about to disappear. The universe is indifferent. The world has no place for him. The movie's barren, misty landscapes and melancholy piano doodling seem to mirror his disorientation.

While ''Il Grido'' can seem as aimless as Aldo is, the movie is full of incident and rich with subtext. The image of Aldo and Rosina on the road inevitably evokes two Italian classics, Vittorio De Sica's ''Bicycle Thieves'' and Federico Fellini's ''La Strada.'' But, despite intermittent references to class struggle, ''Il Grido'' is not a leftist social tract. Nor is it a Catholic fable. Bleak yet droll, the scene in which Aldo and Virginia attempt to make love in a roadside ditch might have been conceived by Samuel Beckett.

Virginia's inebriated father at one point teaches Rosina a revolutionary anthem, but such solidarity is beyond Aldo's capacity to imagine. He returns to his village to find workers and farmers united in a most likely futile struggle against the government. Oblivious to the fields set on fire, Aldo searches for Irma, only to discover that she has found happiness without him.

''Il Grido'' opened in New York, cut and dubbed, in October 1962. The New York Times reviewer A.H. Weiler declared it ''realistically bereft of hope,'' characterizing the film's fade-out as ''abrupt and somehow inexplicable.'' Reflecting Antonioni's view of life, ''Il Grido'' has an ending that is shocking, tragic and cosmic in its absurdity.

Il Grido

Through Nov. 14 at Film Forum in Manhattan, filmforum.org.Rewind is an occasional column covering revived, restored and rediscovered movies playing in New York's repertory theaters.Il GridoThrough Thursday at Film Forum in Manhattan; filmforum.org.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/movies/il-grido-film-forum-antonioni.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/movies/il-grido-film-forum-antonioni.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Steve Cochran as Aldo and Dorian Gray as Virginia in ''Il Grido,'' an Italian drama from 1957. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JANUS FILMS) This article appeared in print on page C4.

**Load-Date:** November 8, 2024

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[***A Swing-State Plan, Clad in Plain Talk and Carhartt***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CNR-6H51-DXY4-X0K3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 8, 2024 Thursday

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1; NEWS ANALYSIS

**Length:** 1286 words

**Byline:** By Lisa Lerer

**Body**

Democrats think Gov. Tim Walz's cultural ties are needed to talk to rural and ***working-class*** voters. But Republicans are not going to let his folksy style obscure a liberal record.

In selecting Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota as her running mate, Vice President Kamala Harris has picked a partner who is many things she is not: a product of small-town America. A union member known to campaign in a T-shirt and camo hat. A white guy who exudes Midwestern dad energy.

And, perhaps most important, a politician who has had to rely on the support of independent, or even Republican, voters to win elections.

Their pairing is somewhat predictable; a cardinal rule of vice-presidential selection is to construct the ticket with political balance in mind. But it is also a statement about what many Democrats believe is one of Ms. Harris's key vulnerabilities: that she is perceived as too liberal, putting even the small slice of rural, ***working-class*** and moderate voters that she needs across Wisconsin, Pennsylvania and Michigan out of her reach.

Ms. Harris, a California Democrat, has never won an election as a solo candidate outside the liberal bastion of California, where races often hinge not on winning swing voters but on successfully navigating intraparty fights. That has left her with limited experience acquiring a political skill Mr. Walz honed over his nearly two decades in politics: talking to conservatives.

The great dream of Ms. Harris's pick is that Mr. Walz's brand of affable cultural politics can help broaden her appeal and win back some of the voters who have been fleeing the party for years.

In other words, Democrats hope that ''Brat summer,'' the lime green, pop-culture meme for Ms. Harris's campaign, can translate into the kind of brat summer that evokes a staple of Midwest barbecues.

''This is a man who is as comfortable walking into Farm Fest in southern Minnesota and talking to corn and soybean growers as he is walking into a Black church in north Minneapolis,'' said Senator Tina Smith, the Minnesota Democrat. ''He is a person who just knows how to sit down and listen and connect with people.''

But Republicans are not going to let Mr. Walz's casual style and folksy, flat Midwestern vowels alone pass for moderate views. ''This isn't the Democratic Party of your parents or grandparents,'' said Matt Brooks, the chairman of the Republican Jewish Coalition. And Republicans pulled out pieces of Mr. Walz's liberal record in Minnesota -- such as tampons in school bathrooms and voting rights for felons -- to try to underscore the point.

The Democratic strategy is based far more on the identity politics of race, gender and cultural affiliation than on any policy calculations. Mr. Walz does not bring the clear electoral benefits of other contenders -- like Josh Shapiro, the popular governor of Pennsylvania, or Senator Mark Kelly of Arizona -- who might have more directly helped Ms. Harris in key swing states.

And he shares much of Ms. Harris's liberal agenda, championing issues like protecting abortion rights, restricting guns and expanding benefits like paid family leave.

But Mr. Walz, 60, presents as a cultural moderate: He is a gun owner who hunts turkeys and pheasants, and an Army veteran from rural northwest Nebraska. His first visit to San Francisco occurred last week, when he traveled to the city for some political meetings. And he is the first Democratic vice-presidential pick in more than a half-century who did not attend law school.

''Sometimes you see politicians who put on a Carhartt T-shirt in order to try to show rural America that they care about them,'' said Jane Kleeb, the chair of the Nebraska Democratic Party. ''But Walz doesn't have to do that. He has plenty of Carhartt in his closet, and plaid and everything else.''

Large swaths of white, rural voters -- the demographic group he fits most neatly into -- are unlikely to break their yearslong support of former President Donald J. Trump because Mr. Walz is on the ticket. But Democrats hope Mr. Walz can curb some of those expected losses, expand where they can compete and reassure more moderate Democrats who may have concerns about Ms. Harris.

''We're living in the real world here,'' said Ms. Smith. ''We might not win rural communities, but we win the small towns in those rural communities and our margin of loss is smaller.''

It is all a very different brand of Democratic politics than was practiced by Ms. Harris in California -- and nationally.

She won her last solo election -- the fight for her Senate seat in 2016 -- by defeating another Democrat. In 2019, Ms. Harris began a presidential campaign in which she spent months talking to Democrats alone, largely courting the progressive wing of the party in a crowded primary.

As a vice-presidential candidate, it was her running mate, Joseph R. Biden Jr., who made it his mission to make the case to the white ***working-class*** and moderates in the Midwest, while she was often dispatched to increase his support among the younger and more diverse parts of the Democratic coalition.

Mr. Walz rose to political power through the Democratic Farmer-Labor Party, a state operation with a tradition of rural, populist politics that once held sway across the Midwest but has largely evaporated beyond his home state.

For a dozen years, he represented a rural, conservative district in southern Minnesota and was considered a moderate in Congress, even earning an A rating from the National Rifle Association. Other Democrats from rural areas lost their re-election races, but Mr. Walz held on to his seat, even as Mr. Trump won his district by a double-digit margin in 2016. Two years later, he retired to run for governor.

Still, it was liberal activists, commentators and donors who emerged as the strongest champions of Mr. Walz during the whirlwind vetting process.

Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont endorsed him for vice president, as did a series of labor unions and progressive advocacy organizations. Some of the most liberal donors pushed his bid to campaign officials and people close to Ms. Harris.

Those affiliations might help Republicans as they rush to cast Mr. Walz as ''woke.'' On Tuesday, they targeted his response to the protests, looting, vandalism and arson that engulfed Minneapolis after the murder of George Floyd by a police officer. Critics say he responded too late to a request from the city's mayor to deploy the National Guard.

''They make an interesting tag team because, of course, Tim Walz allowed rioters to burn down Minneapolis in the summer of 2020, and the few who got caught, Kamala Harris helped bail them out of jail,'' Republicans' vice-presidential nominee, Senator JD Vance of Ohio, told reporters traveling on his campaign plane on Tuesday.

Mr. Vance was also chosen in part because of his ***working-class*** roots.

But Democrats believe Mr. Walz is enough of a skilled politician that he can defray such attacks and keep the focus on Mr. Trump. His ability to do that was the other major factor that played into his selection.

Mr. Walz rocketed to the top of the vice-presidential list after a series of news media appearances, where he coined a plain-spoken way of describing Mr. Trump and his Republican allies as ''weird.'' It is a message he described as a ''politics of joy'' that has long been missing from the party.

''This is the emperor wearing no clothes,'' he said in an interview on CNN last month. ''This is about making sure you take away this perceived power he has.''

But, he quickly added, ''I want to be very clear, I'm not speaking about the people at his rallies. Those are my relatives.'' He went on: ''These are my neighbors. These are good people.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/06/us/politics/kamala-harris-tim-walz-running-mate.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/06/us/politics/kamala-harris-tim-walz-running-mate.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Clockwise from top: President Biden, center, and Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, left, in Northfield, Minn., last year

Mr. Walz signing an executive order last year that protects gender-affirming health care

at a 2019 rally at the State Capitol in St. Paul, Minn. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY KENT NISHIMURA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

ANDREA ELLEN REED FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

JEFF WHEELER/STAR TRIBUNE, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS) (A14) This article appeared in print on page A1, A14.

**Load-Date:** August 8, 2024

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[***From Skeptic to Superfan: J.D. Vance’s Turnabout on Trump***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CGN-YFX1-JBG3-60WV-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** US

**Length:** 997 words

**Byline:** Simon J. Levien Simon J. Levien is a Times political reporter covering the 2024 elections and a member of the 2024-25 Times Fellowship class, a program for journalists early in their careers.

**Highlight:** He once called Donald Trump “cultural heroin” and said he feared he could be “America’s Hitler.” But over an eight-year transformation, the Ohio senator became one of his most ardent supporters.

**Body**

He once called Donald Trump “cultural heroin” and said he feared he could be “America’s Hitler.” But over an eight-year transformation, the Ohio senator became one of his most ardent supporters.

Follow the latest news from the [*Republican National Convention*](https://www.nytco.com/careers/newsroom/newsroom-fellowship/).

Senator J.D. Vance, who joined former President Donald J. Trump’s 2024 ticket on Monday, once described his new running mate as a kind of “cultural heroin” — and privately feared that he could be “[*America’s Hitler*](https://www.nytco.com/careers/newsroom/newsroom-fellowship/).”

That was nearly a decade ago, when Mr. Trump’s political ascent coincided with Mr. Vance’s rise as the author of “Hillbilly Elegy,” his memoir of growing up poor in rural Kentucky and Ohio. Mr. Vance was frequently interviewed for his views on the white ***working-class*** communities described in his book, full of the types of voters drawn to Mr. Trump’s “Make America Great Again” pitch, and to his insistence that he alone could save a nation in decline.

In a 2016 article in The Atlantic, “Opioid of the Masses,” [*Mr. Vance wrote*](https://www.nytco.com/careers/newsroom/newsroom-fellowship/): “During this election season, it appears that many Americans have reached for a new pain reliever.” He went on: “It enters minds, not through lungs or veins, but through eyes and ears, and its name is Donald Trump.” But, he argued, Mr. Trump was not the solution.

Times change.

By 2018, Mr. Vance’s stance had softened, as he viewed Mr. Trump as speaking, if coarsely, to the frustrations of the people he had written about. By 2022, when Mr. Vance was running for Senate in Ohio, the self-described “[*Never Trump guy*](https://www.nytco.com/careers/newsroom/newsroom-fellowship/)” from six years earlier received a race-changing Trump endorsement.

Here is a look back at Mr. Vance’s MAGA evolution.

‘Hillbilly Elegy’

Mr. Vance’s memoir drew critical acclaim. Well-timed for the 2016 election, it made best-seller lists and was frequently hailed as a must-read for Americans seeking to understand Mr. Trump’s support from white ***working-class*** voters.

In media appearances promoting his book, Mr. Vance was regularly asked for his take on Mr. Trump’s rise. His views were not positive.

In a 2016 opinion [*column for USA Today*](https://www.nytco.com/careers/newsroom/newsroom-fellowship/), Mr. Vance wrote, “Trump’s actual policy proposals, such as they are, range from immoral to absurd.”

That year, [*Mr. Vance told NPR*](https://www.nytco.com/careers/newsroom/newsroom-fellowship/) that Mr. Trump was the only presidential candidate who was trying to tap into rural frustrations but that he was “leading the white ***working class*** to a very dark place.”

In a [*private Facebook message*](https://www.nytco.com/careers/newsroom/newsroom-fellowship/) from these Never-Trump years that was reported in 2022, Mr. Vance told his former classmate at Yale Law School he thought Mr. Trump was “America’s Hitler” and a “cynical asshole.”

On ‘Charlie Rose’ on PBS to talk about his book, Mr. Vance used the epithet that also appears in his takedown of Mr. Trump in The Atlantic: Trump is “cultural heroin.”

“I find him reprehensible,” Mr. Vance [*wrote in 2016*](https://www.nytco.com/careers/newsroom/newsroom-fellowship/) on Twitter, saying that Mr. Trump made immigrants and Muslims in the United States afraid.

“In 4 years, I hope people remember that it was those of us who empathized with Trump’s voters who fought him most aggressively,” he wrote in another Twitter post from 2017 after Mr. Trump won.

A Turn Toward Trump

In 2017, Mr. Vance wrote an [*opinion essay in The New York Times*](https://www.nytco.com/careers/newsroom/newsroom-fellowship/), arguing that while he was glad to see Barack Obama’s policies end with the beginning of Mr. Trump’s term, he admired the hope that Mr. Obama had given him.

But in February 2018, Mr. Vance’s hard line on Mr. Trump appeared to soften. Among the Republican Party’s problems, Mr. Vance said in an [*interview with The Financial Times*](https://www.nytco.com/careers/newsroom/newsroom-fellowship/), the then-president was among the “least worrisome.”

Mr. Vance said he believed the bigger problem was the party’s insistence on Reagan-era messaging about tax cuts for the wealthy, which held no sway with ***working-class*** voters in need of a boost.

“He is one of the few political leaders in America that recognizes the frustration that exists in large parts of Ohio, Pennsylvania, eastern Kentucky and so forth,” Mr. Vance told The Financial Times.

A Trump Endorsement

In 2020, Mr. Vance supported Mr. Trump’s re-election bid, and the next year, he announced his campaign for Senate in Ohio. He apologized for having called Mr. Trump “reprehensible,” and he deleted his numerous critical social media posts.

“I regret being wrong about the guy,” he [*told Fox News*](https://www.nytco.com/careers/newsroom/newsroom-fellowship/) in July 2021.

After Mr. Trump’s loss in 2020, Mr. Vance advanced his unsubstantiated claims about widespread election fraud. He [*told a Youngstown, Ohio, newspaper*](https://www.nytco.com/careers/newsroom/newsroom-fellowship/) that there were “certainly people voting illegally on a large-scale basis,” and he has repeatedly said that the election was not free and fair.

After Mr. Vance supported Mr. Trump, the former president threw his valuable endorsement the other way. “Vance may have said some not-so-great things about me in the past, but he gets it now,” Mr. Trump said in [*his endorsement*](https://www.nytco.com/careers/newsroom/newsroom-fellowship/).

Mr. Vance, in response, posted on Twitter that he was “incredibly honored” and that he would support Mr. Trump’s agenda in office. “He was an incredible fighter for hard working Americans in the White House, he will be again,” he wrote.

In 2022 on Fox News, Mr. Vance [*suggested*](https://www.nytco.com/careers/newsroom/newsroom-fellowship/) that Democrats could not win the midterm elections unless they opened the border to “replace the voters that are already here.” Once a supporter of expanding immigration and a critic of Mr. Trump’s xenophobic rhetoric, Mr. Vance pushed for $3 billion to finish Mr. Trump’s border wall.

In [*an interview*](https://www.nytco.com/careers/newsroom/newsroom-fellowship/) this month with the New York Times columnist Ross Douthat, Mr. Vance stated his support for Mr. Trump plainly: “I like him.”

“When they say, ‘He’s threatening the foundation of American society,’ I can’t help but roll my eyes,” he said of Mr. Trump’s critics.

PHOTOS: Top, J.D. Vance during his first political race in 2022. When he published his memoir in 2016, Mr. Vance excoriated Donald J. Trump, saying he found him “reprehensible” and fearing he could become “America’s Hitler.” He is now his running mate. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MADDIE MCGARVEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; JEFFREY DEAN/ASSOCIATED PRESS) This article appeared in print on page A13.

**Load-Date:** July 19, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Campaigns Are Like ... Curling?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DD0-MRC1-JBG3-63T7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 11, 2024 Monday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2024 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 23; DAVID FRENCH

**Length:** 1521 words

**Byline:** By David French

**Body**

Sarah Isgur, a longtime Republican campaign operative -- and my friend and a senior editor at The Dispatch -- has a brilliant sports analogy for the process of campaigning. She compares it to ... curling.

For those unfamiliar with the sport (which enjoys 15 minutes of fame every Winter Olympics), it involves sliding a very large, heavy ''rock'' toward a target on the ice. One person ''throws'' a 44-pound disc-shaped stone by sliding it along the ice, then sweepers come in and frantically try to marginally change the speed and direction of the rock by brushing the ice with ''brooms'' that can melt just enough of the ice to make the rock travel farther or perhaps a little bit straighter.

The sweepers are important, no doubt, but they cannot control the rock enough to save a bad throw. It's a matter of physics. The rock simply has too much momentum.

What does this have to do with politics? As Isgur writes, ''The underlying dynamics of an election cycle (the economy, the popularity of the president, national events driving the news cycle) are like the 44-pound 'stone.' '' The candidates and the campaign team are the sweepers. They work frantically -- and they can influence the stone -- but they don't control it.

One of the frustrating elements of political commentary is that we spend far too much time talking about the sweeping and far too little time talking about the stone. Political hobbyists in particular (and that includes journalists!) are very interested in ad campaigns, ground games and messaging.

Those things do matter, but when facing an election defeat this comprehensive, you know it was the stone that made the difference.

So, in 2024, what was the stone? It's the same stone it almost always is: peace and prosperity. This is job one. A decisive number of Americans will put up with a politician's quirks, foibles and even corruption, if he or she delivers peace and prosperity. There's zero tolerance for scandal when they fail.

Republicans learned this lesson during Bill Clinton's presidency. Evidence of sexual misconduct, perjury and even allegations of sexual assault were largely politically meaningless compared with peace, a budget surplus, 4.5 percent growth in the gross domestic product and a 4.4 percent unemployment rate.

Clinton's affair with Monica Lewinsky was first reported in January 1998. According to Gallup, Clinton had a 69 percent approval rating just before the scandal broke. By the end of the year -- after he confessed to lying to the American public, after he settled the sexual harassment suit and as he was impeached -- his approval rating was 73 percent.

Yes, you can ascribe some of his popularity to the hypocrisy and overreach of his enemies. Newt Gingrich and Robert Livingston -- two Republican leaders in the House -- had engaged in their own affairs, for example. But the bottom line is that peace and prosperity made Clinton politically bulletproof.

You can see this phenomenon up and down American politics. In hindsight, one harbinger of the 2024 election was a 2022 San Francisco school board recall. Voters recalled three members of the school board after the board voted to change the names of dozens of San Francisco schools.

Many of the name changes were absurd artifacts of an era that one might describe as ''peak woke'' (Dianne Feinstein and Abraham Lincoln were among the names removed), but that's not the whole story. It was really an election about competence. The school board was voting to change school names while San Francisco schools were still closed -- and schools in many other districts were open.

As Mother Jones's Clara Jeffery wrote at the time, San Francisco recall voters were choosing ''to put performance over performativeness.''

You can also feel the weight of the stone in global trends. The governments in power when inflation hit are all suffering from an electoral backlash. A spirit of anti-incumbency is sweeping away parties regardless of ideology. In fact, as The Atlantic's Derek Thompson posted last week, ''For the first time since World War II, every governing party facing election in a developed country this year lost vote share.''

Think of Britain. In 2019, Boris Johnson and the Tories won a crushing victory over Labour. There was talk of realignment. The Tories had broken Labour's ''red wall'' and won over the ***working class***. In 2024 -- as Britain's economy remained stagnant -- Labour wiped out the Tories. Apparently, the realignment was postponed.

In the days since Donald Trump's victory, I've read a number of pieces about Democratic messaging, Democratic elitism and far-left intolerance that drove a number of people into MAGA's open arms.

This level of self-reflection is important and wise -- sweeping is important on the margins, after all -- but I can't help but think that if the withdrawal from Afghanistan hadn't been a bloody mess (that's when Joe Biden's approval rating went underwater; it never came back), if inflation hadn't spiked and if migration hadn't surged at the border, then we'd be having a different conversation.

I know that the Harris campaign had answers for all these criticisms. The American people wanted to end the Afghan war and Biden was saddled with Trump's terrible deal with the Taliban. Inflation was a global phenomenon and it was unfair to entirely blame Biden when by 2023 America had the lowest inflation rate among the Group of 7 countries. The Biden administration had finally cracked down on the border and had endorsed a tough new border bill.

They also rightly argued that Trump nostalgia was misplaced. It was wrong to give the former president a pass for the pandemic, or for the chaos and murder spikes of 2020. His term did not end in 2019, with peace and prosperity. It ended near the beginning of 2021 with disease, violence and cultural decay. Even the memories of the time before Covid are idealized. There was an immense amount of domestic turmoil before the pandemic.

To continue the curling analogy, the Harris campaign also argued that there was a different rock in play, one that was more important than peace and prosperity: democracy and the rule of law.

I agreed with the Harris campaign on this point. I believed the stakes changed after Jan. 6. I believed this was not a normal election and that many policy disagreements should have been put aside for a larger purpose. It wasn't irrational to believe this argument might prevail. Republicans had underperformed in 2022 and Kamala Harris did win an overwhelming majority of voters who said democracy was their top issue in the election.

But no. The first rock was in play, and all the arguments about easing inflation, better border policies or the importance of NATO paled in the face of the facts: Americans want to end wars but not lose them, inflation bit so hard that it may not be until next year that wages fully recover and there was never a good explanation for permitting so very many migrants to enter the country.

When I consider why Trump won, I think of two different numbers -- 17 million and 73 million. The first number represents Trump's primary voters. That's MAGA. Those are the people who were given a choice between Trump and a number of other accomplished Republicans and chose Trump again.

The 73 million are Trump's general election voters. Many of them -- maybe most -- certainly do love Trump. Some are indeed outright racists and misogynists. But if you actually sit down and talk with many other Trump voters, you'll hear some version of this: ''Look, I didn't like Jan. 6 -- and I don't want it to happen again -- but it didn't affect my life nearly as much as the price of eggs, milk and gas.''

This reality is reflected in the results. Trump narrowly won lower-income voters after Joe Biden won their votes decisively in 2020. He modestly improved his showing with minority voters. He assembled an actual multiethnic ***working-class*** coalition. He won a number of heavily Hispanic border counties in Texas. America's most vulnerable communities faced the consequences of inflation without the financial cushion of wealthier families, and they're still financially behind.

Understanding voters' decisions is not the same thing as justifying them. I strongly disagree with the decision so many of my friends and neighbors made. Our experience teaches us that we can count on Trump to be performative, but we cannot count on him to perform. There was a reason voters tossed him out of office once before.

But now he's back, and soon enough the MAGA true believers will realize that their ideological dreams will quickly die if they can't deliver the peace and prosperity they promised. We read too much cultural significance into any given election. Every party and every movement can be one business cycle from defeat.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/10/opinion/harris-trump-campaign-curling.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/10/opinion/harris-trump-campaign-curling.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A23.

**Load-Date:** November 11, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Congress Approves Spending Extension, Ending Shutdown Crisis***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DPG-7MX3-RTGD-64J1-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 20, 2024 Friday 13:57 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1148 words

**Byline:** Carl Hulse and Catie EdmondsonCarl Hulse is the chief Washington correspondent, primarily writing about Congress and national political races and issues. He has nearly four decades of experience reporting in the nation&amp;#8217;s capital.

**Highlight:** The Senate passed the measure and sent it to President Biden’s desk, shortly after the midnight deadline for funding to lapse.

**Body**

The Senate passed the measure and sent it to President Biden’s desk, shortly after the midnight deadline for funding to lapse.

The Senate approved a spending measure early Saturday to keep government money flowing through mid-March, sending it to President Biden for his signature and closing a chaotic endgame in Congress minutes after federal funding had lapsed.

The 85-to-11 Senate vote followed earlier House passage of the legislation, which also provided $100 billion in disaster relief for parts of the nation still reeling from storms. The action pushed major spending decisions into 2025 and the first months of the incoming Trump administration and a fully Republican-controlled Congress.

On Saturday, President Biden signed the spending bill. Although the deadline for a shutdown had technically passed, there was no interruption of federal funding.

The end to days of shutdown drama came after House Republicans stripped out a provision demanded by President-elect Donald J. Trump to suspend the federal debt limit and spare him the usually politically charged task of doing so when he takes office. But that demand sparked a revolt by dozens of Republicans on Thursday and led to a major defeat on the House floor.

The measure that ultimately passed kept dollars flowing to federal agencies and prevented a prolonged funding lapse that could have led to government disruptions just days before the holidays.

Senator Chuck Schumer, Democrat of New York and the majority leader, said the final product was not all Democrats wanted, but avoided a crisis.

“Though this bill does not include everything Democrats fought for, there are major victories in this bill for American families,” Mr. Schumer said, citing “emergency aid for communities battered by natural disasters” as well as no suspension of the limits on federal borrowing. He added that it would “keep the government open with no draconian cuts.”

The legislation also extends farm programs for one year and provides $10 billion in direct aid for farmers.

The vote in the House capped an extraordinary week of Republican chaos and dysfunction in which Speaker Mike Johnson cut a deal with Democrats to avert a shutdown, only to see it torpedoed by the billionaire Elon Musk and Mr. Trump, who demanded a different plan, which was promptly defeated by Republicans with help from Democrats.

After the vote, Mr. Johnson, who faced questions about his ability to continue as speaker next year after the tumult of the past few days, said he had been in constant contact with Mr. Trump and had talked with Mr. Musk, whom Mr. Trump named to help lead an effort to cut government spending, as well.

“He knew exactly what we were doing and why,” Mr. Johnson said of the president-elect. “This is a good outcome for the country.”

Still, the vote illustrated the [*limits of the president-elect’s power*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/19/us/politics/trump-republicans-spending-bill.html) to keep [*fractious House Republicans*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/19/us/politics/trump-republicans-spending-bill.html) in line. Mr. Trump failed in his effort to win a debt-limit suspension even after threatening primary campaigns against Republicans who voted for a stopgap bill that did not address it. The internal divisions over spending and debt foreshadowed potential difficulties for Republicans next year as they try to navigate their narrow House margin and accomplish an ambitious domestic agenda including complex tax and spending issues.

The government funding measure was a stripped-down version of an earlier proposal negotiated between Republican and Democratic leaders of the House and Senate that was filled with policy priorities for both parties as well as a cost-of-living pay adjustment for members of the House and Senate.

But as soon as it was rolled out by Mr. Johnson on Tuesday, it ran into fierce criticism from members of his own party as a bloated legislative Christmas tree of the sort Mr. Johnson had pledged to avoid. Mr. Musk piled on with an onslaught of criticism on his social media platform X, and Mr. Trump warned Republicans not to support any deal without a debt-ceiling suspension. Mr. Johnson quickly withdrew the bill and never put it to a vote.

That outcome angered Democrats, who savaged Mr. Johnson for reneging on the deal they had reached. It also meant that some of the provisions they sought on health care and trade, among other issues, would fall by the wayside. Democrats weighed opposing the stripped-down measure that Mr. Johnson hastily cobbled together on Friday, but ultimately decided to back it rather than risk being blamed for a shutdown.

“House Democrats have successfully stopped extreme MAGA Republicans from shutting down the government, crashing the economy and hurting ***working-class*** Americans all across the land,” said Representative Hakeem Jeffries of New York, the Democratic leader. “House Democrats have successfully stopped the billionaire boys’ club, which wanted a $4 trillion blank check by suspending the debt ceiling.”

To mollify both Mr. Trump and conservatives, House Republican leaders floated a pledge to cut spending and raise the debt limit in separate legislation next year. Republicans have been preparing to pass party-line legislation through a fast-track process called reconciliation — a procedure leaders said on Friday could be used next year to address Mr. Trump’s demand to raise the debt limit.

“House Republicans agree to raise the debt limit by $1.5 trillion in the first reconciliation package, with an agreement that we will cut $2.5 trillion in net mandatory spending in the reconciliation process,” the proposal from the Republican leadership said.

Those promises will join cutting taxes, cracking down on immigration and allowing for more oil drilling on the G.O.P. agenda for next year. Republicans in the House and Senate have been at odds over how to tackle their policy priorities, with some senators pushing for multiple party-line bills and House members demanding one huge effort.

The shutdown turmoil made it clear that even one such vote is likely to be a heavy lift for Republicans.

Congress had flirted repeatedly with shutdowns over the past two years with Republicans in control of the House and Democrats the Senate. But lawmakers pulled back from the brink each time, fearing election fallout.

With the elections over and the holidays coming next week, lawmakers had initially expected a fairly smooth path to funding the government into next year, but they instead found themselves enmeshed in one final episode of disarray to cap a tumultuous Congress.

Maya C. Miller contributed reporting.

Maya C. Miller contributed reporting.

PHOTOS: Speaker Mike Johnson saw “a good outcome for the country.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A1); Speaker Mike Johnson on Friday as G.O.P. leaders raced to reach a deal. The vote in the House capped an extraordinary week of Republican chaos and dysfunction. (PHOTOGRAPH BY PETE KIEHART FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A14) This article appeared in print on page A1, A14.

**Load-Date:** December 22, 2024

**End of Document**



[***The Queue***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D1B-STX1-JBG3-60RB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 22, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section AR; Column 0; Arts and Leisure Desk; Pg. 2

**Length:** 350 words

**Byline:** By Zachary Small

**Body**

I'm a culture reporter for The New York Times, where I investigate the art world's relationship to money, politics and technology. But my tastes were eccentric long before joining the newsroom. Here are five things I'm obsessed with.

Stumpwork

Having listened to Chappell Roan and Sabrina Carpenter enough times that I could perform a credible drag show, I have retreated back into this sedate 2022 album by the British band Dry Cleaning. The vibes are chilly, the lyrics are funny and the lead singer Florence Shaw has the gravelly, sultry voice of a smoker I used to know.

Cycladic Art at the Metropolitan Museum

After years of friends asking for guided tours, I have perfected a deranged, 20-minute sprint through the Met galleries. But the newish display of Early Bronze Age figures from the islands off mainland Greece require more pause. You'll never realize how ''ancient'' our modern aesthetics are -- or how ''modern'' our ancestors were -- until you gaze upon these statues.

Eartha Kitt on Love and Compromise

I first encountered Eartha Kitt through a cartoon. She voiced the villainous (yet stylish) Yzma in ''The Emperor's New Groove.'' Only later did I discover her career as a singer and actor through YouTube -- and I find myself returning to an interview she did later in life about learning to fall in love, not with others but yourself.

Change

In his autofiction, Ã‰douard Louis offers a compelling blueprint for writers looking to alienate their friends and family. He attempts to outrun a ***working-class*** upbringing through academia, high society and relationships with older men. But ''Change'' is written almost like a confession to an abandoned friend, Elena, about escaping a past that never suited him.

Xenoblade Chronicles 3

The first chapters of this game unfold like a war novel, centering on child soldiers attempting to break the unending cycle of violence that surrounds them. But the story artfully unfolds into a grander narrative -- one about generational trauma and mortality. I would argue it's the best story that video games have told within the last decade.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/11/arts/whats-in-our-queue-dry-cleaning-and-more.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/11/arts/whats-in-our-queue-dry-cleaning-and-more.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: A marble head circa 2500--2300 B.C. AMIR HAMJA/THE NEW YORK TIMES Bookcover of Ã‰douard Louis' novel, ''Change'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY Ã‰DOUARD LOUIS) This article appeared in print on page AR2.

**Load-Date:** September 22, 2024

**End of Document**



[***‘Il Grido’: Love and Loss in Italy’s Po River Valley; Rewind***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DC5-3561-DXY4-X51T-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 7, 2024 Thursday 19:54 EST

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**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 661 words

**Byline:** J. Hoberman

**Highlight:** Long overshadowed by Michelangelo Antonioni’s later work, this feature, newly restored, is being revived at Film Forum, complete with once-censored scenes.

**Body**

Long overshadowed by Michelangelo Antonioni’s later work, this feature, newly restored, is being revived at Film Forum, complete with once-censored scenes.

Michelangelo Antonioni confounded the 1960 Cannes Film Festival with [*“L’Avventura,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/1961/04/05/archives/screen-lavventurafilm-by-michelangelo-antonioni-opens.html) but that high-modernist missing-person mystery did not emerge from a void. Three years before, the Italian master took the top prize at the Locarno festival with a scarcely less radical film, the existential love-story [*“Il Grido”*](https://www.nytimes.com/1961/04/05/archives/screen-lavventurafilm-by-michelangelo-antonioni-opens.html) (The Cry).

Long overshadowed by Antonioni’s later work, “Il Grido” gets a rare revival run at Film Forum in a new restoration, complete with several once-censored scenes.

Bracketed by the sounds of a hurdy-gurdy tarantella, “Il Grido” tracks the circular journey of the skilled factory worker Aldo (the rugged American actor Steve Cochran) who, rejected by his longtime common-law wife, Irma (Alida Valli), wanders heartbroken through northern Italy’s Po Valley.

Aldo, initially accompanied by his 6-year-old daughter Rosina (Mirna Girardi), takes a few odd jobs and hooks up with several women. A not unattractive if glowering hunk, he first drops in on the fiancée he had jilted (the blacklisted American actress Betsy Blair) only to depart the next morning. Stuck in a nowheresville gas station, he briefly takes up with the proprietress, Virginia (Dorian Gray, her voice dubbed by Antonioni’s muse, Monica Vitti), a lusty widow with an alcoholic father.

To please Virginia, Aldo sends Rosina home on a bus, but then takes off himself, eventually stumbling upon a vivacious prostitute, Andreina (the British actress Jacqueline Jones, under the name Lyn Shaw) who works an impoverished stretch of the river. Their brief liaison is less than satisfactory for both. Walking with her by the Po, Aldo starts explaining how he met Irma and lapses into confused silence. “What kind of story is that?” Andreina demands.

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](https://www.nytimes.com/1961/04/05/archives/screen-lavventurafilm-by-michelangelo-antonioni-opens.html)]

The lone ***working-class*** protagonist in Antonioni’s oeuvre, Aldo is lost in his own head, seemingly unaware that the Po River has flooded or that his hometown, selected by the government as the site for a new airfield, is about to disappear. The universe is indifferent. The world has no place for him. The movie’s barren, misty landscapes and melancholy piano doodling seem to mirror his disorientation.

While “Il Grido” can seem as aimless as Aldo is, the movie is full of incident and rich with subtext. The image of Aldo and Rosina on the road inevitably evokes two Italian classics, Vittorio De Sica’s “Bicycle Thieves” and Federico Fellini’s “La Strada.” But, despite intermittent references to class struggle, “Il Grido” is not a leftist social tract. Nor is it a Catholic fable. Bleak yet droll, the scene in which Aldo and Virginia attempt to make love in a roadside ditch might have been conceived by Samuel Beckett.

Virginia’s inebriated father at one point teaches Rosina a revolutionary anthem, but such solidarity is beyond Aldo’s capacity to imagine. He returns to his village to find workers and farmers united in a most likely futile struggle against the government. Oblivious to the fields set on fire, Aldo searches for Irma, only to discover that she has found happiness without him.

“Il Grido” opened in New York, cut and dubbed, in October 1962. The New York Times reviewer [*A.H. Weiler*](https://www.nytimes.com/1961/04/05/archives/screen-lavventurafilm-by-michelangelo-antonioni-opens.html) declared it “realistically bereft of hope,” characterizing the film’s fade-out as “abrupt and somehow inexplicable.” Reflecting Antonioni’s view of life, “Il Grido” has an ending that is shocking, tragic and cosmic in its absurdity.

Il Grido

Through Nov. 14 at Film Forum in Manhattan, [*filmforum.org*](https://www.nytimes.com/1961/04/05/archives/screen-lavventurafilm-by-michelangelo-antonioni-opens.html).

Rewind is an occasional column covering revived, restored and rediscovered movies playing in New York’s repertory theaters. Il Grido Through Thursday at Film Forum in Manhattan; filmforum.org.

PHOTO: Steve Cochran as Aldo and Dorian Gray as Virginia in “Il Grido,” an Italian drama from 1957. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JANUS FILMS) This article appeared in print on page C4.

**Load-Date:** November 7, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Arlene Croce Elevated Dance Criticism With Style and Daring; an appraisal***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DRV-Y3Y3-RRW4-B19T-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 27, 2024 Friday 22:07 EST

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**Section:** ARTS; dance

**Length:** 1350 words

**Byline:** Elizabeth Kendall

**Highlight:** She was The New Yorker’s first dance critic. Her wit could be devastating but behind it was a belief in beauty.

**Body**

She was The New Yorker’s first dance critic. Her wit could be devastating but behind it was a belief in beauty.

Arlene Croce, [*who died last week at 90*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/17/arts/dance/arlene-croce-dead.html), made dance as important in arts criticism as painting, music, theater and books. The New Yorker’s dance critic from 1973 to 1996, Croce amassed a cult following and not a few detractors. She was also, despite insular origins, one of the most daring and stylish critics in the American canon.

In the 1970s, a dance boom hit New York City, and The New Yorker created its first-ever dance critic slot, filling it with a 40-year-old editor and film critic plucked from small-magazine obscurity: Croce.

But Croce wasn’t created by the dance boom. She created herself, through a stubborn, private, almost secret ambition, and a sort of homemade feminism that morphed into an Olympian credo about art. She believed in beauty. And she believed that a mix of virtuosity and classicism — she loved that word — lifted you out of the reach of messy human emotions.

She was born into a large, extended Italian American ***working-class*** family in Providence, R.I., that rose to the middle class as her father, a textile mill manager, followed the industry to North Carolina. While displaced, the Croces retained their rituals (stuffed shells for special occasions) and wry speech rhythms, which Arlene absorbed even as she ventured beyond the family.

Her first epiphany, she told me once, came from an after-school program that took children to the movies to watch Disney cartoons. She noticed that the college-age chaperones reacted differently from the kids: They weren’t just laughing, they were analyzing.

Other epiphanies followed. Just out of Barnard, she was physiologically shaken, she said in a 1979 interview in Vogue, by the premiere of George Balanchine’s “Agon” in 1957. She was similarly moved by a retrospective of the 1930s Astaire-Rogers films at the Museum of Modern Art.

Film and dance merged in her perceptions. She became an Astaire-Rogers “fan” (her term for herself), and in 1972, she wrote “The Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers Book.” It caught the notice of The New Yorker’s movie critic, Pauline Kael, who offered a template for a vividly subjective critical style (and eventually helped Croce onto The New Yorker staff). And somewhere in there came Croce’s conversion from the left-populist Roman Catholicism of Dorothy Day to the right-wing politics of William Buckley, on whose National Review she worked as an editor.

In 1965, Croce founded, with David Vaughan and Robert Cornfield, the small magazine Ballet Review, the only serious magazine in the United States to address dance. (It folded in 2020.)

I was one of the young writers brought into Ballet Review’s orbit, through Croce’s constant need to fill the magazine and keep the dance conversation going. Others in that orbit — it was actually more like an entourage, or a court, with the usual jostling for notice — were Robert Greskovic, Don Daniels, Mindy Aloff, Joan Acocella, Claudia Roth Pierpont and Alastair Macaulay, all of whom became distinguished critics in their own right. (Macaulay was The New York Times dance critic from 2007 to 2018.)

Croce educated us, or at least me, into the belief that writing about one art meant engaging with all the arts. She sent me to Eugene O’Neill plays on Broadway; to film retrospectives at MoMA, including a 1975 D.W. Griffith festival. As payment for my first Ballet Review article, she gave me the two-LP set of Benny Goodman’s 1938 Carnegie Hall concert, apologizing that it wasn’t money. She loved, and talked about, cultural artifacts as different as Louis Armstrong’s songs and French New Wave cinema, Beethoven string quartets and designer clothes.

We went shopping. She once pressed me so hard to buy a Geoffrey Beene suit on sale (beige jacket, beige tweed skirt, forest-green satin blouse) that I succumbed, violating my slender budget.

Croce, with her tweed skirts, her trim Italian shoes, her coifed black hair, small red lips and urban drawl, was a city creature through and through. It was as if her taste had been formed in that [*Lisa Fonssagrives*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/17/arts/dance/arlene-croce-dead.html) 1950s moment of ultra-detached chic, tempered by Hollywood’s sartorial prescription for working female journalists.

It wasn’t quite real, her world; it was modern and antiquated both. It didn’t have any place, for instance, for contemporary caution about body shaming. She was called to task several times for borderline-cruel, even borderline-racist, descriptions of dancer’s bodies. Nor could she seem to deal with the emotions surrounding the AIDS crisis. In 1994, Croce was widely criticized for condemning Bill T. Jones’s piece about terminally ill people, [*“Still/Here*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/17/arts/dance/arlene-croce-dead.html) [*,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/17/arts/dance/arlene-croce-dead.html) without attending a performance (she called it “victim art”).

Nevertheless, Croce drew readers in — she does still — by her seemingly casual deployment of a devastating wit. One line I remember especially, because reading it on a hot summer day in 1974 on a bench at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, convinced me I was in the right profession. Croce was describing the new (and short-lived) Harkness Theater on 62nd and Broadway, bought and outfitted by the oil heiress Rebekah Harkness for her Harkness Ballet. After noting the semi-pornographic murals framing the stage and its negligee-style, nylon apricot curtain, she took a swipe at the repertory: “And when that curtain rises, it is, indeed, indecent exposure.”

But it isn’t just the wit you admire in Croce’s reviews. It’s the overall prose rhythms: the long sentences followed by short clinchers. The clauses so calibrated they need no commas. The compressed descriptions that don’t crowd the reader. The word choice: surgical, precise, kinetic. She wielded verbs and adverbs to enhance the precision, while imperceptibly zooming out to a wider field of reference — philosophy, religion, idealism.

Take this 1974 description of the newly formed, all-male Ballets Trockadero de Monte Carlo ([*still performing today*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/17/arts/dance/arlene-croce-dead.html)). After noting that only two could dance on pointe, she tells us that “the rest of the company totter, gallop, or bourrée in a flat-footed scuffle through the scene, or else lumpily decorate it in poses.” Then she lobs in a compliment: “Although they do what they do brutally, they never do it sloppily.”

The descriptions prepare the reader for what Croce believes. Ballet, she writes, is “a world of signs and designs”: that is, a language complete in itself that operates in parallel with the ones we speak or gesture in. “Ballet is fantasy, true,” she concludes, “but even when it is erotic fantasy, its transfigured realism reorders the sensations that flow from physical acts, and our perceptions change accordingly. The arabesque is real, the leg is not.”

It is clear from Croce’s writing that she revered Balanchine above all other choreographers, for his clarity about the language; for his belief that art should be separate from life, the better to mirror it.

But even Balanchine wasn’t let off Croce’s critical hook: She was never, contrary to her own description, just a fan. The ballet “Chaconne” in its 1976 premiere looked unfinished, “two-sided,” because it imperfectly yoked together earlier choreography with new passages for its principal dancers. “What happens in the middle of ‘Chaconne,’” she wrote, “is that a whole new ballet crystallizes.”

Then, a week after the premiere, another “Chaconne” performance changed her mind. The dancers had settled in, finding the classicism, the inner harmony, that Croce was always looking for. “There was such euphoria onstage and in the pit,” she wrote, “that the final chaconne, loose ends and all, came together and held as if by miracle, and stars, demis, corps, orchestra, and audience were wafted together into Tiepolo skies.”

Ah, those Tiepolo skies. They must be her idea of heaven.

PHOTOS: Arlene Croce, above in the 1980s, was The New Yorker’s first dance critic. Her “Fred Astaire &amp; Ginger Rogers Book” caught the notice of that magazine’s film critic, Pauline Kael, who offered a template for a vividly subjective style. (C5) This article appeared in print on page C1, C5.

**Load-Date:** December 30, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Harris Is Calling Oakland Home. Berkeley Can Understand Why.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CTJ-NS61-DXY4-X01V-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 26, 2024 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1492 words

**Byline:** By Heather Knight and Alexandra Berzon

**Body**

High above an arena packed with Democratic delegates in Chicago last week, a video introduced the life story of Kamala Harris to the world.

''Behind me is where it all began,'' said her childhood friend, Stacey Johnson-Batiste, standing in front of a charming yellow, two-story home where Ms. Harris grew up in a small apartment above a nursery school.

But where was that exactly? The screen simply read ''East Bay,'' as in the eastern section of the San Francisco Bay Area that sprawls over 1,400 square miles and is home to nearly three million people. Ms. Harris called the area just ''the bay'' in her speech on Thursday night. Other speakers throughout the week referred to Ms. Harris as hailing from Oakland, the East Bay's largest city.

The word almost never spoken was the name of Ms. Harris's actual hometown: Berkeley, Calif.

That little yellow house sits on Bancroft Way in the university city known, fairly or not, for a hippy-dippy vibe where residents gamely embrace the nickname, ''People's Republic of Berkeley.'' Ms. Harris's old neighborhood is now called Poets Corner for its preponderance of streets named for writers such as Chaucer and Byron.

The neighbors, who tend a community garden and circulate a newsletter, have a theory about why Ms. Harris does not shout out her hometown much these days.

''Oh, people would definitely think Berserkeley!'' said Anna Natille, who lives near Ms. Harris's childhood home and was walking her pug, Figgy, past it last week. ''We have such a reputation for being on the far left, that we're all a bunch of communists and socialists.''

In other words, maybe not a great way to lure the country's middle-of-the-road voters to the Democratic ticket.

Ms. Harris began downplaying her Berkeley roots years ago when she first prepared to run for statewide office in California. Today, she often describes herself with the somewhat vague label ''daughter of Oakland,'' a phrase that ties her to a ***working-class*** city with less stigma -- and counters Donald J. Trump's preferred branding, ''San Francisco liberal.''

A spokeswoman for the Harris campaign said the campaign had no comment.

Ms. Harris is hardly the first politician to be selective about her biography; leaning into key events or places to match a political message is a timeworn tradition. George H.W. Bush hyped his Texas background, though he had grown up in Connecticut, and Al Gore touted his roots in Tennessee and not his childhood home: the Fairfax hotel in Washington, D.C. For Ms. Harris, whose family moved frequently, the matter is less about inaccuracy than emphasis and omission.

She was indeed born in an Oakland hospital in 1964, but she did not settle in the city until she was in her 20s and working as a prosecutor in the county district attorney's office.

Her birth certificate lists an apartment building near the University of California, Berkeley campus, where her parents were pursuing Ph.D.s. It sat just a half-block south of People's Park, the campus land taken over by activists in 1969, just a few years after the Harris family moved out of the building.

When Ms. Harris was a toddler, her family moved to the Midwest where her father, Donald Harris, taught briefly at universities in Illinois and Wisconsin. After her parents split up, Ms. Harris returned to Berkeley when she was 5, with her mother, Shyamala Gopalan Harris, and her sister, Maya, and eventually settled into the little yellow house in the ''flatlands,'' then a ***working-class*** part of the city with a large population of Black families.

Ms. Harris's mother was steeped in the social activism vibrant in both Berkeley and Oakland. Ms. Harris attended Berkeley public schools and was bused to Thousand Oaks Elementary School in a more upscale neighborhood in the hills of north Berkeley as part of a voluntary program to integrate schools.

Ms. Harris moved to Montreal when she was 12 and to Washington, D.C., to attend Howard University, returning to the Bay Area for a summer during college when she worked at a McDonald's in Alameda, a city next to Oakland. She settled in the area as an adult.

(Montreal fared even worse than Berkeley at the convention. The city's name was completely excised from Ms. Harris's retelling of her childhood, while Berkeley was mentioned just once, by Oprah Winfrey.)

The vice president's shifting descriptors of her hometown have been noticed by local people clued into associations with each place: Berkeley (radical lefty and weird), Oakland (***working-class*** and a hub of Black politics) and the East Bay (could be anything, really).

''I'd be willing to bet a lot the reason they're not saying Berkeley is just because of the stereotype,'' said Charles Wollenberg, a historian who has written a history of Berkeley. He added that he did not think the amorphous term ''East Bay'' was an ideal substitute. It could apply to dense, diverse cities or roomy suburbs.

''Even if you knew what the East Bay was,'' he said, ''it could be Oakland or Walnut Creek.''

Ms. Harris has, at times, done her part to puncture those stereotypes. In her 2019 memoir, she described Berkeley, now home to about 120,000 people, as far more complex and multilayered than its national reputation. Her neighborhood, she wrote, was filled with ''working families who were focused on doing a good job, paying the bills and being there for one another.''

And she wrote about the Rainbow Sign, a Black arts and cultural center in Berkeley where she was exposed to a lively mix of poetry, art and oratory and learned that ''artistic expression, ambition and intelligence were cool.'' The city back then was about a quarter Black and had just elected its first Black mayor. More recently, housing in the city, including in the once-***working-class*** neighborhood where Ms. Harris grew up, has become so expensive as to price out many of the types of working families she wrote about.

But Berkeley's role in her public story shrunk as her ambitions grew. In 2008, just before she announced her run for California attorney general, the mention of Berkeley was taken out of her bio on her political website, which referred to her as a ''California native'' before turning to ''born and raised in the East Bay'' and, at points, ''born in Oakland.'' (She has mentioned Berkeley a few times in speeches over the years to allude to the civil rights movement or her experience in school busing programs.)

In the 2019 speech kicking off her first presidential run, Ms. Harris stood before a crowd of around 20,000 people in downtown Oakland. Her very first words were: ''I am so proud to be a daughter of Oakland, California.''

Several former aides to Ms. Harris during her early career said they did not recall any discussion about the changes.

Not surprisingly, Berkeley and Oakland, both solidly Democratic cities, want to claim Ms. Harris as their own.

One of Ms. Harris's longtime friends, the former Oakland mayor Libby Schaaf, is delighted to see the vice president hype up Oakland, using East Bay lingo to say she is ''hella proud of this daughter of Oakland.''

''We love that she claims Oakland,'' she said. ''Unapologetic warriors for justice, that's the Oakland brand.''

Even as the mayor of Berkeley, Jesse Arreguín, countered -- ''She's a daughter of Berkeley!'' -- he was also self-aware.

''Berkeley is viewed as the most liberal city in the United States, and we're proud of that,'' he said. ''But maybe for some people in the red states, that may freak them out.''

Still, residents of Berkeley know their Harris landmarks. When she and President Biden won in 2020, a spontaneous dance party erupted outside her childhood home on Bancroft Way, with children drawing messages on the pavement in chalk and a New Orleans-style jazz band parading up the street.

The town's visitors' bureau has even created a tour of sites associated with Ms. Harris, including the yellow house. (Oakland's visitors' bureau has one as well.)

Around the corner from the yellow house, on Browning Street, dozens of neighbors gathered in a side yard on Thursday night to watch the onetime resident of Poets Corner accept her party's nomination on an outdoor movie screen.

They sprawled on picnic blankets and sat in folding chairs. They popped bottles of bubbly and sliced a cake that read ''Kamala 47,'' a reference to the fact that she would be the country's 47th president if she won. Little girls sold homemade T-shirts reading, ''Keep Calm and Vote for Kamala.''

Nobody seemed to care that she did not call out their town by name as they cheered her generic references to the East Bay. She stands for Berkeley values, they said, even if she does not name their city.

''What she stands for and what she says she's going to do are such a part of this community, the hopes and dreams we all have,'' said Mallorie Baron, a neighbor who taught at Thousand Oaks Elementary long after Ms. Harris left town.

''It just feels right.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/25/us/politics/kamala-harris-berkeley-hometown.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/25/us/politics/kamala-harris-berkeley-hometown.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Kamala Harris spent much of her childhood in a modest yellow house in Berkeley, Calif., below left. Neighbors gathered to watch Ms. Harris accept her party's nomination. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JIM WILSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A13) This article appeared in print on page A1, A13.

**Load-Date:** August 26, 2024

**End of Document**



[***When a Baby Killer Isn't a Straightforward Villain***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DKH-VC21-JBG3-61MY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 7, 2024 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 3

**Length:** 886 words

**Byline:** By Beatrice Loayza

**Body**

The real-life murderer who inspired ''The Girl With the Needle'' was ''a monster,'' said the actress who plays her, ''but the movie is also about showing you her struggles.''

In 1920s Copenhagen, a woman named Dagmar Overbye was convicted of murdering multiple infants whose mothers had paid her to find adoptive families for them. She confessed to killing 16 babies, though the true number of victims was likely higher.

One of Denmark's most notorious serial killers, Overbye is a character in the movie ''The Girl with the Needle,'' which arrives in U.S. theaters on Friday and is Denmark's entry for the best international feature Oscar.

Yet the film isn't a true-crime thriller, and Overbye isn't portrayed as a straightforward villain. Instead the story is about ''finding the humanity in these horrible deeds,'' the film's director, Magnus von Horn, said in a video interview -- a tall task considering the deeds involve burning, drowning and strangling babies.

How to perform the high-wire act of humanizing a killer?

''You focus on the characters,'' von Horn said.

And you have to cast actors fearless enough to pull it off.

Enter Trine Dyrholm and Vic Carmen Sonne, the two leads in ''The Girl with the Needle,'' and two of Denmark's most boundary-pushing actors.

The film -- a social drama and dark fairy tale rolled into one black-and-white fever dream -- follows Karoline (Sonne), a fictional character modeled after a real woman who became skeptical of Overbye's adoption business.

Research into the court transcripts of Overbye's trial informs the film, but it's chiefly an imaginary retelling, with Dagmar (Dyrholm) depicted as both a survivor and a bringer of chaos. When Karoline nearly dies attempting to perform her own abortion in a public bathhouse, Dagmar intervenes and saves her life. The younger woman then volunteers to become a wet nurse for other newborns in Dagmar's charge in exchange for room and board. Only later, after the two women have formed a bond, does Karoline discover the awful truth about what happens to the children.

''There's no doubt Dagmar was a monster,'' Dyrholm said. ''But the movie is also about showing you her struggles and inner chaos.''

Dyrholm, 52, is one of Denmark's most acclaimed actors, having won 10 Robert Awards -- the Danish equivalent of an Oscar -- throughout her decades-long career. She has achieved this stature by collaborating with provocative directors like Thomas Vinterberg and playing morally complex roles, such as a middle-aged woman who has a torrid affair with her teenage stepson in ''Queen of Hearts'' (2018).

''I've always fought to play women that certain directors or producers were afraid weren't likable enough,'' she said. ''That's something I like about the beginning of 'The Girl with the Needle,''' she added, referring to the delirious opening sequence, in which phantasmal faces flash across the screen like images from a Rorschach test. ''Within us are all these different masks, but some people, because of awful things that have happened to them, are forced to wear only one.''

After World War I, Denmark's economy was in a slump and single, ***working-class*** women were among the hardest hit. In the beginning of the film, Karoline moves into a leaky attic after she is kicked out of her apartment. When the owner of the textile factory where she works finds out she's pregnant with his baby, his family forces him to abandon -- then fire -- her.

We empathize with Karoline's struggles, yet she's also callous, an embittered product of her social reality. When her husband, whom she believed to be dead, returns home from the war with PTSD and a disfigured face, she violently tosses him out of her home.

Sonne, 30, has also gravitated toward roles that test moral boundaries. In her breakout film, ''Holiday'' (2018), she played an abusive gangster's trophy girlfriend, a part that allowed her to blur the lines between victim and victimizer.

''If I think too much about representation, there's the danger of turning the character into the idea of a strong woman rather than a real person,'' Sonne said. ''The audience sees the character at their best and worst: when they're alone and secretly behaving in completely terrible ways,'' she added.

It's no wonder that Karoline and Dagmar are kindred spirits, connected by ''the dark side of motherhood and womanhood,'' Sonne said. The film takes Karoline's point-of-view to show us how easily her life could have turned into someone like Dagmar's, and how Dagmar's once might not have been all that different from Karoline's.

Dyrholm and Sonne became friends several years before co-starring in ''The Girl with the Needle,'' and Dyrholm has also been a mentor to the younger star. Their chemistry is tangible in one blissful scene where Dagmar and Karoline go to the cinema high on ether.

As Dagmar and Karoline watch the silent film, their joyous cackles break through the otherwise gloomy tone of the film. Briefly, it becomes a story about the rejuvenating powers of female camaraderie.

No matter how tough life gets, Sonne said, ''you're not constantly living it like a tragedy.'' If only for a bit, she added, ''you sometimes get to chase the feeling of being close to someone who is like you. Together you could even laugh and be in the eternal now.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/05/movies/the-girl-with-the-needle-trine-dyrholm.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/05/movies/the-girl-with-the-needle-trine-dyrholm.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Vic Carmen Sonne, above, in ''The Girl With the Needle,'' Denmark's entry for best international feature at the Academy Awards. Far left, Trine Dyrholm, who plays the serial killer Dagmar Overbye in the film, left. (PHOTOGRAPHS VIA MUBI) This article appeared in print on page C3.

**Load-Date:** December 7, 2024

**End of Document**



[***This Is Not What Trump Had in Mind***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CW8-F8R1-DXY4-X32J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 3, 2024 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 19; THE CONVERSATION

**Length:** 1513 words

**Byline:** By Gail Collins and Bret Stephens

**Body**

Bret Stephens: Gail, I've never thought to ask you this, but we seem to have an occasion: Where do you stand on ... fracking?

Gail Collins: Bret, is it possible you want to point out that Kamala Harris has upended her fracking position? She was totally against it as a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination in 2020. Way more amenable in her current role.

Bret: Surely it has absolutely nothing to do with the fact that fracking has helped make Pennsylvania the second-largest natural gas producer in the country.

Gail: Fracking is deep, deep drilling for oil or gas that can reduce the cost of energy. It can also really mess up the environment and contribute to global warming. I say, no, let's just get focused on those electric cars.

Bret: Electric cars that run on batteries made of cobalt, lithium, nickel, graphite and other minerals that have to be mined in ways that are neither cheap nor clean? And which, in turn, depend on an electric grid powered, for the most part, by hydrocarbons?

Gail: I have faith we'll get to a better version.

Bret: This is one of the burgeoning number of cases in which I'm happy to see Harris come around. I just wish she could have made a better case for her current position. Like, if she had noted that by producing more natural gas in the U.S., we've become less coal-dependent, which is good for the planet. Or that by producing more oil in the United States, we're also less dependent on the Middle East. Or that by becoming more energy independent, we can do more to ensure that we are extracting the energy in an environmentally sound way -- something we can't do when the oil is coming from Venezuela or Iraq.

Gail: Bret, are you telling me you're going to vote Democratic this fall?

Bret: Are you going to ask about my vote every week from now till November?

Gail: Probably. Maybe for a few weeks after the election, too. I know you're not going to want to do football predictions. Give me a hint. You sure seem to be tilting.

Bret: The only way I'm tilting is that I've decided to switch my write-in vote from Mr. Magoo to Representative Ritchie Torres, the Bronx Democrat, now that he's old enough to serve as president. I'm just not sold on Harris. Sorry!

Gail: OK, we're going to be arguing about this nearly every week, so I'm taking a temporary pass. For a more narrow Harris query: What did you think of her CNN interview?

Bret: She was likable and warm and didn't do herself any obvious harm. But she leaned heavily on vacuous slogans, like her ''new way forward.'' I'm struggling to understand how she can present herself as a candidate of change while defending President Biden's record. What would you suggest she do?

Gail: There does seem to be a problem here. Harris cares about things like better schools, improved health care and aid to lower-income families who need housing, child care or other basic services.

For which she would have to come up with increased revenue. At least some of it, presumably, by taxing the wealthy more. If she wants to make me happy, that's exactly what she'll be talking about. And I think it would also perk up the ears of so far not overly enthusiastic younger voters. While, I presume, driving you further into the arms of Mr. Magoo.

Bret: Or my personal role model, Mr. Burns from ''The Simpsons.''

Gail: Sorry she didn't get more specific on CNN. But let's take a break from the Democrats, Bret. Tell me how you think the other side is doing.

Bret: Great question. On the one hand, Donald Trump seems to be flailing. He can't stay on message. On subjects like abortion, he doesn't seem to know what his message is. He hasn't settled on a consistent line of attack on Harris the way he usually does against his other opponents: ''Low-Energy Jeb,'' ''Lying Ted,'' ''Crooked Hillary,'' ''Sleepy Joe.'' Trumpy Senate candidates like Bernie Moreno in Ohio, Sam Brown in Nevada and Kari Lake in Arizona are bombing in the polls, which could also hurt Trump in November.

On the other hand, why is Trump still competitive in swing states after all this ''joy'' coming out of the Democratic convention? To me, it suggests that Americans still have a lot of doubts about what a Harris presidency could bring -- and that Trump has a deep well of hidden support that polls don't capture.

Do you think it's still Trump's race to lose?

Gail: Sort of. The policy differences between the two parties are huge, and many voters still don't believe the economy is doing well. But I have a sneaking suspicion it'll come down to whether potential Trump supporters begin to worry that he's too crazy to run the country. Or at least too -- wow -- old.

Bret: I get the sense that the assassination attempt spooked him more than he's willing to admit and also slowed him down. And yes, there are those niggling details about him being a nut, a narcissist, a boor, a bigot, a blowhard, a tornado of baloney -- a man who, to borrow from an old joke, could commit suicide by leaping from his ego to his I.Q.

Gail: Love that line.

Bret: But I still think he's going to win. If he does, will you regret all the efforts to prosecute him?

Gail: Bret, if Trump wins, there will be so much to regret, I can't envision the priority list. Right now, I'm concentrating my postelection worries on what will happen if he loses. He'll certainly claim the voting was rigged, challenge everything conceivable in court and encourage as many protests as possible. It could make Jan. 6 look like a school picnic.

Bret: I agree. If he loses, let it be with wide and clear margins that leave no room for doubt about the outcome -- not that it will keep him from claiming he won. Then again, if he wins, I hope Democrats will take the lesson that trying to use the judicial system to prosecute a political opponent is a bad idea that is bound to backfire.

Somewhat related subject, Gail: Our colleague Nick Kristof had a terrific column last week, in which he warned that ''since the Obama presidency, Democrats have increasingly become the party of the educated, and the upshot has often been a whiff of condescension toward ***working-class*** voters, especially toward voters of faith.'' Do you think Harris and Tim Walz will change that?

Gail: Hope so. On the ***working-class*** side, one good approach is the team's strong support of unions. I know unions aren't necessarily your favorite organizations, but in honor of Labor Day let me point out how important unions can be in turning the ***working class*** into a middle class.

Bret: The odd thing about unions is how little enthusiasm they tend to generate among so many ***working-class*** people, especially those outside public-sector jobs. Maybe union dues are too high or too many unions have agendas that are too left wing for many of their would-be members. In any case, the most pro-worker thing for a government to do is to let the private economy create work and to defeat regulations that stymie it.

Take it that you ... don't agree.

Gail: A lot of our new economy involves service employees who are overworked and underpaid -- or aren't even classified as workers in the so-called gig economy. Their bosses naturally don't want unions coming in and taking away their flexibility when it comes to matters like staffing and scheduling and, of course, wages. But it's good for the country if those people get decent pay, even if it means paying more for your coffee at Starbucks or an Amazon delivery.

Bret: I'm all for good wages in steady jobs; I just don't think unions are a particularly effective vehicle for obtaining them.

Gail: Bret, that's a pretty weak retort unless you have in mind some other movement or entity that's going to take up the cause. As long as there are more people who need to work than employers desperate for labor, don't think you'll really be able to argue that management will cough up more money than it needs to.

Bret: In the spirit of Labor Day, I concede.

Gail, this year I met an exceptional woman named Rachel Goldberg, whose son, Hersh Goldberg-Polin, was taken hostage to Gaza by Hamas after having the lower half of his arm blown off. It was Goldberg who, with her husband Jon Polin, spoke movingly for the hostage families last month at the Democratic National Convention.

On Sunday the Israeli military announced that it had found Hersh's body, along with the bodies of the hostages Carmel Gat, Eden Yerushalmi, Ori Danino, Almog Sarusi and Alexander Lobanov, in a tunnel under Gaza. They were recently executed by their captors. I have a feeling that, like me, many of our readers burst into tears when they saw the news. Biden warned that ''Hamas leaders will pay for these crimes,'' and I hope he's right. And I hope that all our readers can join in saying, ''Let my people go.''

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/02/opinion/harris-trump-fracking-election.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/02/opinion/harris-trump-fracking-election.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A19.

**Load-Date:** September 3, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Friday Briefing: Israel Targets Hezbollah’s Remaining Leaders***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D3W-5NJ1-JBG3-62PM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 4, 2024 Friday 00:35 EST

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1135 words

**Highlight:** Plus, a billion-dollar plan to protect trees.

**Body**

Plus, a billion-dollar plan to protect trees.

Israel targets Hezbollah’s remaining leadership

Israel said it [*bombed an underground bunker*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/03/world/israel-iran-lebanon-hezbollah/here-are-the-latest-developments?smid=url-share) where senior Hezbollah officials were meeting at midnight local time. The targets included Hashem Safieddine, the presumed successor to Hassan Nasrallah, the group’s recently assassinated leader, Israeli officials said. Here’s what we know [*about Safieddine*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/03/world/israel-iran-lebanon-hezbollah/here-are-the-latest-developments?smid=url-share).

A series of huge explosions rocked Dahiya, a stronghold of the group, in the densely populated suburbs just south of Beirut, after Israeli warplanes struck. Shock waves rocked buildings across the Lebanese capital. The latest attacks were a sign that Israel had not let up on its campaign to eliminate the leadership of the Iranian-backed group.

Israel is now carrying out major operations on multiple fronts. Earlier, an Israeli warplane carried out an airstrike on the West Bank; Palestinian health officials said at least 18 people were killed. In Gaza, Israel carried out numerous strikes. Local health officials reported that nearly 100 people had been killed over the previous 24 hours, the highest daily toll there in the past three months.

Israel’s military warned residents of more than 20 towns and cities in Lebanon’s south to leave their homes immediately.

Oil: [*Prices jumped*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/03/world/israel-iran-lebanon-hezbollah/here-are-the-latest-developments?smid=url-share) after President Biden, when asked if he would support an Israeli strike on Iran’s oil facilities, said, “We’re discussing that.” Iran’s oil infrastructure accounts for about 2 percent of the world’s supply.

Iran: The country’s leaders are already threatening to hit back if Israeli retaliates for Iran’s missile strike earlier this week. But in interviews, on social media and in virtual town hall discussions, [*many Iranians said anxiety about war was rising.*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/03/world/israel-iran-lebanon-hezbollah/here-are-the-latest-developments?smid=url-share)

To Trump, election results were an obstacle, not an outcome

Three days before the 2020 election, one of Donald Trump’s closest advisers told supporters that, no matter what happened, the president was going to “declare victory,” according to a new court filing.

“That doesn’t mean he’s the winner. He’s just going to say he’s the winner,” said the adviser, who, based on other details, appears to be Stephen Bannon. [*The filing paints a picture*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/03/world/israel-iran-lebanon-hezbollah/here-are-the-latest-developments?smid=url-share) of a wider cast of conspirators surrounding Trump and provided new details on his attempt to remain in power.

These details paint a chilling picture of a candidate unlikely to accept another loss, [*my colleague Jess Bidgood wrote*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/03/world/israel-iran-lebanon-hezbollah/here-are-the-latest-developments?smid=url-share) in the On Politics newsletter. The former president, now the Republican presidential nominee, sees elections “as an exercise in which the vote total is entirely beside the point. In his world, adverse election results were an obstacle, not an outcome.”

U.K.’s leadership is more ***working class***, but voters don’t see it

Britain’s current cabinet — as well as its prime minister, Keir Starmer — is one of the most ***working class*** in the nation’s history. Only one attended a private school, and several spent their early lives in poverty. [*Yet Britons don’t seem to have noticed.*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/03/world/israel-iran-lebanon-hezbollah/here-are-the-latest-developments?smid=url-share)

According to one recent opinion poll, fewer than one in four people see the Labour government as caring about “people like them.” That perception wasn’t helped by the recent revelations that senior Labour figures had accepted free gifts from party donors. There is a widespread disenchantment with the system among many Britons, analysts said, and with the political class in general.

MORE TOP NEWS

* Singapore: [*A former government minister was sentenced*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/03/world/israel-iran-lebanon-hezbollah/here-are-the-latest-developments?smid=url-share) to one year in prison in a rare graft case that has transfixed the affluent city-state.

1. U.S.: Three former Memphis police officers were convicted of witness tampering in the fatal beating of Tyre Nichols, [*but were acquitted*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/03/world/israel-iran-lebanon-hezbollah/here-are-the-latest-developments?smid=url-share) of the most serious charge.
2. Labor: The union representing dockworkers on the East and Gulf Coasts of the U.S. has agreed [*to suspend a strike*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/03/world/israel-iran-lebanon-hezbollah/here-are-the-latest-developments?smid=url-share) after employers made an improved wage offer.
3. Trade: The E.U. is expected [*to raise tariffs*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/03/world/israel-iran-lebanon-hezbollah/here-are-the-latest-developments?smid=url-share) on Chinese electric cars to as much as 45 percent.
4. Tech: Irina Bolgar, who shares three children with Pavel Durov, the founder of Telegram, [*has poked holes*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/03/world/israel-iran-lebanon-hezbollah/here-are-the-latest-developments?smid=url-share) in his carefully managed image.
5. Russia: A shadowy network of ships has registered in Gabon [*to help Moscow evade oil sanctions*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/03/world/israel-iran-lebanon-hezbollah/here-are-the-latest-developments?smid=url-share).
6. Music: Garth Brooks, one of country music’s biggest stars, has been accused [*of sexual assault*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/03/world/israel-iran-lebanon-hezbollah/here-are-the-latest-developments?smid=url-share), according to a lawsuit filed in a California court.

SPORTS NEWS

* NASCAR: Michael Jordan is suing the association. [*The action could change stock car racing*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/03/world/israel-iran-lebanon-hezbollah/here-are-the-latest-developments?smid=url-share).

1. Tennis: Carlos Alcaraz and Jannik Sinner [*go head-to-head in their own tennis galaxy*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/03/world/israel-iran-lebanon-hezbollah/here-are-the-latest-developments?smid=url-share).
2. Soccer: Prince William watched his team, Aston Villa, [*claim a big victory*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/03/world/israel-iran-lebanon-hezbollah/here-are-the-latest-developments?smid=url-share).

MORNING READ

A revolution is afoot in London’s green spaces, including Regent’s Park: Manicured is out, wild is in. Much of the park has been allowed [*to take on a more rugged look*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/03/world/israel-iran-lebanon-hezbollah/here-are-the-latest-developments?smid=url-share) in response to the global climate and biodiversity emergency. However, the park’s famous rose garden and elegant tree-lined walkways will always remain well tended.

CONVERSATION STARTERS

* Searching for a pepper’s soul: The writer Ligaya Mishan traveled to Peru in search of [*the ají amarillo*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/03/world/israel-iran-lebanon-hezbollah/here-are-the-latest-developments?smid=url-share), one of the world’s most exquisite peppers.

1. Asteroids you can eat: Scientists are studying whether future astronauts could transform compounds in asteroids [*into food*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/03/world/israel-iran-lebanon-hezbollah/here-are-the-latest-developments?smid=url-share).
2. Cassette comeback: Musicians and fans have developed a new taste for the vintage format. With few tape players on the market, [*listeners are finding creative solutions*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/03/world/israel-iran-lebanon-hezbollah/here-are-the-latest-developments?smid=url-share).

ARTS AND IDEAS

Brazil’s billion-dollar plan to protect trees

What if financial markets treated trees like shareholders?

That’s what a new fund in Brazil is pitching to the world. The fund, Tropical Forests Forever Facility, [*would pay developing countries a fee*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/03/world/israel-iran-lebanon-hezbollah/here-are-the-latest-developments?smid=url-share) for every hectare of forest they maintain. The project could ultimately pay out $4 billion a year to protect forests.

Over the past two decades, [*countries have been losing roughly nine million acres*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/03/world/israel-iran-lebanon-hezbollah/here-are-the-latest-developments?smid=url-share) of tropical forest a year. The fund aims to flip the economics that have long fueled deforestation by effectively paying countries for the crucial benefits that tropical forests provide, such as storing planet-warming carbon and regulating rain patterns.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Cook: Canned tuna is a complementary addition to the [*punchy, briny flavors of puttanesca*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/03/world/israel-iran-lebanon-hezbollah/here-are-the-latest-developments?smid=url-share).

Read: Did you love “Heartstopper”? [*These seven love stories*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/03/world/israel-iran-lebanon-hezbollah/here-are-the-latest-developments?smid=url-share) will also tug at your heartstrings.

Watch: In “Daaaaaalí!,” the French absurdist director Quentin Dupieux adopted the approach of Salvador Dalí, a Surrealist painter, [*to deliver a particularly loopy tale*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/03/world/israel-iran-lebanon-hezbollah/here-are-the-latest-developments?smid=url-share).

Play the [*Spelling Bee*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/03/world/israel-iran-lebanon-hezbollah/here-are-the-latest-developments?smid=url-share). And here are [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/03/world/israel-iran-lebanon-hezbollah/here-are-the-latest-developments?smid=url-share) and [*Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/03/world/israel-iran-lebanon-hezbollah/here-are-the-latest-developments?smid=url-share). [*You can find all our puzzles here*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/03/world/israel-iran-lebanon-hezbollah/here-are-the-latest-developments?smid=url-share).

That’s it for today’s briefing. See you tomorrow. — Justin

Reach Justin and the team at [*briefing@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/10/03/world/israel-iran-lebanon-hezbollah/here-are-the-latest-developments?smid=url-share).

PHOTO: Beirut’s southern suburbs after Israeli airstrikes yesterday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Amr Abdallah Dalsh/Reuters FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***The Book That Predicted the 2024 Election; The Ezra Klein Show***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCK-BTG1-JBG3-625D-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** OPINION

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**Byline:** Ezra KleinEzra Klein joined Opinion in 2021. Previously, he was the founder, editor in chief and then editor at large of Vox; the host of the podcast &amp;#8220;The Ezra Klein Show&amp;#8221;; and the author of &amp;#8220;Why We&amp;#8217;re Polarized.&amp;#8221; Before that, he was a columnist and editor at The Washington Post, where he founded and led the Wonkblog vertical. He is .&amp;#160;

**Highlight:** The G.O.P. pollster Patrick Ruffini’s book “Party of the People” outlined the realignments reflected in this year’s election results.

**Body**

This is an edited transcript of an episode of “The Ezra Klein Show.” You can listen to the conversation by following or subscribing on the [*NYT Audio App*](https://apps.apple.com/us/app/nyt-audio/id1549293936), [*Apple*](https://apps.apple.com/us/app/nyt-audio/id1549293936), [*Spotify*](https://apps.apple.com/us/app/nyt-audio/id1549293936), [*Amazon Music*](https://apps.apple.com/us/app/nyt-audio/id1549293936), [*YouTube*](https://apps.apple.com/us/app/nyt-audio/id1549293936), [*iHeartRadio*](https://apps.apple.com/us/app/nyt-audio/id1549293936) or [*wherever you get your podcasts*](https://apps.apple.com/us/app/nyt-audio/id1549293936).

You should be skeptical of any people with a very detailed, confident take on the dynamics of the 2024 election right now. At the very least, you should be if they didn’t tell you before the election.

But Patrick Ruffini, a longtime Republican pollster who is a founding partner at Echelon Insights, did tell you before the election. In 2023 he published a book called “[*Party of the People: Inside the Multiracial Populist Coalition Remaking the GOP.*](https://apps.apple.com/us/app/nyt-audio/id1549293936)”

What he argued in that book is really two things: First, the educational divide reshaping American politics would continue, with non-college voters swinging right and college-educated voters swinging further left. But second, he argued that the 2020 election results, weird as they seemed to many, weren’t a fluke.

Donald Trump performed a lot better in 2020 than the polls said he would. A major reason he performed so much better is that he did better among Black, Hispanic and Asian voters. That was, to put it very mildly, not what Democrats expected. Trump was the xenophobe in chief. Democrats were appalled by the way he talked about immigrants, about Muslims, about China, about Black communities. The theory was that Trump was using racism and nationalism to drive up his margins among white voters.

And then what actually happens after four years of his presidency is that Joe Biden in 2020 does a bit better than Hillary Clinton did among white voters. And Trump in 2020 improves quite a bit among nonwhite voters.

There was a theory among Democrats that this was just a weird hangover from the pandemic, from the lockdowns and the school closures. But Ruffini thought that they were wrong. He thought this was a realignment, that the coalitions at the core of American politics were changing and that it was going to continue.

And that’s more or less what we saw in 2024. In talking to pollsters and analysts over the last few days, I think this has been underplayed. People are talking about 2024 as if it had this entirely new shape. But it doesn’t. It looks like 2020. So to understand this election, you don’t just need to understand 2024. You need to understand what happened in 2020 and the broader coalitional changes that began emerging there. Ruffini has been thinking about this and poring through this data for years. I recommend his book as an important place to start. And so I asked him on the show.

Ezra Klein: I want to start four years ago. What happened, from your perspective, in the 2020 election?

Patrick Ruffini: In the 2020 election, Biden was projected to win that election in the polls by eight points. And it turns out to be very, very close. But one thing that happened very early on election night was the results from Miami Dade County, Fla., showing an absolute sea change in that county that is a 68 percent Hispanic county: a lot of Cuban Americans, a lot of Venezuelans, a lot of Colombians showing a 22-point shift in his direction. In the Rio Grande Valley in Texas, you saw some counties flip to Donald Trump. And then you go out West, to places like Little Saigon in Orange County, Calif.: You had Asian voters moving toward Donald Trump.

So you had the makings of what was in 2016 primarily a coalition built on the backs of the white ***working class*** become more of a multiracial coalition defined by a ***working-class*** identity. That was a big part of why that election was so close — and so unexpectedly close: because we saw the beginnings of a racial realignment.

So why did that happen? How did these voters who were once thought to be part of the emerging Democratic multiracial majority move from 2016 to 2020 in Donald Trump’s direction?

So the term “education polarization” gets thrown around a lot: the idea that non-college-educated voters have zoomed right, college-educated voters have zoomed left. That’s something that has been discussed ad nauseam. But that is a very clinical way of describing this, and at the operational level of the individual voter, no one at the individual-voter level is thinking, “Well, I am not a college graduate. And Trump seems to talk in ways that appeal more to non-college graduates, and so I am going to vote for him.”

I think one of the more revealing statistics from the 2020 election came out of the Cooperative Election Study, which is when you broke down African American, Hispanic, Asian voters ideologically, you had the folks in those groups who described themselves as conservatives all move 35 to 40 points toward Donald Trump in that election.

So at a more operational level, it was an ideological resorting of the electorate, where groups of voters who, I think, on the basis of either racial group identity or perceived self-interest on the basis of racial identity, gradually shed that sense of either racial group solidarity or the perception that we are a Democratic group and moved toward the party that shared their basic ideological predispositions.

But why? I want to go a level deeper on this. Before the 2020 election, we hear quite a bit about educational polarization, but it is fundamentally thought of as a divide in the white electorate. So in your view, what happens between 2016 and 2020 that breaches whatever wall had been holding this trend back from the multiracial electorate?

I think that’s a good question. You have to go back a little bit to 2016, where obviously Trump aims squarely at the white ***working class*** in the Upper Midwest and wins them over. At the same time, he seemingly did a lot in that election to alienate Hispanic voters from the very beginning of his campaign, walking down the golden escalator and calling Mexicans crossing the borders, “Many of them are rapists,” a bunch of things.

And yet there’s really no strong evidence coming out of the 2016 election results that Hispanics really moved strongly against him. In fact, it was either a draw or he made slight gains. There are different conflicting sources of information. That, to me, raised a little aha moment: Somebody who could have this very stark rhetoric about disparaging a community, they still vote for him at rates that are similar to the rates that they voted for other Republicans.

In 2020 he largely drops that rhetoric. The issue of immigration, at least in the context of how it was defined, becomes much less of an issue. You have the Covid pandemic, where you have white college-educated voters largely safely working from home but Hispanic voters, in particular, who don’t have the option of working from home, who were the most hurt by the lockdown policies and saw in Trump somebody who was going to push to get them back to work.

In my chapter on the Hispanic vote, I go through all the reasons you could say it was reactions to Black Lives Matter and crime. It was reactions to the pandemic. You have all these microreasons: Maybe Trump went to Miami and talked tough on socialism, talked tough on Cuba and Venezuela.

But in the end, that doesn’t explain the breadth of the change and not just among Latino voters but among Asian voters. And the crosscutting explanation I do think is: Trump clarified the ideological stakes and — not ideological stakes in the sense that we’ve historically thought of them but the sort of left-right cultural divide — and created a time for choosing between those two sides. And I think you see that in that ideological alignment figure that I just cited.

Something you bring up there reflects what I heard from a number of Democratic analysts of the Hispanic vote after 2020, where they said, “Look, what we think explains this is that the pandemic created unusual ripples and divides in the electorate.”

Hispanic voters really did suffer particularly from lockdowns. But also because of the pandemic, Donald Trump shut up more or less about immigration. Not completely, but he didn’t run his 2020 campaign on immigration the way he ran his 2016 campaign on immigration. And so there was a view in Democratic circles that 2020 was aberrant.

But then in 2024, Donald Trump does run his campaign on immigration. That went right back to the center of the Trump appeal, of the Trump rally, of the Trump advertisements. And the predicted pushback that would create for Hispanic voters didn’t happen. So those analysts were wrong. Why do you think they were wrong?

The theory of the emerging Democratic majority, the theory of a lot of Democrats around the issue of immigration, was that it was going to be like civil rights was for Black voters. It was going to be something that would unify the Hispanic community, the Hispanic vote, for the Democrats because you had someone like Donald Trump who’s being mean to immigrants.

But I think that assumption was always flawed in a number of ways. It was flawed in the sense that there really is no Pan-Latino, Pan-Hispanic identity in the same way that there is a Pan-African American identity. You have Hispanic voters who have very disparate interests based on their national origin. So Cuban Americans vote very differently than Puerto Ricans vote, differently than Colombians and various different groups. And in different parts of the country, these groups vote very differently from Texas to Florida to California.

But also the interests of Hispanics in the United States who are citizens who are voting in elections are very, very different than, say, the interests of somebody — a migrant who has crossed the border. Over the last four years, in many ways, there was a lot of resentment from recent immigrants, people who are legally immigrated to the United States against people who were immigrating illegally.

That’s something we heard consistently throughout. And Donald Trump, just to put it very plainly, Donald Trump will have run a record share of the Hispanic vote running on a platform of mass deportation.

It’s a remarkable sentence. So here’s a way of explaining it that I think is pretty parsimonious and maybe works and maybe suggests this election does not require much extraordinary explanation at all.

In 2020 you have more or less a shape of the coalitions that we see now, but Donald Trump is president. He’s president during the pandemic. He is bad at being president, chaotic. He doesn’t deliver on a lot of things he promises, and he’s running in a bad environment for an incumbent like that.

Then fast-forward to 2024. You have Joe Biden, you have Kamala Harris — that’s the incumbent administration. We know, looking at international data, that this is a very bad environment for incumbents. Basically, in every wealthy democracy that we have seen in an election in the past couple of years, in nearly every one, the incumbent party, be it a left-wing party or right-wing party, has lost and lost big. The Democratic loss is actually not unusual or even particularly large if you plot it internationally.

And that’s it. You have the same coalition, but Trump has an incumbent penalty in 2020, so the Democratic coalition is a little bit bigger, and that means they win the popular vote by four to five points, given the base line.

And then you have this switch, because Democrats are now the incumbents at a bad time for incumbents. Same coalition. And now Donald Trump wins the popular vote by one to two points. Like, nothing really changed, except how bad the environment was and who was the incumbent. What’s wrong with that explanation, if anything?

Well, I think there’s a difference between — there is that absolute uniform swing. Just look at the New York Times map, the swing by counties. You find it very, very hard to find any blue on that map. It is a uniform, red sea change, really, from 2020 to 2024, which does, I think, lend itself to that very simple and clear explanation, that, “Look, it was the economy stupid.” The underlying environment for the incumbent party was just a bad environment for them to be running in. I think that explanation is absolutely correct.

I wouldn’t say, though, that the coalitions are the same anymore. I do think the coalitions have come into clearer focus in this election, that you typically see a swing in a state and maybe that state swings back in the next election. Or you see a demographic group swing, like Hispanics. Hispanics have been very swingy for a while.

But this seems to be different than that because we’ve had this very unique historical outlier case of Donald Trump being the Republican nominee and the person that the entirety of our politics has revolved around for three elections in a row. You don’t usually have that. If there’s a realignment that’s happening, it’s basically happening around him. The election is about him.

That is a unique historical case that I think has further sharpened and clarified the differences in these party coalitions, that has really exaggerated the sort of, let’s say, tectonic shifts that have happened under the table in 2020.

And then you have a uniform swing that moves either right or left based on the environment, combined with tectonic shifts that are happening in demographics that are moving Latinos right, that are moving college-educated voters left.

So let’s talk a bit about the broader educational divide that is driving so much of this.

You have a striking chart early in the book, and it shows that the college and non-college voters vote very similarly, really up until the mid- to late ’90s. And then non-college and college voters really shift. The lines race away from each other.

So this non-college/college divide was not always so stark, and we’re talking in the modern era — was not so stark with Bill Clinton in ’96. What do you understand it to be? What is it about going to college or having gone to college that is making people vote so differently from those who haven’t?

I think the story really begins very early on, and I begin the book with this idea that the core identity of the Democratic Party in the 20th century was: We are the party of the working man, we are the party of the union member, and the Republicans are the party of the rich people, of C.E.O.s.

But I do think the story really starts in the 1960s and 1970s with the realignments that happen around the Vietnam War protests and civil rights and where you have a lot of white ***working-class*** people in cities break away from the Democratic Party. And then it stops for a while.

Jimmy Carter does better with white ***working-class*** voters. He’s obviously from the South. He does better in the South. And it stops. And then you end up in this era with Bill Clinton, who was just a master at connecting to the working- and middle-class voter — regardless of race — and that was really central to his appeal and his charisma and his rhetoric.

But I think that changes in the 2000 election, where the sort of charisma gap goes a little bit in favor of Republicans. Al Gore is seen as a little bit more of a stiff. And this sort of red-blue cultural alignment, long before Donald Trump, long before 2016, starts to come into view in that election.

So I view this as a long-term trend, but there are accelerants; 2000 was an accelerating election in polarization, and 2016 was an accelerating election in polarization.

I want to get at the role economic policy does or doesn’t play in this. More liberal Democrats or more leftist political analysts will tell a somewhat similar story to what you’re telling — but in it, Bill Clinton is the villain.

He signs the North American Free Trade Agreement, he brings neoliberalism, and what is breaking the connection between the Democratic Party and non-college voters is that the Democratic Party has stopped representing their economic interests. On the other side of that, I’m actually an economic policy reporter by trade, and I can tell you that since Bill Clinton, the Democratic Party, in part because of this critique, has been moving relentlessly left on economics.

Barack Obama was way to Bill Clinton’s left on economics. Hillary Clinton was to Barack Obama’s left on, at least, economic promises and policy. Joe Biden was very far to Barack Obama’s left on economics and policy. Harris was no break from that, at least in terms of what she was promising.

There’s a big difference between what a politician says or even the policies they enact and what voters perceive and hear about the party, about the politicians.

I think policy actually played relatively little role in voters gravitating toward Trump. I think a lot of this is his unique brand, his unique style, his unique aesthetic. And if you look particularly where we’ve seen the biggest shifts among Latino voters, that is a very economically focused electorate.

I did a poll in Texas of Hispanics in Texas, where I asked them, “What is the No. 1 problem that you see today with the Democratic Party?”

The answer they gave wasn’t that it was too woke or the buzzword of “socialism.” The answer was very interesting, and it’s something you don’t see come up with virtually any other group you talk to. And that is they perceive the Democratic Party as being the party of welfare benefits for people who don’t work.

And if you look at how the Democratic Party has been perceived in the last four years, in particular in terms of, “We’re letting immigrants into the country, illegal migrants into the country,” there’s a perception that they’re getting government benefits and not working. All of this is coming at the expense of people who made their way in America, who started from the very bottom of the rung and worked their way up the economic ladder — through their own hard work and not necessarily through government policies.

Is this a place in your view where the Democratic Party has simply misunderstood what economic populism or maybe economic identity is for many of the people it wants to win over? One of the signal shifts in Democratic economic policymaking and thinking in the time I’ve been covering it has been a move toward much more universal benefit design.

The big and, certainly in my view, one of the best policies of the Biden-Harris administration was this quite universal or nearly universal child tax credit expansion. But there’s much more talk about redistribution, about the safety net, about making sure people have enough — and less about the sort of identity of economic aspiration.

I think Democrats understand the opposite side of being for the billionaires is being for the poor. And I understand, or I’d like to hear, if what you’re describing is this other layer, which is it’s being for the ***working class*** and rewarding the ***working class***, which was certainly incredibly central to Bill Clinton’s rhetoric in a way that I think it is less central now to Democratic economic policymaking.

Something else I heard constantly traveling throughout the Rio Grande Valley in research for my book was you have people saying — and this was a part of the country, a part of Texas, that had voted Democratic by margins of either 75 to 25 or 80 to 20. I mean, it was very strongly Democratic. The Democratic identity ran stronger here than virtually anywhere in the country.

And they’re saying, “When we grew up around the dinner table, your parents told you, ‘We support the Democratic Party because they’re the party of the poor — just like us.’” And the response of the people who became Republicans in that area was, “What if we don’t want to be poor? We want to be with those people who are going to create policies that are going to benefit us because they’re going to enable us to move up the economic ladder.” And doing that through private sector success, not necessarily through a government benefits program.

I always wonder a little bit, though, if this isn’t back-rationalization for changes that have already happened.

You’re a pollster. You’re tracking changes in opinion. I could sort of understand an explanation like that if this had been a linear change over time. People are moving up the economic ladder. They’re sort of finding themselves not represented by Democratic rhetoric. And so you’re seeing a flowing out of the coalition. But instead it’s like somebody snaps the plank of wood that is a Democratic coalition over their knee in 2020 and parts of it just break off. Is that really because people all of a sudden stop seeing themselves as described in this sort of rhetoric?

There is not necessarily a sea change in economic condition. But there’s a social component to this, as well. It’s sort of a cascade effect. When you have groups that have this solid Democratic group identity that is reinforced by political machines, and then it just seems like there’s a tipping point, at some point, where gradually people are moving, and then enough people move to where people start looking around and saying, “Maybe I’m not alone. Maybe I can be more vocal about this.”

You really saw that in 2020. You saw demonstrations of pro-Trump activity in a lot of these places where people would have been ostracized for saying they supported a Republican. And so I think it’s more gradual shifts elsewhere.

But if you look specifically at why the Rio Grande Valley has shifted so far so fast, I think it’s part of the social pressure right around the Democratic Party breaking down. And I think I would analogize that to some extent to what has actually happened in the Black community.

There’s a great book — I was probably going to call it out at the end with your three-books segment — called “Steadfast Democrats: How Social Forces Shape Black Political Behavior” by Ismael White and Chryl Laird, which really talks about the ways in which we would have expected Black voters to move — more away from the Democratic Party — based on changes in their ideological beliefs, based on changes in their views of different policy issues over the years.

But the reason we haven’t is because there is a very solid Democratic voting norm that’s enforced by being in the Black community, by attending the Black church and whatnot, that is slowly attenuated over the years as you have fewer people going to Black churches, as you have more suburbanization, people moving out of predominantly Black communities, but it’s still very strong. So I think some form of that happened in a place like the Rio Grande Valley in 2020.

Obviously, one thing that can explain this changing so much between 2016 and 2020 is Donald Trump.

Archived clip of Donald Trump: Hello, New York City, and hello to all of the incredible, tough, strong, hardworking American patriots right here in the Bronx. [Applause.] Who would think? Who would think?

And more than policy, how much does just Trump’s image and background and aesthetic and self-presentation as this supersuccessful businessman play a role in this?

Archived clip of Donald Trump: We’re in the Bronx. We have young people, people that aspire to success. And I just wanted to know: I’m so tired of politics. Can we devote six minutes to success?

How much does he just himself redefine what it is the Republican Party is offering here and about here? Because he has represented this idea of aspirational wealth for, functionally, as long as he’s been in American public life.

The phrase I hear often used to describe this is, “Trump is the poor man’s idea of what a rich man should be.” I think that’s probably redounded to his benefit in these elections that he’s run in.

Democrats have haltingly tried to make Trump’s wealth an issue, the fact that he can’t possibly care about you, because his life experiences are just so different than yours. And it’s never really landed such that — I don’t think anybody tries that anymore. You look at the difference between Trump and somebody like Mitt Romney, who presented a very different idea of wealth, who kind of represented this old-school Republican ideal that you saw with George H.W. Bush, of noblesse oblige — but he seemed like a little bit more of a blue blood, out-of-touch, country club Republican. Trump could not be stylistically more different than that.

Tell me about what you call the cosmopolitan trap.

In 2020, I wrote about the sign that was all pervasive: “In this house, we believe” — and really listing out a bunch of liberal cultural totems that was popular during the Covid pandemic.

This is the “Science is real. No human being is illegal. Kindness is everything.”

Yes, and you saw this in terms of a rising Democrats obviously doing better and better in high-income suburbs and doing better and better in particularly very, very high-income suburbs. You go to a place like Winnetka, Ill., outside Chicago — those are places that have moved, shifted 40 points to the left under the elections in which Donald Trump has been a candidate.

Democratic politics — it’s not, again, exclusively oriented toward that high-income, high-status, high-education voter. But I think the version of that sign was the focus on both the issues of abortion and democracy — the sort of sidestepping of what seemed like the main issue of the election, which is the state of the economy and inflation.

Democrats, particularly in the closing stretches of the Harris campaign, really pivoted back to this democracy and abortion message and really putting a lot of stock in this idea that if we do rallies with Liz Cheney, we’re going to move even more Republicans from those high-income suburbs that we moved in 2020 — and in many ways were actually pivotal to Joe Biden’s victory in 2020. That we’re going to implicitly value those voters, more highly than the 62 percent of Americans who don’t have a college degree, implicitly those voters who we are losing.

I think that was the version of the cosmopolitan trap, where you are valuing the votes implicitly of high-income, high-status voters who are more like yourselves, who live in the same communities as the operatives who run these campaigns.

There’s a problem described by David Shor in terms of talking about the capture of the Democratic Party by its elite professional class. Harris had massive rallies in the campaign, but it turns out those were the same people who were coming out for Hillary, and that was not a winning coalition. There’s obviously a lot of enthusiasm right behind campaigning on these very highly emotionally charged issues, but they’re primarily issues that are important to the minority of voters who have college diplomas and particularly to the 31 to 32 percent of the electorate who are white voters with college degrees.

And that’s why I say it’s a trap. Because you’re talking about the groups where this message overindexes, that are in the 30s or low 40s, in terms of their share of the electorate, when the majority is elsewhere.

So I’ve been thinking a bit about this, and one place it’s led me is to the view that it was a bit of a disaster for the Democrats that the red wave didn’t hit in 2022. Because that created this alternative theory of the electorate, which was that there was a MAGA coalition and an anti-MAGA coalition. And the anti-MAGA coalition was motivated by fear of Donald Trump, hatred of him, by desire to protect democracy, particularly after Jan. 6, by Dobbs. And a view emerged, associated with people like Simon Rosenberg, that this coalition would show up repeatedly — and was showing up repeatedly. Democrats were outperforming in election after election after election. They were winning special elections. They were winning house elections and Senate elections you might not have expected, gubernatorial elections.

In 2022, in being such an overperformance for Democrats, is also part of why either Joe Biden runs again or certainly why he runs unopposed. I think that if Democrats had been wiped out in 2022, the pressure on him to not run again would have been very, very, very high.

In 2022 keeping Democratic control, at least of the Senate, I think, is also part of why the Biden administration doesn’t do a midterm pivot that you often see in other Democratic administrations after a midterm wipeout. But in all these ways, it feels to me like 2022 sets the tone for the Democratic Party’s 2024 campaign, which you really saw from Joe Biden before he stepped aside, which is to try to reactivate the electorate primarily against Donald Trump, again.

I’m curious how that lands for you.

I’ve heard that quite a lot, too. And I think all the examples that are cited are examples from lower-turnout elections. When we’re talking about special elections, that electorate is a fraction of what a presidential election would be. It is much higher in socioeconomic status. It is much higher also in the depth of partisanship and sentiment.

And the voters who don’t turn out in special elections but will turn out in the presidentials are disproportionately voters who are not activated by issues that are exclusively the domain of the right or the left. On the left, it’s obviously these issues of democracy and abortion that really are highly motivating to partisan Democrats. On the right, I would say the issue of immigration is one that is highly motivating to partisan conservative Republicans that is not necessarily motivating to voters who are both in the middle ideologically and politically — but are also the voters who aren’t the ones who show up in midterms and specials.

The voters who don’t show up in midterms and specials are voters who are primarily concerned about the state of the economy or about things that have been affected by inflation. And the message oftentimes from Democrats to those voters is, “This isn’t happening. Inflation is over” or “Your income has risen enough to compensate you for inflation. What’s the problem?”

So it’s not surprising to me that we see this disconnect. But I do want to go back to this late pivot that Kamala Harris had toward the abortion issue, which, if you look at the exit polls, doesn’t seem to have worked.

Do you think we can trust exit polls at this point for that kind of analysis? I have a lot of people warning me off saying things like that, so I’m curious as a pollster how you think about it.

I think you have to triangulate this.

You have to look at the things we’ve been seeing and reading in polling and in focus groups throughout the election. It really is a shift among younger voters. Because the shift among young men to the right seems to have been much greater, at least in the exit polls.

So it’s not necessarily that there was a unique shift among young women to the right. But there was a shift among young voters generally to the right where you had millennials and Gen Z who are now within 10 points for Republicans, which is stunning. The same generational cohort in 2008 was voting for Democrats by 33 points. And in every election since, practically, they’ve been winning the youngest voters in the electorate by 20 points.

So what is happening there that this message of abortion isn’t landing, let’s say, with young women? They’re either high single digits or low double digits of voters who said abortion was their No. 1 issue. It was behind consistently with every group. It was behind the economy. So what’s going on? I think what you’re seeing is, just in general, younger voters tend to be more diverse. Diverse voters have shifted toward the Republican Party. But particularly those voters who are lower in socioeconomic status, in general, which tends to include, frankly, a lot of people who are younger voters who were hit hardest by inflation.

So I think, to some extent, it’s just a complete undervaluing by the Democrats of the material explanations for why this electorate was going to act the way it did.

I do think it reflects also strategic choices and ways of viewing the electorate that could have played out differently.

It’s why I’m saying that as weird as it sounds, I think Democrats in retrospect would have been better off losing the 2022 midterms to the red wave many of them thought was coming. Because you go back to 1994, when Democrats get wiped out, you go back to 2010, when Democrats get wiped out, what tends to happen after that is the administration, the party, gets very focused on the voters who have turned on it, the people it has lost: What do they want to hear? What do they need? What is motivating them?

In 2022 you get this weird election where Democrats do much better than they expect. Joe Biden looks like a much stronger political force than people thought. And Democrats get very focused on the voters who supported them, the voters who turned out for them. What motivated those voters? And the narrative coming out of it — I had people on the show making this argument — is it was democracy and Dobbs. That is what unites this anti-MAGA coalition. And if you can get them thinking about that, they will come out, turn out and beat Donald Trump again.

So I think if Democrats had lost in 2022, they would have been thinking about, “Well, what is motivating these voters who don’t like us anymore?” And instead they came into 2024 thinking, “What motivates these voters who do like us?”

Yeah, I can’t disagree with any of that. And I think to some extent, the election that we saw, it was almost very much of the election that we would have had had Joe Biden run. In terms of some of the subgroup shifts that we see we’re seeing in the exit polls, we’re seeing in the county data are very much the same kinds of shifts that we were talking about in the New York Times/Siena College poll that came out a year before the election, which really forecast on erosion of nonwhite support for Joe Biden.

Kamala Harris was either not able to correct for that or was only very slightly able to correct for that. And I think she comes, though, from that Dobbs democracy wing — I think even more so than he does. I think it’s clear that abortion was an issue that she was very passionate about. Framing the entire freedom message was really a message about reproductive rights. And so I think she reinforced this tendency that you saw in the Democratic Party after ’22. She was maybe not a change in direction — a needed kind of change in correction — that the Democrats actually needed coming out of that post-’22 period.

Let me strongly agree with half of that. You’re the pollster here. I’m not. I think there’s a very good chance that Biden, due to his age and the way he was campaigning, could have genuinely collapsed in the election.

If you saw more things like that first debate, I think that the Democratic wipeout could have been — I mean, we’re on track right now for Donald Trump to win the popular vote by one to two points, somewhere in that range. You can tell me if you think that’s wrong. And as you look around, particularly in the bluer states, at how bad the erosion was, Harris and her campaign were really capable. They really proved able to hold down the erosion, the battleground. I think you really could have seen that Michigan Senate seat go. Right now, it looks likely the Democrats will keep the Nevada Senate seat. I’m not sure that would have been true under Biden. Some of the down ballot might have been somewhat saved by, in my view, Harris’s running a strong enough campaign that she kept the losses down, which is not nothing.

But the place where I’ll really agree with you is that she does come from the Dobbs and democracy wing of the party. Something that was just true about her in this campaign is, I think her and her staff, her campaign team — they knew perfectly well inflation and the economy were huge issues for voters.

They knew perfectly well it was a huge vulnerability for Joe Biden. She came out immediately with plans to give people $25,000 toward buying a new home, an expanded tax credit for families, for the parents of newborns. She had this whole thing about the opportunity economy.

But I think you can always tell, and voters can always tell — and it really comes through in how politicians speak — what concerns are deep and driving for candidates. You can tell when Donald Trump talks about immigration, he really cares. Like, he really cares about it. But when he talks about health care? He does not. Donald Trump talks about health care policy like a guy who has never thought about health care policy for two minutes in his entire life. And Harris has just never been a politician associated with economic policy fights.

So if it had been true that the election could be won on Dobbs and democracy, she’s a very good messenger for that. But if you really needed somebody who is a Democratic genius at building and talking about the economy in the way that Bill Clinton was, in some ways Barack Obama was — that wasn’t her.

That was never her political profile. It’s not someone who you would have picked in a primary for that particular job.

I think that’s all right. And look, when I say this is a very Trump-versus-Biden-like election, I’m not saying that Biden — Biden probably would have lost by more, most likely.

But just in terms of the shape of the coalition, there was a lot of optimism coming out of the candidate switch that the shape of the coalition had been different. And there was a period in time when she was really consciously foregrounding those positions around the home buyer credit.

That was something, by the way, that came up a lot in open ends when we asked people, “What one policy proposal do you most associate with the candidates?” The home buyer credit really shone through brightly for Harris. So there was a period in her campaign where I kind of joked, “Man, she would be the dream client for a pollster like me.” Because she is executing what seems like almost flawlessly on what the sort of Democratic pollster messaging memos would say. Because these are the exact same things that I’m finding in my focus groups.

As she lost a little bit of altitude — she was up at some point in the polling average by about three to four points — you could kind of see that initial Biden-Trump election pattern re-emerging again. Not saying anything about Biden’s ultimate support level — but in the sense of Hispanics coming in weaker.

I think a proxy for this was Nevada. It is a much more ***working-class*** state. It is a state where the Democratic vote is still very economically downscale, largely Latino, but a lot of other minority groups there, too. When the candidate switch happened, you saw her really outperforming in Nevada, to the extent where I thought, “Man, she has really solved a lot of the problems.” And I wasn’t sure this realignment that we’re talking about would happen.

But as we start to kind of see the election clarify, get closer, it’s really those ***working-class*** voters who peel off. They were the first into Harris when the candidate switch happened, then she had her search, and they were the first out.

And so in the end, the election became a little bit more of a realignment election than we were maybe thinking about in August and September.

One thing that I think many Democrats believe is that Kamala Harris’s campaign has represented a break with how recent Democratic campaigns, at least, have operated.

It downplayed identity politics much more so than, say, Hillary Clinton did or Joe Biden did. She pivoted more to the center on immigration. She disowned a lot of positions she had taken in 2019. When you say she’s from this democracy and Dobbs wing of the party and that was continuity, do you think the campaign and the decisions they made were less of a break with how the Democratic Party has been running and coming off than Democrats told themselves?

I think if you’re a Democrat now, something you might want to be looking at is the example of Bill Clinton, who had that Sister Souljah moment.

Archived clip of Bill Clinton: You had a rap singer here last night named Sister Souljah. I defend her right to express herself through music, but her comments before and after Los Angeles were filled with a kind of hatred that you do not honor today and tonight.

Last year she said, “You can’t call me or any Black person anywhere in the world a racist. We don’t have the power to do to white people what white people have done to us. And even if we did, we don’t have that lowdown, dirty nature. If there are any good white people, I haven’t met them. Where are they?” Right here in this room. That’s where they are.

It’s become sort of a trope that Biden needed to do a Sister Souljah moment. Or Harris needed to do a Sister Souljah moment.

Basically, Democrats need to go and punch hippies and to signal to voters in the middle that they have changed. And I think the Democrats’ solution to this right was at the convention. You had so much talk about, “Oh, we’re waving flags, and we’re putting out Tim Walz as this sort of exemplar of this wholesome Midwestern father figure” — and that that was going to solve the problem for them.

At the same time, Kamala Harris, herself, in her communication style was a very cautious — uniquely so — cautious figure in terms of her media strategy. When you mentioned this idea of her going on “The Joe Rogan Experience” — that idea is sort of unthinkable for Kamala Harris, who I think was very uncomfortable in sort of these off-the-cuff settings throughout the course of the campaign. In the context of a candidate who seems so cautious, who seems — somebody who doesn’t rock the boat — I don’t think voters — even if that perception of the Democratic Party as uniquely motivated by woke ideology is an unfair perception, you still have to do something to break it. If you accept that it’s a problem, you have to do something dramatic and bold and controversial that’s going to get attention to break it.

And I just don’t think Kamala Harris was that kind of candidate, perhaps less so than Democratic candidates have been in the past.

This makes me think of something that I found myself really caught on in the final weeks of the election: Harris and the Democrats’ real embrace of Dick and Liz Cheney’s endorsements.

As somebody who does not and will never participate in George W. Bush and Dick Cheney revisionism — like, I just think they were unfathomable disasters for the country — it just annoyed me. It just speaks to a lack of accountability in American politics.

At the same time, though, it also struck me as maybe getting what the divide in the country has wrong. The message of that was supposed to be, “Look how wide this coalition stretches. It’s all the way from Liz Cheney on one side to Liz Warren on the other.” But that’s not the divide. The red-blue divide of Obama’s 2004 speech isn’t the divide. It’s more this educational divide.

And so in a way, it would have been much more — and I’ve been a little bit of a broken record on this all season — relevant to the divide that Harris and the Democrats actually face for Harris to have gone on “Joe Rogan” and “Theo Von” and shows like that, that are much more cultural environments that Democrats have become increasingly distant from, than to be campaigning arm and arm with Liz Cheney in defense of democracy.

It’s a crazy way to think about how the system has changed that Kamala Harris and Liz Cheney and Mitt Romney are more on the same side, closer together, more arm in arm, than Kamala Harris and sports talk radio and Joe Rogan. But that feels true.

I’m curious what you made of that moment and also what you make of this idea that the Democrats are sort of pretending to reach out here. They’re not reaching out in the places that they’re uncomfortable. It’s just that in a wild way, the places and people they’re comfortable with have really changed over the past 20 years.

A big trope toward the end of the campaign is when a candidate does something that seems strategically questionable for them, that their defenders will immediately step into the breach and say, “They know things you don’t. They have polling and focus groups that you don’t have.”

And as a pollster, I can tell you, they most likely do not or they’re at least are not acting on it. I think in the closing stages of any campaign, it’s a very emotional time for a candidate where they ultimately have to make a personal decision about how they want to close out the campaign. Win or lose, how do they want to be remembered?

I think you saw this in Joe Biden. His political reputation was somebody who’s this scrappy, ***working-class*** figure, and yet he always wanted to gravitate toward this lofty rhetoric about battle for the soul of the country and saving democracy in his re-election campaign.

In many ways, I just simply think these were her personal instincts to close out the campaign on this sort of loftier message of freedom, rather than addressing herself to the sort of economic concerns that are felt most acutely by the traditional members of the Democratic coalition.

Her instincts were once again to drive toward this part of the electorate, the Dobbs and democracy theory, and certainly, Liz Cheney was a big part of that.

In a way you see it with the closing visuals of the campaign. What visuals do I remember out of the final weeks? It was a gorgeous visual: Harris giving that speech at the Ellipse in Washington, D.C.

You and I spoke for a column I was writing about this. It was striking to see Harris making her real closing argument there, in Washington, D.C., people flooding in from Northern Virginia, probably who work for the government. And Trump has what I think to many people looks like this disastrous rally at Madison Square Garden with this insult comic who calls Puerto Rico a garbage island.

He’s on “Joe Rogan”; he’s driving a garbage truck around. On Twitter, I saw a lot of this mocked or seen as a mistake. But I think they also reflected where that campaign was comfortable and what it understood the divide to be.

And so right there at the end, I think you really see it. You had Dobbs and democracy on the one side and this much more blue-collar aesthetic, culturally, ideologically, on the other. And at least in a postinflation environment, that did not rebound to Democrats’ advantage.

Trump is somebody who instinctively understands how to create visuals and how to create moments that will break through with the average American.

We asked a poll question: “What are the events of the campaign that you most remember, the things that happened in the last month of the campaign?” The No. 1 thing, by far, that people said they read or heard a lot about was the picture of Trump at McDonald’s. That was a visual that really just crystallized that kind of, as you call it, blue-collar aesthetic that he was trying to really drive home in the last closing weeks of the election.

And I thought that Harris’s rally right in Washington, D.C., in the center of Washington, D.C., was important in that respect, as well. Because I think it’s been certainly something that is: What’s true about American politics is Americans don’t like Washington, D.C. And I think Americans and voters could have very easily looked at that and looked at her campaign in the final weeks, and people who are particularly low-propensity voters who don’t always vote in elections, who are cynical about democracy, who are cynical about the political systems, who really dislike intensely politicians and think they’re corrupt animals — and that is sort of an entrenched belief. I kind of asked myself watching that speech, “What is Kamala Harris offering those people?” Because those are the voters who are going to decide the election.

There is a question, when you’re talking about a realignment, about whether or not you’re just talking about shifts in the party coalitions in this 50-50 nation we seem to have — or very near to 50-50 nation we seem to have — and shifts in the party coalitions that could lead to one party having a longer period of dominance again, which is something we’ve seen many times in history. I’ve been trying to think about which I think we’re in.

On the one hand, Trump’s win — because it’s so different than what we’ve seen from his past elections in the popular vote — feels really big. And on the other hand, it seems very explainable to me. If he’s at a one-point or two-point popular vote margin in an environment that’s very bad for incumbents, this doesn’t mean the G.O.P. is all that strong at all. This was not like what happened to the Tories in the U.K., where they had the worst election outcome in their history.

And now Donald Trump is going to be president. I would say he’s not that good or disciplined at being president. His ability to offer this blue-collar aesthetic and then actually govern on it are different. He’s got much more ideological people around him now than he has at other times, and sort of JD Vance and Elon Musk and others. And this is pretty thin — that if they wanted to build on this, they would have to be very disciplined in a way that I’ve not seen them be. And if they end up in an environment where it’s hard to be an incumbent, they have very little firewall here.

That I think from a more liberal perspective is maybe — I don’t exactly want to call it hopeful, because I would like to see the country succeed — but is maybe a less sunny take on how strong what the Republicans are building right now is.

I’m curious how you think about that, how you think about both the path toward this realignment being something that gives Republicans an enduring advantage — like, what would lead them there? And this path being something where Republicans, sort of like they did in 2004, when George W. Bush won re-election, thinking they have a real path toward dominance, even as they’re actually on the precipice of party disaster.

I think that’s an accurate assessment in the sense of any president who wins a second term, basically it never gets as good as the election in which they’ve won. I look at what happened in 1972. Richard Nixon wins a thumping majority, and two years later, he leaves the White House in disgrace. So certainly that is well established throughout American political history. That is a well-established pattern.

But there’s a reason my book has been compared to books like “The Emerging Democratic Majority,” which in itself was a callback to “The Emerging Republican Majority.” But there’s a reason I didn’t call it something like that, because I don’t really contemplate in the pages of my book that there is necessarily a lasting advantage for one party.

What this is, I think, is the Republican Party adapting and responding to changes in the electorate that certainly during the Obama years were put into focus, where you had a rising share of the electorate that was nonwhite. On top of that, you had growing margins for Democrats in those groups. And a lot of Democratic optimism that demography was destiny, and Democrats are going to win elections from here on out. And I just don’t think that describes reality. It never describes reality, no matter what the coalitions look like and no matter what they are.

The shape of what the coalition will look like in the future will be very different. And I think we can say that with more certainty now — now that we’ve seen these election results. But that doesn’t mean any party has an advantage, moving forward.

We have entrenched competitive two-party politics in America. You’ve written about this at length. And I don’t think that either party can ever escape accountability for bad things that happen on their watch. This was an example; 2024 was an example of it; 2020 was an example of it.

Then always our final question: What are three books you’d recommend to the audience?

So one is one I’ve already mentioned: “Steadfast Democrats” by Ismael White and Chryl Laird, looking at the history of Black politics in the modern era and specifically focusing on why Black voters have been so solidly in the Democratic coalition for so long. And the importance there of social pressure, the importance of a sense of shared community and being something that enforces a norm toward voting, toward the Democratic Party.

It’s a book that I really read and reread to really understand what I think is kind of the missing puzzle piece of this Republican racial realignment. The exit poll suggests Republicans have done somewhat better among Black voters but nowhere near their gains among Hispanic voters.

The second one is a book that was written in the early 1970s called “The Real Majority” by Richard Scammon and Ben Wattenberg. This was a Nixon-era book that really had been looking at what seemed like the changes in the electorate then among white ***working-class*** voters moving into the Republican Party for Richard Nixon. This backlash politics that was happening around the Vietnam War, that was happening around civil rights and talking about both the possibility that this could continue — and it did, in fact, continue — or the possibility that they contemplated that Democrats at the time might actually pivot and win back that George Wallace voter in 1968.

But the really pivotal thing that I took from it is the example that they give of the median voter in the electorate, in 1970, being the machinist wife from Dayton, Ohio, who doesn’t work and didn’t graduate from college or didn’t actually even go to college. As compared to, I think, what the focus was — in the time, during the counterculture, in the antiwar protests — on valorizing the role of the student protester or this rising demographic group of people who were going to college and had more liberal politics.

The third book is one from 20 years ago called “The New Americans” by Michael Barone that looks at the history of immigrant groups in the United States, from the Italians to the Irish to the Jews and really finds analogues in sort of newer groups in the electorate, like Hispanics or Asian voters. And it really drove home for me that we have seen a lot of these trends before in terms of groups that started out politically very far on the Democratic side and have gradually migrated toward the center as they move up the economic ladder and become more enmeshed in the mainstream of American society.

Patrick Ruffini, thank you very much.

Thank you.

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**Byline:** Heather Knight and Alexandra Berzon Heather Knight is a reporter in San Francisco, leading The Times&amp;#8217;s coverage of the Bay Area and Northern California. Alexandra Berzon is an investigative reporter covering American politics and elections for The Times.

**Highlight:** The vice president has virtually erased Berkeley, Calif., her hometown, from her campaign biography. The residents of “the People’s Republic” say they get it.

**Body**

Follow the latest updates on the [*Harris and Trump campaigns*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/08/26/us/harris-trump-election).

High above an arena packed with Democratic delegates in Chicago last week, a video introduced the life story of Kamala Harris to the world.

“Behind me is where it all began,” said her childhood friend, Stacey Johnson-Batiste, standing in front of a charming yellow, two-story home where Ms. Harris grew up in a small apartment above a nursery school.

But where was that exactly? The screen simply read “East Bay,” as in the eastern section of the San Francisco Bay Area that sprawls over 1,400 square miles and is home to nearly three million people. Ms. Harris called the area just “the bay” in her speech on Thursday night. Other speakers throughout the week referred to Ms. Harris as hailing from Oakland, the East Bay’s largest city.

The word almost never spoken was the name of Ms. Harris’s actual hometown: Berkeley, Calif.

That little yellow house sits on Bancroft Way in the university city known, fairly or not, for a hippy-dippy vibe where residents gamely embrace the nickname, “People’s Republic of Berkeley.” Ms. Harris’s old neighborhood is now called Poets Corner for its preponderance of streets named for writers such as Chaucer and Byron.

The neighbors, who tend a community garden and circulate a newsletter, have a theory about why Ms. Harris does not shout out her hometown much these days.

“Oh, people would definitely think Berserkeley!” said Anna Natille, who lives near Ms. Harris’s childhood home and was walking her pug, Figgy, past it last week. “We have such a reputation for being on the far left, that we’re all a bunch of communists and socialists.”

In other words, maybe not a great way to lure the country’s middle-of-the-road voters to the Democratic ticket.

Ms. Harris began downplaying her Berkeley roots years ago when she first prepared to run for statewide office in California. Today, she often describes herself with the somewhat vague label “daughter of Oakland,” a phrase that ties her to a ***working-class*** city with less stigma — and counters Donald J. Trump’s preferred branding, “San Francisco liberal.”

A spokeswoman for the Harris campaign said the campaign had no comment.

Ms. Harris is hardly the first politician to be selective about her biography; leaning into key events or places to match a political message is a timeworn tradition. George H.W. Bush hyped his Texas background, though he had grown up in Connecticut, and Al Gore touted his roots in Tennessee and not his childhood home: the Fairfax hotel in Washington, D.C. For Ms. Harris, whose family moved frequently, the matter is less about inaccuracy than emphasis and omission.

She was indeed born in an Oakland hospital in 1964, but she did not settle in the city until she was in her 20s and working as a prosecutor in the county district attorney’s office.

Her birth certificate lists an apartment building near the University of California, Berkeley campus, where her parents were pursuing Ph.D.s. It sat just a half-block south of People’s Park, the campus land taken over by activists in 1969, just a few years after the Harris family moved out of the building.

When Ms. Harris was a toddler, her family moved to the Midwest where her father, Donald Harris, taught briefly at universities in Illinois and Wisconsin. After her parents split up, Ms. Harris returned to Berkeley when she was 5, with her mother, [*Shyamala Gopalan Harris*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/08/26/us/harris-trump-election), and her sister, Maya, and eventually settled into the little yellow house in the “flatlands,” then a ***working-class*** part of the city with a large population of Black families.

Ms. Harris’s mother was steeped in the social activism vibrant in both Berkeley and Oakland. Ms. Harris attended Berkeley public schools and was bused to Thousand Oaks Elementary School in a more upscale neighborhood in the hills of north Berkeley as part of a voluntary program to integrate schools.

Ms. Harris moved to Montreal when she was 12 and to Washington, D.C., to attend Howard University, returning to the Bay Area for a summer during college when she worked at a McDonald’s in Alameda, a city next to Oakland. She settled in the area as an adult.

(Montreal fared even worse than Berkeley at the convention. The city’s name was completely excised from Ms. Harris’s retelling of her childhood, while Berkeley was mentioned just once, by Oprah Winfrey.)

The vice president’s shifting descriptors of her hometown have been noticed by local people clued into associations with each place: Berkeley (radical lefty and weird), Oakland (***working-class*** and a hub of Black politics) and the East Bay (could be anything, really).

“I’d be willing to bet a lot the reason they’re not saying Berkeley is just because of the stereotype,” said Charles Wollenberg, a historian who has written a history of Berkeley. He added that he did not think the amorphous term “East Bay” was an ideal substitute. It could apply to dense, diverse cities or roomy suburbs.

“Even if you knew what the East Bay was,” he said, “it could be Oakland or Walnut Creek.”

Ms. Harris has, at times, done her part to puncture those stereotypes. In her 2019 memoir, she described Berkeley, now home to about 120,000 people, as far more complex and multilayered than its national reputation. Her neighborhood, she wrote, was filled with “working families who were focused on doing a good job, paying the bills and being there for one another.”

And she wrote about the Rainbow Sign, a Black arts and cultural center in Berkeley where she was exposed to a lively mix of poetry, art and oratory and learned that “artistic expression, ambition and intelligence were cool.” The city back then was about a quarter Black and had just elected its first Black mayor. More recently, housing in the city, including in the once-***working-class*** neighborhood where Ms. Harris grew up, has become so expensive as to price out many of the types of working families she wrote about.

But Berkeley’s role in her public story shrunk as her ambitions grew. In 2008, just before she announced her run for California attorney general, the mention of Berkeley was taken out of her bio on her political website, which referred to her as a “California native” before turning to “born and raised in the East Bay” and, at points, “born in Oakland.” (She has mentioned Berkeley a few times in speeches over the years to allude to the civil rights movement or her experience in school busing programs.)

In the 2019 speech kicking off her first presidential run, Ms. Harris stood before a crowd of around 20,000 people in downtown Oakland. Her very first words were: “I am so proud to be a daughter of Oakland, California.”

Several former aides to Ms. Harris during her early career said they did not recall any discussion about the changes.

Not surprisingly, Berkeley and Oakland, both solidly Democratic cities, want to claim Ms. Harris as their own.

One of Ms. Harris’s longtime friends, the former Oakland mayor Libby Schaaf, is delighted to see the vice president hype up Oakland, using East Bay lingo to say she is “hella proud of this daughter of Oakland.”

“We love that she claims Oakland,” she said. “Unapologetic warriors for justice, that’s the Oakland brand.”

Even as the mayor of Berkeley, Jesse Arreguín, countered — “She’s a daughter of Berkeley!” — he was also self-aware.

“Berkeley is viewed as the most liberal city in the United States, and we’re proud of that,” he said. “But maybe for some people in the red states, that may freak them out.”

Still, residents of Berkeley know their Harris landmarks. When she and President Biden won in 2020, a spontaneous dance party erupted outside her childhood home on Bancroft Way, with children drawing messages on the pavement in chalk and a New Orleans-style jazz band parading up the street.

The town’s visitors’ bureau has even created a tour of sites associated with Ms. Harris, including the yellow house. (Oakland’s visitors’ bureau has one as well.)

Around the corner from the yellow house, on Browning Street, dozens of neighbors gathered in a side yard on Thursday night to watch the onetime resident of Poets Corner accept her party’s nomination on an outdoor movie screen.

They sprawled on picnic blankets and sat in folding chairs. They popped bottles of bubbly and sliced a cake that read “Kamala 47,” a reference to the fact that she would be the country’s 47th president if she won. Little girls sold homemade T-shirts reading, “Keep Calm and Vote for Kamala.”

Nobody seemed to care that she did not call out their town by name as they cheered her generic references to the East Bay. She stands for Berkeley values, they said, even if she does not name their city.

“What she stands for and what she says she’s going to do are such a part of this community, the hopes and dreams we all have,” said Mallorie Baron, a neighbor who taught at Thousand Oaks Elementary long after Ms. Harris left town.

“It just feels right.”

PHOTOS: Kamala Harris spent much of her childhood in a modest yellow house in Berkeley, Calif., below left. Neighbors gathered to watch Ms. Harris accept her party’s nomination. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JIM WILSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A13) This article appeared in print on page A1, A13.

**Load-Date:** August 26, 2024

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[***There Were Two Huge Problems Harris Could Not Escape; David French***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCT-57R1-JBG3-629X-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 10, 2024 Sunday 15:57 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1508 words

**Byline:** David FrenchDavid French is an Opinion columnist, writing about law, culture, religion and armed conflict. He is a veteran of Operation Iraqi Freedom and a former constitutional litigator. His most recent book is .&amp;#8221; You can follow him on Threads ().

**Highlight:** The curling theory of campaigns proves itself again.

**Body**

Sarah Isgur, a longtime Republican campaign operative — and my friend and a senior editor at The Dispatch — has a brilliant sports analogy for the process of campaigning. She compares it to … [*curling*](https://thedispatch.com/article/do-campaigns-matter/).

For those unfamiliar with the sport (which enjoys 15 minutes of fame every Winter Olympics), it involves sliding a very large, heavy rock toward a target on the ice. One person throws a 44-pound disk-shaped stone by sliding it along the ice, then sweepers come in and frantically try to marginally change the speed and direction of the rock by [*brushing the ice*](https://thedispatch.com/article/do-campaigns-matter/) with brooms that can melt just enough of the ice to make the rock travel farther or perhaps a little bit straighter.

The sweepers are important, no doubt, but they cannot control the rock enough to save a bad throw. It’s a matter of physics. The rock simply has too much momentum.

What does this have to do with politics? As Isgur writes, “The underlying dynamics of an election cycle (the economy, the popularity of the president, national events driving the news cycle) are like the 44-pound stone.” The candidates and the campaign team are the sweepers. They work frantically — and they can influence the stone — but they don’t control it.

One of the frustrating elements of political commentary is that we spend far too much time talking about the sweeping and far too little time talking about the stone. Political hobbyists in particular (and that includes journalists) are very interested in ad campaigns, ground games and messaging.

Those things do matter, but when facing an election defeat this comprehensive, you know it was the stone that made the difference.

So in 2024, what was the stone? It was the same stone it almost always is: peace and prosperity. This is Job 1. A decisive number of Americans will put up with politicians’ quirks, foibles and even corruption if they deliver peace and prosperity. There’s zero tolerance for scandal when they fail.

Republicans learned this lesson during Bill Clinton’s presidency. Evidence of sexual misconduct, perjury and even allegations of sexual assault were largely politically meaningless compared with peace, a [*budget surplus*](https://thedispatch.com/article/do-campaigns-matter/), [*4.5 percent growth*](https://thedispatch.com/article/do-campaigns-matter/) in the gross domestic product and a [*4.4 percent unemployment rate*](https://thedispatch.com/article/do-campaigns-matter/).

Clinton’s affair with Monica Lewinsky was first reported in January 1998. [*According to Gallup*](https://thedispatch.com/article/do-campaigns-matter/), Clinton had a 69 percent approval rating just before the scandal broke. By the end of the year — after he confessed to lying to the American public, after he settled the sexual harassment suit and as he was impeached — his approval rating was 73 percent.

Yes, you can ascribe some of his popularity to the hypocrisy and overreach of his enemies. Newt Gingrich and Robert Livingston — two Republican leaders in the House — had engaged in [*their own*](https://thedispatch.com/article/do-campaigns-matter/) [*affairs*](https://thedispatch.com/article/do-campaigns-matter/), for example. But the bottom line is that peace and prosperity made Clinton politically bulletproof.

You can see this phenomenon up and down American politics. In hindsight, one harbinger of the 2024 election was a [*2022 San Francisco school board recall*](https://thedispatch.com/article/do-campaigns-matter/). Voters recalled three members of the school board after the board voted to change the names of dozens of San Francisco schools.

Many of the name changes were absurd artifacts of an era that one might describe as peak woke (Dianne Feinstein and Abraham Lincoln were among the names removed), but that’s not the whole story. It was really an election about competence. The school board was voting to change school names while San Francisco schools were still closed — and schools in many other districts were open.

As Mother Jones’s Clara Jeffery [*wrote at the time*](https://thedispatch.com/article/do-campaigns-matter/), San Francisco recall voters were choosing “to put performance over performativeness.”

You can also feel the weight of the stone in global trends. The governments in power when inflation hit have all suffered from an electoral backlash. A spirit of anti-incumbency is sweeping away parties, regardless of ideology. In fact, as The Atlantic’s Derek Thompson [*posted last week*](https://thedispatch.com/article/do-campaigns-matter/), “For the first time since World War II, every governing party facing election in a developed country this year lost vote share.”

Think of Britain. In 2019, Boris Johnson and the Tories won a crushing victory over Labour. There was talk of realignment. The Tories had [*broken Labour’s red wall*](https://thedispatch.com/article/do-campaigns-matter/) and won over the ***working class***. In 2024 — as Britain’s economy [*remained stagnant*](https://thedispatch.com/article/do-campaigns-matter/) — Labour [*wiped out the Tories*](https://thedispatch.com/article/do-campaigns-matter/). Apparently, the realignment was postponed.

In the days since Donald Trump’s victory, I’ve read a number of pieces about Democratic messaging, Democratic elitism and far-left intolerance that drove a number of people into MAGA’s open arms.

This level of self-reflection is important and wise — sweeping is important on the margins, after all — but I can’t help but think that if the withdrawal from Afghanistan hadn’t been a bloody mess (that’s when President Biden’s approval rating [*went underwater*](https://thedispatch.com/article/do-campaigns-matter/), and it never came back), if inflation hadn’t spiked and if migration hadn’t surged at the border, then we’d be having a different conversation.

I know that the Harris campaign had answers for all these criticisms. The American people wanted to end the Afghan war, and Biden was saddled with Trump’s terrible deal with the Taliban. Inflation was a global phenomenon, and it was unfair to entirely blame Biden when, by 2023, America had the [*lowest inflation rate among the Group of 7 countries*](https://thedispatch.com/article/do-campaigns-matter/). The Biden administration had finally cracked down on the border and had endorsed a [*tough new border bill*](https://thedispatch.com/article/do-campaigns-matter/).

They also rightly argued that Trump nostalgia was misplaced. It was wrong to give the former president a pass for the pandemic or for the chaos and murder spikes of 2020. His term did not end in 2019, with peace and prosperity. It ended near the beginning of 2021 with disease, violence and cultural decay. Even the memories of the time before Covid are idealized. There was an immense amount of domestic turmoil before the pandemic.

To continue the curling analogy: The Harris campaign also argued that there was a different rock in play, one that was more important than peace and prosperity: democracy and the rule of law.

I agreed with the Harris campaign on this point. I believed the stakes changed after Jan. 6. I believed this was not a normal election and that many policy disagreements should have been put aside for a larger purpose. It wasn’t irrational to believe this argument might prevail. Republicans underperformed in 2022, and Kamala Harris did win an [*overwhelming majority*](https://thedispatch.com/article/do-campaigns-matter/) of voters who said democracy was their top issue in the election.

But no. The first rock was in play, and all the arguments about easing inflation, better border policies or the importance of NATO paled in the face of the facts: Americans want to end wars but not lose them, inflation bit so hard that it [*may not be until next year*](https://thedispatch.com/article/do-campaigns-matter/) that wages fully recover, and there was never a good explanation for permitting so very many migrants to enter the country.

When I consider why Trump won, I think of two numbers — 17 million and 73 million. The first number represents Trump’s primary voters. That’s MAGA. Those are the people who were given a choice between Trump and a number of other accomplished Republicans and chose Trump again.

The 73 million are Trump’s general election voters. Many of them — maybe most — certainly do love Trump. Some are indeed outright racists and misogynists. But if you actually sit down and talk with many other Trump voters, you’ll hear some version of this: “Look, I didn’t like Jan. 6, and I don’t want it to happen again, but it didn’t affect my life nearly as much as the price of eggs, milk and gas.”

[*This reality is reflected in the results*](https://thedispatch.com/article/do-campaigns-matter/). Trump narrowly won lower-income voters after Biden [*won their votes decisively*](https://thedispatch.com/article/do-campaigns-matter/) in 2020. He modestly improved his showing with minority voters. He assembled an actual multiethnic ***working-class*** coalition. He won a number of [*heavily Hispanic border counties in Texas*](https://thedispatch.com/article/do-campaigns-matter/). America’s most vulnerable communities faced the consequences of inflation without the financial cushion of wealthier families, and they’re still financially behind.

Understanding voters’ decisions is not the same thing as justifying them. I strongly disagree with the decision so many of my friends and neighbors made. Our experience teaches us that we can count on Trump to be performative, but we cannot count on him to perform. There was a reason voters tossed him out of office once before.

But now he’s back, and soon enough the MAGA true believers will realize that their ideological dreams will quickly die if they can’t deliver the peace and prosperity they promised. We read too much cultural significance into any given election. Every party and every movement can be one business cycle from defeat.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://thedispatch.com/article/do-campaigns-matter/) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://thedispatch.com/article/do-campaigns-matter/). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://thedispatch.com/article/do-campaigns-matter/).

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[***Trump Is Not the First President to Come Back From Defeat***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DBY-R6M1-JBG3-64NM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 6, 2024 Wednesday 17:12 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 586 words

**Byline:** Ali WatkinsAli Watkins covers international news and is based in London.

**Highlight:** More than a century ago, Grover Cleveland secured a second nonconsecutive term in the White House after a campaign plagued with scandal and allegations of a coverup.

**Body**

More than a century ago, Grover Cleveland secured a second nonconsecutive term in the White House after a campaign plagued with scandal and allegations of a coverup.

Declared the winner of the 2024 presidential election, Donald J. Trump is on track for a host of firsts: He is forecast to be the first Republican to win the [*national popular vote*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/upshot/trump-election-victory.html) in two decades, and is the first person with a criminal record to win the presidency. Earlier this year, he became the first former president to be convicted of a felony.

But he is not the first former president to come back from defeat and win, again.

More than a century ago, Grover Cleveland, a New York Democrat, succeeded in winning back the White House four years after he was ousted following his first term. Mr. Cleveland served as America’s 22nd and 24th president.

A frugal president whose policies were not popular with the ***working class***, Mr. Cleveland served his first term from 1885 to 1889, when his bid for re-election was thwarted by Benjamin Harrison. Among Mr. Cleveland’s political liabilities was his veto of a bill that would have expanded pensions for Civil War veterans.

There was a moral issue, too: Over his first term, Mr. Cleveland weathered a scandal around his [*fathering of a child*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/upshot/trump-election-victory.html) with a widow named Maria Halpin a decade prior. Although Mr. Cleveland claimed they had a consensual relationship, Ms. Halpin maintained that Mr. Cleveland had aggressively pursued her, forced his way into her room at a boarding house and was violent during their brief encounter.

Following his defeat, Mr. Cleveland and his campaign engaged in a belligerent effort to tar Ms. Halpin’s reputation, and the episode did little to hurt his third race for the White House.

Mr. Cleveland returned to challenge Mr. Harrison in 1892, campaigning on his opposition to the country’s tilt toward silver over the gold standard. He emerged with a decisive win, storming through the electoral college and receiving an overwhelming share of the popular vote.

Mr. Cleveland’s victory set the precedent for a two-term, nonconsecutive presidency, and until today, his was the only success story. Several other presidents tried and failed to win back the White House after being defeated, among them Theodore Roosevelt and Ulysses S. Grant.

Among closely watching on Tuesday night was Troy Senik, the author of “A Man of Honor,” the 2022 biography [*published*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/upshot/trump-election-victory.html) by Simon &amp; Schuster about Mr. Cleveland that he began working on during the first Trump Administration.

“There’s a chance I’m going to have to make a truly annoying amount of edits on the next edition of my Grover Cleveland bio,” Mr. Senik, a former speechwriter for President George W. Bush, [*joked in a social media post*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/upshot/trump-election-victory.html).

When Mr. Senik wrote the book, “there was no thought given to the idea that any of this would be topical,” he said. It was largely popular among history buffs and political insiders, particularly as the prospect of a second Trump presidency emerged.

“What’s really different now is that there’s a mass curiosity over this president who was otherwise known as little more than a piece of trivia,” Mr. Senik said.

Although Mr. Cleveland could have sought a third term, he opted to step aside in 1896. Mr. Trump will not have that option. The [*22nd Amendment*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/upshot/trump-election-victory.html), passed in 1951, allows any one person to serve only two terms as president, regardless of whether they are consecutive.

PHOTO: Grover Cleveland served as the 22nd and 24th president of the United States. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 7, 2024

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[***Oxford’s 2024 Word of the Year Is…***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DJB-BNB1-DXY4-X009-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 1, 2024 Sunday 10:28 EST

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**Section:** ARTS

**Length:** 895 words

**Byline:** Jennifer SchuesslerJennifer Schuessler is a reporter for the Culture section of The Times who covers intellectual life and the world of ideas.

**Highlight:** A slang term for supposed mental damage done by overconsumption of trivial online content triumphed over a shortlist that also included “lore,” “demure” and “slop.”

**Body**

It’s not just you. Oxford University Press, the publisher of the august Oxford English Dictionary, is also going a bit fuzzy between the ears.

After digging through its enormous database, it has chosen “brain rot” — specifically, the kind brought on by digital overload — as its 2024 Word of the Year.

It’s been quite a journey for [*“brain rot,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/13/style/brainrot-internet-addiction-social-media-tiktok.html) which triumphed over a shortlist of contenders including “lore,” “demure,” “romantasy,” “dynamic pricing” and “slop.” According to Oxford, its earliest known appearance was in 1854, in “Walden,” Henry David Thoreau’s classic account of moving alone to a cabin in the woods.

“While England endeavors to cure the potato-rot,” Thoreau lamented, “will not any endeavor to cure the brain-rot, which prevails so much more widely and fatally?”

The answer, apparently, is no. These days, according to Oxford, it’s often invoked by young people on social media to describe the “supposed deterioration of a person’s mental or intellectual state,” particularly stemming from overconsumption of trivial online content.

That usage surged by about 230 percent over the past year. Casper Grathwohl, the president of Oxford Languages, the company’s dictionary division, said the term’s rise reflects the breakneck speed of social media-driven language change.

“With ‘brain rot,’” he said, “it’s a phenomenon of young people skewering language trends on TikTok, almost exactly after they themselves have churned out that language.”

Oxford’s Word of the Year is based on usage evidence drawn from its continually updated corpus of some 26 billion words, which is drawn from news sources across the English-speaking world. The idea, according to the announcement, is to reflect “the moods and conversations that have shaped 2024,” backed by data.

As in the past few years, Oxford invited the public to vote on the shortlist. The winner was chosen by the publisher’s team of experts, based on the vote (roughly 37,000 people weighed in) and further analysis. “Choosing the Word of the Year,” Grathwohl acknowledged, “is a bit of a dark art.”

The contest began 20 years ago, with the selection of “chav” (British slang for ***working class***). Over the years, it has anointed enduring new words like “podcast,” “selfie” and “post-truth,” along with a few head-scratchers. ([*Youthquake*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/13/style/brainrot-internet-addiction-social-media-tiktok.html), from 2017, came in for particular abuse.)

And the contest has itself affected the language. Last year, [*after Oxford chose “rizz”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/13/style/brainrot-internet-addiction-social-media-tiktok.html) (Gen Z or Gen Alpha slang for “style, charm or attractiveness,” possibly derived from “charisma”), a flood of news coverage caused usage to spike by more than 1500 percent. Current usage remains twice as high as it was immediately before last fall’s announcement, according to Oxford’s data.

“It was a huge hit,” Grathwohl said. “It’s got swagger, real energy, and was just the shot in the arm people needed at that time — even if for the young people who drove its use, it was already passé.”

This year’s list is short on flashy neologisms or blended words like [*“broflake”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/13/style/brainrot-internet-addiction-social-media-tiktok.html) or [*“lumbersexual.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/13/style/brainrot-internet-addiction-social-media-tiktok.html) This year’s lone portmanteau, “romantasy,” refers to “a genre of fiction that combines elements of romance and fantasy.”

Instead, Grathwohl noted, the finalists were heavy on old-fashioned words that young people had repurposed in semi-ironic ways — the linguistic equivalent, he said, of “bell-bottoms coming back into fashion.”

Take “demure.” The earliest recorded usage, according to Oxford, was in 1377, in a reference to the sea being calm. By the late 1400s, it commonly appears as a description of people who are serious, reserved or grave in demeanor.

Usage surged in August, after the influencer Jools Lebron posted a TikTok video describing her makeup and dress as [*“very demure, very mindful,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/13/style/brainrot-internet-addiction-social-media-tiktok.html) sparking a deluge of posts across various platforms reusing the phrase.

[*The “demure” moment*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/13/style/brainrot-internet-addiction-social-media-tiktok.html), Grathwohl noted, came shortly after the singer Charli XCX sent “brat” surging. “It’s the other side of the coin,” he said.

“Lore,” which dates back almost 1,000 years, is another old-timey word that has been refashioned by young social media users, to refer to facts or beliefs around a celebrity or a fictional character, or even one’s own personal history.

“Slop” has undergone a similar update. There was a spike of more than 300 percent over the past year in references not to pig feed, but to “art, writing or other content generated using artificial intelligence, shared and distributed online in an indiscriminate or intrusive way, and characterized as being of low quality, inauthentic or inaccurate,” according to Oxford.

Like “brain rot,” “it “represents the underbelly of today’s linguistic churn,” Grathwohl said. “There’s a sense that we are drowning in mediocre experiences as digital lives get clogged.”

Oxford, it must be noted, is not the only language kingmaker. In recent weeks, there have also been Word of the Year announcements from Cambridge University Press ([*“manifest”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/13/style/brainrot-internet-addiction-social-media-tiktok.html)) and Dictionary.com (justice for “demure”!).

Which raises an unsettling question: Could all these rival words — and the flood of news articles about them — contribute to brain rot?

“I don’t want to overblow the Word of the Year,” Grathwohl said. “It’s something fun and engaging.”

“The most successful ones,” he added, “are the ones that are slightly counterintuitive and make people think.”

Video at top: CreativeSource/Getty Images

This article appeared in print on page C1, C4.

**Load-Date:** December 13, 2024

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[***Biden Accuses Republicans of Undercutting Working-Class Americans***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:695M-XSC1-JBG3-639J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 14, 2023 Thursday 22:36 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 977 words

**Byline:** Peter Baker

**Highlight:** President Biden trained his criticism on House Republicans who are threatening to shut down the federal government if their budget cuts are not enacted.

**Body**

President Biden trained his criticism on House Republicans who are threatening to shut down the federal government if their budget cuts are not enacted.

President Biden challenged his Republican opponents on Thursday in their area of political strength, arguing that he has done a better job of managing the economy than former President Donald J. Trump did and accusing his predecessor’s congressional allies of undercutting ***working-class*** Americans.

While Mr. Trump has long made his stewardship of the economy his most salient bragging point, Mr. Biden declared that his “Bidenomics” program had done more to help everyday Americans make a living than what he termed “MAGAnomics” ever did. He framed the argument in terms of [*the fall’s coming budget battles*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/14/us/politics/mccarthy-pulls-back-pentagon-spending-bill.html), but it also represented a preview of next year’s campaign.

“They have a very different vision for America,” Mr. Biden said in a speech at Prince George’s Community College in Largo, Md., just outside the nation’s capital, where he held up a copy of budget plans by House Republicans. “Their plan, MAGAnomics, is more extreme than anything America has ever seen before.”

Mr. Biden trained his criticism on Republicans who are threatening to shut down the federal government if their plans are not enacted. The president accused the Republicans of caring more about the wealthy than the ***working class***, pointing to proposals to cut taxes for high-income households and corporations; wring savings from Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid; and reverse initiatives to lower the cost of insulin and other prescription medicine.

The intensified criticism of Republicans follows months of speeches and other messaging by the president and his team promoting the benefits of Bidenomics, a phrase used by critics that they have chosen to embrace. But the credit-taking has not budged Mr. Biden’s poll numbers, and so White House officials now plan to spend the next few weeks or longer emphasizing the contrast with his opponents.

“House Republicans have understandably been reluctant to tout the MAGAnomics Budget — but the White House is going to spend much of this fall doing it for them,” Anita Dunn, a senior adviser to the president, wrote in a memo released to reporters.

Mr. Biden faces strong political headwinds on the economy. [*A new poll released on Thursday by USA Today and Suffolk University*](https://www.suffolk.edu/-/media/suffolk/documents/academics/research-at-suffolk/suprc/polls/issues-polls/2023/9_13_2023_main_street_marginals.pdf?la=en&amp;hash=75ECFEFF6BD14317ACBD8679EF6F4DBACDB95786) found that only 22 percent of Americans think the economy is improving while 70 percent think it is getting worse. Asked to volunteer a single word to describe the economy, a majority came up with terms like “horrible,” “terrible,” “crashing,” “shambles,” “chaotic” and “expensive.”

Just 34 percent of Americans approved of Mr. Biden’s handling of the economy and, when asked to choose, more expressed faith in his predecessor to improve the country’s economic health than they did in the incumbent, 47 percent to 36 percent.

Mr. Trump sought to rebut Mr. Biden even before the speech. “The public has not been fooled,” his campaign said in a statement. “They see Bidenomics for what it is: inflation, taxation, submission and failure.”

“With polls confirming that Americans overwhelmingly reject Biden’s effort to whitewash his abysmal economic record,” the statement added, “he will now attempt to reverse his message 180 degrees, ludicrously trying to blame President Trump for the destruction and misery that Joe Biden himself has wrought.”

Mr. Trump has always used superlatives to exaggerate the strength of the economy while he was in office. While he presided over a strong and generally healthy economy, it was not the best in history, as he has often stated, and before the pandemic it was roughly comparable in many ways to the economy of the last few years of his predecessor, President Barack Obama.

During Mr. Trump’s first two years in office, the economy grew an average of 2.5 percent per quarter on an annualized basis, while it grew an average of 3.1 percent per quarter in Mr. Biden’s first two years coming out of the pandemic, according to [*a comparison by Barron’s*](https://www.barrons.com/articles/trump-vs-biden-economy-ec8ff89a). The stock market soared by 21 percent during the early part of Mr. Trump’s tenure compared with 8.5 percent during a comparable period under Mr. Biden.

Unemployment has been roughly similar during the two administrations, [*at 3.8 percent*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2023/09/01/business/jobs-report-august-economy) near a record low, but job growth under Mr. Biden has far surpassed that under Mr. Trump as the economy rebounds from Covid-19 lockdowns. By last spring, monthly job growth had averaged 470,000 since Mr. Biden took office, compared with 180,000 in the start of Mr. Trump’s administration, Barron’s calculated.

Where Mr. Biden has struggled most economically is with inflation, which averaged around 2 percent under Mr. Trump but peaked at 9 percent last year under Mr. Biden before falling [*to about 3.7 percent now*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/13/business/august-inflation-report.html#:~:text=The%20Consumer%20Price%20Index%20rose,than%20what%20economists%20had%20expected.). Inflation has increased the cost of groceries, clothes, household goods and housing, while eating away at rising wages. The federal deficit is also [*rising sharply*](https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2023/09/03/us-debt-deficit-rises-interest-rate/), as have interest rates.

Still, the recession many feared has yet to materialize, and many experts now are more optimistic about what they call a soft landing. Mr. Biden argues that his expansive legislative program has positioned the country for the future better than Mr. Trump ever did through new or repaired airports, roads, bridges and other infrastructure; vast investment in the semiconductor industry; ambitious clean energy programs to combat climate change; and initiatives to bring down the cost of prescription drugs.

“America has the strongest economy in the world of all major economics,” Mr. Biden said. “But all they do is attack it. But you notice something? For all the time they spend attacking me and my plan, here’s what they never do — they never talk about what they want to do.” He added: “It’s like they want to keep it a secret. I don’t blame them.”

This article appeared in print on page A14.

**Load-Date:** September 14, 2023

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[***This Is Not What Trump Had in Mind; The Conversation***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CW2-VN71-DXY4-X24T-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 2, 2024 Monday 22:42 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1511 words

**Byline:** Gail Collins and Bret Stephens Gail Collins is a Times Opinion columnist focusing on domestic politics. Bret Stephens is an Opinion columnist for The Times, writing about foreign policy, domestic politics and cultural issues.

**Highlight:** The former president still seems surprised that he is up against Kamala Harris.

**Body**

Bret Stephens: Gail, I’ve never thought to ask you this, but we seem to have an occasion: Where do you stand on … fracking?

Gail Collins: Bret, is it possible you want to point out that Kamala Harris has upended her fracking position? She was totally against it as a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination in 2020. Way more amenable in her current role.

Bret: Surely it has absolutely nothing to do with the fact that fracking has helped make Pennsylvania the second-largest natural gas producer in the country.

Gail: Fracking is deep, deep drilling for oil or gas that can reduce the cost of energy. It can also really mess up the environment and contribute to global warming. I say, no, let’s just get focused on those electric cars.

Bret: Electric cars that run on batteries made of cobalt, lithium, nickel, graphite and other minerals that have to be mined in ways that are neither cheap nor clean? And which, in turn, depend on an electric grid powered, for the most part, by hydrocarbons?

Gail: I have faith we’ll get to a better version.

Bret: This is one of the burgeoning number of cases in which I’m happy to see Harris come around. I just wish she could have made a better case for her current position. Like, if she had noted that by producing more natural gas in the U.S., we’ve become less coal-dependent, which is good for the planet. Or that by producing more oil in the United States, we’re also less dependent on the Middle East. Or that by becoming more energy independent, we can do more to ensure that we are extracting the energy in an environmentally sound way — something we can’t do when the oil is coming from Venezuela or Iraq.

Gail: Bret, are you telling me you’re going to vote Democratic this fall?

Bret: Are you going to ask about my vote every week from now till November?

Gail: Probably. Maybe for a few weeks after the election, too. I know you’re not going to want to do football predictions. Give me a hint. You sure seem to be tilting.

Bret: The only way I’m tilting is that I’ve decided to switch my write-in vote from Mr. Magoo to Representative Ritchie Torres, the Bronx Democrat, now that he’s old enough to serve as president. I’m just not sold on Harris. Sorry!

Gail: OK, we’re going to be arguing about this nearly every week, so I’m taking a temporary pass. For a more narrow Harris query: What did you think of her CNN interview?

Bret: She was likable and warm and didn’t do herself any obvious harm. But she leaned heavily on [*vacuous slogans*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/27/opinion/harris-walz-interview.html), like her “new way forward.” I’m struggling to understand how she can present herself as a candidate of change while defending President Biden’s record. What would you suggest she do?

Gail: There does seem to be a problem here. Harris cares about things like better schools, improved health care and aid to lower-income families who need housing, child care or other basic services.

For which she would have to come up with increased revenue. At least some of it, presumably, by taxing the wealthy more. If she wants to make me happy, that’s exactly what she’ll be talking about. And I think it would also perk up the ears of so far not overly enthusiastic younger voters. While, I presume, driving you further into the arms of Mr. Magoo.

Bret: Or my personal role model, [*Mr. Burns*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/27/opinion/harris-walz-interview.html) from “The Simpsons.”

Gail: Sorry she didn’t get more specific on CNN. But let’s take a break from the Democrats, Bret. Tell me how you think the other side is doing.

Bret: Great question. On the one hand, Donald Trump seems to be flailing. He can’t stay on message. On subjects like abortion, he doesn’t seem to know what his message is. He hasn’t settled on a consistent line of attack on Harris the way he usually does against his other opponents: “Low-Energy Jeb,” “Lying Ted,” “Crooked Hillary,” “Sleepy Joe.” Trumpy Senate candidates like Bernie Moreno in Ohio, Sam Brown in Nevada and Kari Lake in Arizona are bombing in the polls, which could also hurt Trump in November.

On the other hand, why is Trump still competitive in swing states after all this “joy” coming out of the Democratic convention? To me, it suggests that Americans still have a lot of doubts about what a Harris presidency could bring — and that Trump has a deep well of hidden support that polls don’t capture.

Do you think it’s still Trump’s race to lose?

Gail: Sort of. The policy differences between the two parties are huge, and many voters still don’t believe the economy is doing well. But I have a sneaking suspicion it’ll come down to whether potential Trump supporters begin to worry that he’s too crazy to run the country. Or at least too — wow — old.

Bret: I get the sense that the assassination attempt spooked him more than he’s willing to admit and also slowed him down. And yes, there are those niggling details about him being a nut, a narcissist, a boor, a bigot, a blowhard, a tornado of baloney — a man who, to borrow from an old joke, could commit suicide by leaping from his ego to his I.Q.

Gail: Love that line.

Bret: But I still think he’s going to win. If he does, will you regret all the efforts to prosecute him?

Gail: Bret, if Trump wins, there will be so much to regret, I can’t envision the priority list. Right now, I’m concentrating my postelection worries on what will happen if he loses. He’ll certainly claim the voting was rigged, challenge everything conceivable in court and encourage as many protests as possible. It could make Jan. 6 look like a school picnic.

Bret: I agree. If he loses, let it be with wide and clear margins that leave no room for doubt about the outcome — not that it will keep him from claiming he won. Then again, if he wins, I hope Democrats will take the lesson that trying to use the judicial system to prosecute a political opponent is a bad idea that is bound to backfire.

Somewhat related subject, Gail: Our colleague Nick Kristof had a terrific [*column*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/27/opinion/harris-walz-interview.html) last week, in which he warned that “since the Obama presidency, Democrats have increasingly become the party of the educated, and the upshot has often been a whiff of condescension toward ***working-class*** voters, especially toward voters of faith.” Do you think Harris and Tim Walz will change that?

Gail: Hope so. On the ***working-class*** side, one good approach is the team’s strong support of unions. I know unions aren’t necessarily your favorite organizations, but in honor of Labor Day let me point out how important unions can be in turning the ***working class*** into a middle class.

Bret: The odd thing about unions is how little enthusiasm they tend to generate among so many ***working-class*** people, especially those outside public-sector jobs. Maybe union dues are too high or too many unions have agendas that are too left wing for many of their would-be members. In any case, the most pro-worker thing for a government to do is to let the private economy create work and to defeat regulations that stymie it.

Take it that you … don’t agree.

Gail: A lot of our new economy involves service employees who are overworked and underpaid — or aren’t even classified as workers in the so-called gig economy. Their bosses naturally don’t want unions coming in and taking away their flexibility when it comes to matters like staffing and scheduling and, of course, wages. But it’s good for the country if those people get decent pay, even if it means paying more for your coffee at Starbucks or an Amazon delivery.

Bret: I’m all for good wages in steady jobs; I just don’t think unions are a particularly effective vehicle for obtaining them.

Gail: Bret, that’s a pretty weak retort unless you have in mind some other movement or entity that’s going to take up the cause. As long as there are more people who need to work than employers desperate for labor, don’t think you’ll really be able to argue that management will cough up more money than it needs to.

Bret: In the spirit of Labor Day, I concede.

Gail, [*this year*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/27/opinion/harris-walz-interview.html) I met an exceptional woman named Rachel Goldberg, whose son, Hersh Goldberg-Polin, was taken hostage to Gaza by Hamas after having the lower half of his arm blown off. It was Goldberg who, with her husband Jon Polin, [*spoke*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/27/opinion/harris-walz-interview.html) movingly for the hostage families last month at the Democratic National Convention.

On Sunday the [*Israeli military announced*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/27/opinion/harris-walz-interview.html) that it had found Hersh’s body, along with the bodies of the hostages Carmel Gat, Eden Yerushalmi, Ori Danino, Almog Sarusi and Alexander Lobanov, in a tunnel under Gaza. They were recently executed by their captors. I have a feeling that, like me, many of our readers burst into tears when they saw the news. Biden warned that “Hamas leaders will pay for these crimes,” and I hope he’s right. And I hope that all our readers can join in saying, “Let my people go.”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/27/opinion/harris-walz-interview.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/27/opinion/harris-walz-interview.html). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/27/opinion/harris-walz-interview.html).

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A19.

**Load-Date:** September 2, 2024

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[***My Brother Is Doing the Trump Dance***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DJ8-X6F1-DXY4-X059-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 1, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 2; MAUREEN DOWD

**Length:** 833 words

**Byline:** By Maureen Dowd

**Body**

I know that every year, some of you see this Thanksgiving column by my brother and think that it is actually I who is serving up this slab of red meat under the nom de plume of Kevin Dowd. I can assure you that Kevin is very real and, this year, very excited. So, caveat emptor: Here is Kevin's column.

ROCKVILLE, Md. -- My sister told me not to gloat. But Democrats are eating a giant helping of crow since voters delivered a stunning victory to Donald Trump after spending months -- years, really -- claiming he was a racist, a wannabe dictator, Adolf Hitler and a threat to democracy.

Somehow this racist dictator was able to assemble a new coalition of Black, Hispanic, middle-class and ***working-class*** voters. Maybe it's because nobody wants to live in the kind of country that the Biden-Harris administration and its leftist bedfellows were creating. Voters rejected the lax border measures championed by Joe Biden and the incompetent man supposedly in charge of homeland security, Alejandro Mayorkas. Turns out even people in blue America don't like it when their groceries cost more and they feel less safe.

I must admit I had misgivings about Trump and his election denial after Jan. 6, but Nancy Pelosi's hijacking of the House's special investigating committee shifted my perspective. There was no world in which Trump could have come out of that committee without being scarred. So why did she have to overreach? It didn't seem fair. And the ensuing lawfare waged against him only strengthened my support for him, and my feeling that there was nothing the opposition wouldn't do to get him.

The negativity spread to the mainstream media, where coverage of Trump was wildly slanted. Even the owner of The Washington Post warned that the media was losing the trust of its audience. Seniors get their news from cable, and young people get it from podcasts and social media. Trump's freewheeling three-hour interview with Joe Rogan helped him capture that vote.

Kamala Harris evaded the Rogan invitation. She was a terrible candidate, and the conga line of celebrities her campaign relied on couldn't obscure that fact. Some of the same Democrats who tried to tell us Biden wasn't in decline then tried to tell us Harris was an exciting, transformative force. Please.

Trump, hardened and informed by his first cabinet selections, has moved with warp speed to assemble his cabinet. Some of his most controversial picks may be intended to scare some deep state bureaucrats into resigning. Matt Gaetz did not make it even to a committee hearing. Robert F. Kennedy Jr. and Tulsi Gabbard will need to pass Senate scrutiny, but compared with the clown show Biden assembled, they look mainstream.

Trump is pressing for recess appointments. A bad idea. The Senate has the role of advise and consent. It can weed out some of the more troublesome picks, and Trump will be better for it. Republicans will have the Senate majority. No qualified candidate will be denied.

The federal government is like a house filled with mold that needs a good cleaning. Trump will take care of it. When Covid came, the government was sent home, where many employees remain. He could order everyone to come back to the office full time, and 20 percent of the work force would refuse and be gone. Will anyone notice? I doubt it.

Trump promises a return to common sense and has been given the tools to accomplish it with an electoral mandate and all three branches of government on his side. He cannot squander it. He must not get bogged down in petty disputes and perceived slights.

Our cities need to be safe again, our border secure and our country energy independent. Our elections need to be fair and incorruptible from foreign influence. The United States of America is the strongest and best country in the world. We demean ourselves when we are not at our full potential.

Biden and Harris have left a huge mess. Trump is the right choice to fix it. There are things he can do right away to make a difference: close the border, eliminate regulations, end the war on fossil fuels and cancel E.V. mandates.

No matter how maddening Trump can be, the country needs him. The wind is truly at his back. The election was decided not just by MAGA rallygoers but also by millions of voters who'd simply had enough. He should move forward without rancor or grievance, fueled by the joy of the Trump Shuffle, his robot-like dance that has broken out at U.F.C. fights and across the N.F.L. I'm going to have the younger members of the family teach it to Maureen on Thanksgiving.

As I ease into my twilight years, I want to thank Trump for letting me sleep safely and soundly again.

Vaya con Dios, Mr. President.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/28/opinion/donald-trump-presidency.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/28/opinion/donald-trump-presidency.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page SR2.

**Load-Date:** December 1, 2024

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[***The Return of Oasis Hair; Critic’s Notebook***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CYD-HPN1-JBG3-6210-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 13, 2024 Friday 23:32 EST

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**Section:** STYLE

**Length:** 797 words

**Highlight:** News of a new tour put the band — and the rough-hewed hairstyles popularized by its sibling frontmen, Liam and Noel Gallagher — back in the spotlight.

**Body**

News of a new tour put the band — and the rough-hewed hairstyles popularized by its sibling frontmen, Liam and Noel Gallagher — back in the spotlight.

For the legions of Oasis fans who thought a reunion would never happen after the band broke up 15 years ago and vowed to regroup only when hell froze over, [*the recent announcement of a 2025 tour*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/27/arts/music/oasis-reunion-tour.html) came as something almost life-altering. The news was also a boon for a smaller, though no less passionate, group of rock exegetes: those who track the history of music and culture through hair.

That hair is foundational to pop identity is beyond dispute. Think, at random, of [*Little Richard’s*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/27/arts/music/oasis-reunion-tour.html) lacquered pompadour; [*James Brown’s*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/27/arts/music/oasis-reunion-tour.html) conk; the Beatles’ [*mop tops*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/27/arts/music/oasis-reunion-tour.html); Sinead O’Connor’s [*shaved head*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/27/arts/music/oasis-reunion-tour.html); [*Johnny Rotten’s*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/27/arts/music/oasis-reunion-tour.html) mohawk; [*Boy George’s*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/27/arts/music/oasis-reunion-tour.html) plaits; the jet-black nimbus — part bouffant, part rat’s nest — of the Cure’s lead singer, Robert Smith. Think [*Billie Eilish’s*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/27/arts/music/oasis-reunion-tour.html) slime-green roots.

“Hair is essential to rock ’n’ roll as a music and to rock stars as idols,” said Joe Levy, a former executive editor at Rolling Stone and the curator of a forthcoming photographic history of rocker hair and style for the Illuminarium theater in Atlanta. “It’s a flag of freedom.”

Surely it was that for the brothers Noel and Liam Gallagher in the long-ago 1990s, when they formed Oasis in Manchester, England. They wore hairstyles that could be described as tough, northern-English versions of the ’60s mod cuts popularized by the Beatles (a band Oasis plundered from liberally and without compunction).

“It’s this very English kind of look that morphed from ’60s Stones and Beatles, the mods, into this Gallagher version with bangs, side burns and a short crop at the top,” said Guido Palau, a go-to hairstylist for designers like Kim Jones and Marc Jacobs and a man Vogue once deemed to be among the most in-demand coiffeurs in the world.

Mr. Palau, an Englishman himself, added that there had often been a grittiness to British rock ’n’ roll and youth cultures that was missing among their American counterparts. “There’s always more of an in-your-face class thing, a peacocking punkiness,” he said, adding that the Oasis members’ hair “doesn’t seem cut so much as chewed.”

Now in their 50s, the Gallagher brothers are expectedly showing signs of wear, plagued by the usual indignities of aging (psoriasis and a hip replacement for Liam) and by the physical consequences of hard-partying lives. Yet there is enough vigor left in the their looks to remind us, as Mr. Levy said, of the role hair played in making them and Oasis world-famous.

Recently, as the Evening Standard of London [*reported*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/27/arts/music/oasis-reunion-tour.html), Gallagher hair has been embraced by an army of Gen Z-ers in the British capital — and also online. Predictably, tutorials demonstrating myriad ways to achieve a cut that, for all its studiedness, looks as though it was hacked with a pair of nail scissors, have mushroomed on TikTok.

Like so much else about the Oasis members’ style — the oversized parkas, the vintage anoraks, the baggy jeans, the retro track suits, the polo shirts and the grandpa cardigans — their hair telegraphed the band’s roots in a ***working-class*** city in the industrial north of England. Though the look might have appeared un-self-conscious and drawn from unglamorous everyday life, the Oasis members’ clothes and hair were in many ways no less performance props than the proper-looking collarless suits and mod cuts favored by the Beatles in their early years.

“In reality, those guys were tough, ***working-class*** men and the suits were a complete costume,” said Thomas Beller, an English professor at Tulane University and the author of a [*memorable 1997 profile of Oasis for Spin magazine*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/27/arts/music/oasis-reunion-tour.html), referring to the Beatles. The Gallaghers, Mr. Beller added, were themselves to some degree in costume, though a slicker version of the one they were used to.

When the band’s blockbuster debut album, “Definitely Maybe,” came out in 1994, its members were flag bearers for a class still reeling from the aftereffects of the systematic dismantling of Britain’s social safety net by Margaret Thatcher, the former prime minister. Spewing profanity, lips curled in a sneer, hair coarsely shredded, they conveyed that most essential element of rock identity: rebellion.

“Oasis changed my life a little bit in their sense of bravado, of ‘Do what you want, wear what you want, say what you’ve got to say, and don’t let anyone get in your way,’” Mr. Beller said. And, as with other rocker renegades, the hairstyles the Gallaghers wore then — and essentially still do — played no small part in signaling that.

PHOTO: Noel, far left, and Liam Gallagher of Oasis in 1994, the year the band released its debut album, “Definitely Maybe.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY KOH HASEBE/SHINKO MUSIC, VIA GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page D3.

**Load-Date:** September 18, 2024

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[***What Democrats Need to Do Now; David Brooks***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CHB-GW21-JBG3-602D-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 18, 2024 Thursday 16:35 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1449 words

**Byline:** David Brooks David Brooks is an Opinion columnist for The Times, writing about political, social and cultural trends.

**Highlight:** If Democrats hope to win, they have to take the MAGA worldview seriously and respectfully make the case, especially to ***working-class*** voters, for something better.

**Body**

In 2016, MAGA was just a slogan — or at best a spasm of resentments and instincts about issues like immigration. Over the last eight years, think tankers, activists and politicians have developed MAGA into a worldview, a worldview that now transcends Donald Trump.

Across the Western world, right-wing parties have ceased to be parties of the business elites and have become ***working-class*** parties. MAGA is the worldview that accords with this shifting reality. It has its roots in Andrew Jackson-style populism, but it is updated and more comprehensive. It is the worldview that represents one version of ***working-class*** interests and offers ***working-class*** voters respect.

JD Vance is the embodiment and one of the developers of this worldview — with his suspicion of corporate power, foreign entanglements, free trade, cultural elites and high rates of immigration. In Milwaukee this week, with Vance as Trump’s pick for vice president, it became clear how thoroughly MAGA has replaced Reaganism as the chief operating system of the Republican Party.

If Democrats want to beat MAGA, it’s not enough to say: Orange man bad. Talking endlessly about Jan. 6 does no good. If Democrats hope to win in the near future they have to take the MAGA worldview seriously, and respectfully make the case, especially to ***working-class*** voters, for something better.

At its best, what is MAGA, anyway?

Well, in any society, there is a legitimate tension between security and dynamism. In a volatile world, MAGA offers people security. It promises secure borders and secure neighborhoods. It offers protection from globalization, from the creative destruction of modern capitalism. It offers protection from an educated class that looks down on you and indoctrinates your children in school. It offers you protection from corporate predators. As Senator Josh Hawley [*argued*](https://www.compactmag.com/article/the-promise-of-pro-labor-conservatism/) in Compact magazine this week, “The C-suite long ago sold out the United States, shuttering factories in the homeland and gutting American jobs.”

To those who rightly feel buffeted by vast and destabilizing forces, Trump emerges as a kind of Aaron Sorkin character: “You want me on that wall. You need me on that wall.” He offers security so people can get on with their lives.

Now, the problem with MAGA — and here is where the Democratic opportunity lies — is that it emerges from a mode of consciousness that is very different from the traditional American consciousness.

The American consciousness has traditionally been an abundance consciousness. Successive waves of immigrants found a vast continent of fertile fields and bustling cities. In 1910, Henry van Dyke, who later became the U.S. ambassador to the Netherlands and Luxembourg, wrote a book called “The Spirit of America,” in which he observed that “the Spirit of America is best known in Europe by one of its qualities — energy.” In the 20th century, Luigi Barzini, an Italian observer, argued that Americans have a zeal for continual self-improvement, a “need tirelessly to tinker, improve everything and everybody, never leave anything alone.”

Many foreign observers saw us, and we saw ourselves, as the dynamic nation par excellence. We didn’t have a common past, but we dreamed of a common future. Our sense of home was not rooted in blood-and-soil nationalism; our home was something we were building together. Through most of our history, we were not known for our profundity or culture but for living at full throttle.

MAGA, on the other hand, emerges from a scarcity consciousness, a zero-sum mentality: If we let in tons of immigrants they will take all of our jobs; if America gets browner, “they” will replace “us.” MAGA is based on a series of victim stories: The elites are out to screw us. Our allies are freeloading off us. Secular America is oppressing Christian America.

Viewed from the traditional American abundance mind-set, MAGA looks less like an American brand of conservatism and more like a European brand of conservatism. It resembles all those generations of Russian chauvinists who argued that the Russian masses embody all that is good but they are threatened by aliens from the outside. MAGA looks like a kind of right-wing Marxism, which assumes that class struggle is the permanent defining feature of politics. MAGA is a fortress mentality, but America has traditionally been defined by a pioneering mentality. MAGA offers a strong shell, but not much in the way of wings needed to soar.

If Democrats are to thrive, they need to tap into America’s dynamic cultural roots and show how they can be applied to the 21st century. It should be said that social dynamism is more complicated than it appears at first blush. It’s not just getting on your Harley and hitting the open road. It’s not really about rugged individualism or the libertarian version of freedom as the absence of constraint.

My favorite definition of dynamism is adapted from the psychologist John Bowlby: All of life is a series of daring explorations from a secure base. If Democrats are to thrive, they need to offer people a vision both of the secure base and of the daring explorations.

Here’s where they have a potentially good story to tell. Americans can’t be secure if the world is in flames. That’s why America has to be active abroad in places like Ukraine, keeping wolves like Vladimir Putin at bay. Americans can’t be secure if the border is in chaos. Popular support for continued immigration depends on a sense that the government has things under control. Americans can’t be secure if a single setback will send people to the depths of crushing poverty. That’s why the social insurance programs that Democrats largely built are so important.

But what Democrats really need to do, in my view, is to offer people a vision of the daring explorations that await them. That’s where the pessimistic post-Reagan Republicans can’t compete. American dynamism was turbocharged by the construction of the transcontinental railway, the creation of the land grant colleges, the G.I. Bill and President Biden’s successful efforts to revive our industrial base in the American Midwest.

Personally, I wish Democrats would spend less time on dumb, reactionary policies like rent control. That reeks of panic in the Biden campaign. I wish they would champion the abundance agenda that people like [*Derek Thompson*](https://www.compactmag.com/article/the-promise-of-pro-labor-conservatism/) and my colleague [*Ezra Klein*](https://www.compactmag.com/article/the-promise-of-pro-labor-conservatism/) have been writing about. We need to build things. Lots of new homes. Supersonic airplanes and high-speed trains.

Democrats need to take on their teachers’ unions and commit to dynamism in the field of education. They need to stand up to protectionism, not join the stampede. Raising tariffs, as Trump wants to do, would not only raise costs on American consumers; it would also breed laziness and mediocrity within those sectors cosseted from competition. Democrats need to throttle back the regulators who have been given such free rein that they’ve stifled innovation.

If Republicans are going to double down on class war rhetoric — elites versus masses — Democrats need to get out of that business. They need to tap back into the more traditional American aspiration: We are not sentenced to a permanent class-riven future but can create a fluid, mobile society.

The economist Michael Strain of the American Enterprise Institute has [*offered*](https://www.compactmag.com/article/the-promise-of-pro-labor-conservatism/) a telling psychic critique of MAGA economic thinking: “The economics of grievance is ineffective, counterproductive and corrosive, eroding the foundations of prosperity. Messages matter. Tell people that the system is rigged, and they will aspire to less. Champion personal responsibility, and they will lift their aspirations. Promoting an optimistic vision of economic life can increase risk tolerance, ambition, effort and dynamism.”

Strain is getting at the core point that aspiration is not like a brick that just sits there. Aspiration is more like a flame that can be fed or dampened. The venture capitalist Marc Andreessen [*underlined*](https://www.compactmag.com/article/the-promise-of-pro-labor-conservatism/) the point a few years ago: “The problem is desire. We need to \*want\* these things. The problem is inertia. We need to want these things more than we want to prevent these things.”

In Milwaukee, I have heard a lot of patriotism, but it was the patriotism of nostalgia, not the patriotism of hope. That leaves an opening for the folks who gather in Chicago next month.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.compactmag.com/article/the-promise-of-pro-labor-conservatism/) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.compactmag.com/article/the-promise-of-pro-labor-conservatism/). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.compactmag.com/article/the-promise-of-pro-labor-conservatism/).

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY DIEU-NIALO CHERY/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK) This article appeared in print on page SR5.

**Load-Date:** July 20, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Finding Hope in an Age of Resentment***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DM5-XR11-JBG3-6460-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 10, 2024 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 22; PAUL KRUGMAN

**Length:** 927 words

**Byline:** By Paul Krugman

**Body**

This is my final column for The New York Times, where I began publishing my opinions in January 2000. I'm retiring from The Times, not the world, so I'll still be expressing my views in other places. But this does seem like a good occasion to reflect on what has changed over these past 25 years.

What strikes me, looking back, is how optimistic many people, both here and in much of the Western world, were back then and the extent to which that optimism has been replaced by anger and resentment. And I'm not just talking about members of the ***working class*** who feel betrayed by elites; some of the angriest, most resentful people in America right now -- people who seem very likely to have a lot of influence with the incoming Trump administration -- are billionaires who don't feel sufficiently admired.

It's hard to convey just how good most Americans were feeling in 1999 and early 2000. Polls showed a level of satisfaction with the direction of the country that looks surreal by today's standards. My sense of what happened in the 2000 election was that many Americans took peace and prosperity for granted, so they voted for the guy who seemed as if he'd be more fun to hang out with.

In Europe, too, things seemed to be going well. In particular, the introduction of the euro in 1999 was widely hailed as a step toward closer political as well as economic integration -- toward a United States of Europe, if you like. Some of us ugly Americans had misgivings, but initially they weren't widely shared.

Of course, it wasn't all puppies and rainbows. There was, for example, already a fair bit of proto-QAnon-type conspiracy theorizing and even instances of domestic terrorism in America during the Clinton years. There were financial crises in Asia, which some of us saw as a potential harbinger of things to come; I published a 1999 book titled ''The Return of Depression Economics,'' arguing that similar things could happen here; I put out a revised edition a decade later, when they did.

Still, people were feeling pretty good about the future when I began writing for this paper.

Why did this optimism curdle? As I see it, we've had a collapse of trust in elites: The public no longer has faith that the people running things know what they're doing, or that we can assume that they're being honest.

It was not always thus. Back in 2002 and '03, those of us who argued that the case for invading Iraq was fundamentally fraudulent received a lot of pushback from people refusing to believe that an American president would do such a thing. Who would say that now?

In a different way, the financial crisis of 2008 undermined any faith the public had that governments knew how to manage economies. The euro as a currency survived the European crisis that peaked in 2012, which sent unemployment in some countries to Great Depression levels, but trust in Eurocrats -- and belief in a bright European future -- didn't.

It's not just governments that have lost the public's trust. It's astonishing to look back and see how much more favorably banks were viewed before the financial crisis.

And it wasn't that long ago that technology billionaires were widely admired across the political spectrum, some achieving folk-hero status. But now they and some of their products face disillusionment and worse; Australia has even banned social media use by children under 16.

Which brings me back to my point that some of the most resentful people in America right now seem to be angry billionaires.

We've seen this before. After the 2008 financial crisis, which was widely (and correctly) attributed in part to financial wheeling and dealing, you might have expected the erstwhile Masters of the Universe to show a bit of contrition, maybe even gratitude at having been bailed out. What we got instead was ''Obama rage,'' fury at the 44th president for even suggesting that Wall Street might have been partly to blame for the disaster.

These days there has been a lot of discussion of the hard right turn of some tech billionaires, from Elon Musk on down. I'd argue that we shouldn't overthink it, and we especially shouldn't try to say that this is somehow the fault of politically correct liberals. Basically it comes down to the pettiness of plutocrats who used to bask in public approval and are now discovering that all the money in the world can't buy you love.

So is there a way out of the grim place we're in? What I believe is that while resentment can put bad people in power, in the long run it can't keep them there. At some point the public will realize that most politicians railing against elites actually are elites in every sense that matters and start to hold them accountable for their failure to deliver on their promises. And at that point the public may be willing to listen to people who don't try to argue from authority, don't make false promises, but do try to tell the truth as best they can.

We may never recover the kind of faith in our leaders -- belief that people in power generally tell the truth and know what they're doing -- that we used to have. Nor should we. But if we stand up to the kakistocracy -- rule by the worst -- that's emerging as we speak, we may eventually find our way back to a better world.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/09/opinion/elites-euro-social-media.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/09/opinion/elites-euro-social-media.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY WILL MATSUDA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A22.

**Load-Date:** December 10, 2024

**End of Document**



[***How NAFTA Broke American Politics***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D4R-YVG1-DXY4-X54K-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 8, 2024 Tuesday 14:54 EST

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**Section:** PODCASTS; the-daily

**Length:** 443 words

**Byline:** Michael Barbaro, Dan Kaufman, Asthaa Chaturvedi, Rikki Novetsky, Stella Tan, Clare Toeniskoetter, Olivia Natt, Lisa Chow, Larissa Anderson, Elisheba Ittoop, Diane Wong, Marion Lozano, Pat McCusker, Alyssa Moxley and Chris Wood

**Highlight:** Since its passage in 1993, the trade agreement has played an outsize role in presidential elections.

**Body**

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On the campaign trail, Donald Trump and Kamala Harris are constantly talking about trade, tariffs and domestic manufacturing.

In many ways, these talking points stem from a single trade deal that transformed the U.S. economy and remade both parties’ relationship with the ***working class***.

Dan Kaufman, a contributing writer for The New York Times Magazine, explains how the North American Free Trade Agreement broke American politics.

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On today’s episode

* [*Dan Kaufman*](https://www.nytimes.com/by/dan-kaufman), the author of “[*The Fall of Wisconsin*](https://wwnorton.com/books/The-Fall-of-Wisconsin/)” and a contributing writer for The New York Times Magazine.

Background reading

* [*How NAFTA broke American politics*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/03/magazine/nafta-tarriffs-economy-trump-kamala-harris.html).

1. Both Democrats and Republicans [*are expressing support for tariffs*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/27/us/politics/trump-harris-tariffs.html) to protect American industry, reversing decades of trade thinking in Washington.

There are a lot of ways to listen to The Daily. [*Here’s how.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/16/podcasts/the-daily/how-do-i-listen-to-the-daily.html)

We aim to make transcripts available the next workday after an episode’s publication. You can find them at the top of the page.

Fact-checking by Susan Lee.

Special thanks to Nick Pitman and Maddy Masiello.

The Daily is made by Rachel Quester, Lynsea Garrison, Clare Toeniskoetter, Paige Cowett, Michael Simon Johnson, Brad Fisher, Chris Wood, Jessica Cheung, Stella Tan, Alexandra Leigh Young, Lisa Chow, Eric Krupke, Marc Georges, Luke Vander Ploeg, M.J. Davis Lin, Dan Powell, Sydney Harper, Michael Benoist, Liz O. Baylen, Asthaa Chaturvedi, Rachelle Bonja, Diana Nguyen, Marion Lozano, Rob Szypko, Elisheba Ittoop, Mooj Zadie, Patricia Willens, Rowan Niemisto, Jody Becker, Rikki Novetsky, Nina Feldman, Will Reid, Carlos Prieto, Ben Calhoun, Susan Lee, Lexie Diao, Mary Wilson, Alex Stern, Sophia Lanman, Shannon Lin, Diane Wong, Devon Taylor, Alyssa Moxley, Olivia Natt, Daniel Ramirez and Brendan Klinkenberg, and Chris Haxel.

Our theme music is by Jim Brunberg and Ben Landsverk of Wonderly. Special thanks to Sam Dolnick, Paula Szuchman, Lisa Tobin, Larissa Anderson, Julia Simon, Sofia Milan, Mahima Chablani, Elizabeth Davis-Moorer, Jeffrey Miranda, Maddy Masiello, Isabella Anderson, Nina Lassam and Nick Pitman.

Fact-checking by Susan Lee. Special thanks to Nick Pitman and Maddy Masiello.

PHOTO: Chancie Adams, who worked at Master Lock for 14 years, now works at a nonunion plant for $10 less an hour. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Lyndon French for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** February 12, 2025

**End of Document**



[***Democrats Could Regret Calling Trump and His Supporters ‘Weird’***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CKN-H1K1-JBG3-6027-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 29, 2024 Monday 15:49 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 472 words

**Byline:** Thomas L. Friedman Thomas L. Friedman is the foreign affairs Opinion columnist. He joined the paper in 1981 and has won three Pulitzer Prizes. He is the author of seven books, including &amp;#8220;From Beirut to Jerusalem,&amp;#8221; which won the National Book Award.

**Highlight:** It’s silly and counterproductive.

**Body**

For a few days this last week I started to believe that Kamala Harris and the Democrats could come from behind and beat Donald Trump. But then I started to hear Democrats patting themselves on the back for coming up with a great new label for Trump Republicans. They are “weird.”

I cannot think of a sillier, more playground, more foolish and more counterproductive political taunt for Democrats to seize on than calling Trump and his supporters “weird.”

But weird seems to be the word of the week. As this newspaper reported, in a potential audition to be [*Harris’s running mate*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/us/politics/kamala-harris-vp-pick.html), Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota said over the weekend of Trump and his vice-presidential pick, Senator JD Vance of Ohio: “The fascists depend on us going back, but we’re not afraid of weird people. We’re a little bit creeped out, but we’re not afraid.” Just to make sure he got the point across, Walz added: “The nation found out what we’ve all known in Minnesota: These guys are just weird.”

As The Times reported, Harris, speaking at a weekend campaign event at a theater in the Berkshires, “leaned into a [*new Democratic attack*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/us/politics/kamala-harris-vp-pick.html) on the former president and his running mate, Senator JD Vance of Ohio, saying that [*some of the swipes*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/us/politics/kamala-harris-vp-pick.html) the men had taken against her were ‘just plain weird.’” The Times added: “Pete Buttigieg, the secretary of transportation, said Mr. Trump was getting ‘older and stranger’ while Senator Chuck Schumer, the majority leader, called Mr. Vance ‘weird’ and ‘erratic.’”

It is now a truism that if Democrats have any hope of carrying key swing states and overcoming Trump’s advantages in the Electoral College, they have to break through to white, ***working-class***, non-college-educated men and women, who, if they have one thing in common, feel denigrated and humiliated by Democratic, liberal, college-educated elites. They hate the people who hate Trump more than they care about any Trump policies. Therefore, the dumbest message Democrats could seize on right now is to further humiliate them as “weird.”

“It is not only a flight from substance,” noted Prof. Michael J. Sandel of Harvard, the author of “The Tyranny of Merit: Can We Find the Common Good?” “It allows Trump to tell his supporters that establishment elites look down on them, marginalize them and view them as ‘outsiders’ — people who are ‘weird.’ It plays right into Trump’s appeal to his followers that he is taking the slings and arrows of elites for them. It is a distraction from the big argument that Democrats should be running on: How we can renew the dignity of work and the dignity of working men and women.”

I don’t know what is sufficient for Harris to win, but I sure know what is necessary: a message that is dignity affirming for ***working-class*** Americans, not dignity destroying. If this campaign is descending into name-calling, no one beats Trump in that arena.

**Load-Date:** July 30, 2024

**End of Document**



[***When a Baby Killer Isn’t a Straightforward Villain***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DK4-63B1-DXY4-X378-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 5, 2024 Thursday 17:31 EST

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**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 920 words

**Byline:** Beatrice Loayza

**Highlight:** The real-life murderer who inspired “The Girl With the Needle” was “a monster,” said the actress who plays her, “but the movie is also about showing you her struggles.”

**Body**

The real-life murderer who inspired “The Girl With the Needle” was “a monster,” said the actress who plays her, “but the movie is also about showing you her struggles.”

In 1920s Copenhagen, a woman named Dagmar Overbye was convicted of murdering multiple infants whose mothers had paid her to find adoptive families for them. She confessed to killing 16 babies, though the true number of victims was likely higher.

One of Denmark’s most notorious serial killers, Overbye is a character in the movie “The Girl with the Needle,” which arrives in U.S. theaters on Friday and is [*Denmark’s entry*](https://www.hollywoodreporter.com/movies/movie-news/oscars-2025-denmark-the-girl-with-the-needle-international-feature-1236006654/) for the best international feature Oscar.

Yet the film isn’t a true-crime thriller, and Overbye isn’t portrayed as a straightforward villain. Instead the story is about “finding the humanity in these horrible deeds,” the film’s director, Magnus von Horn, said in a video interview — a tall task considering the deeds involve burning, drowning and strangling babies.

How to perform the high-wire act of humanizing a killer?

“You focus on the characters,” von Horn said.

And you have to cast actors fearless enough to pull it off.

Enter Trine Dyrholm and Vic Carmen Sonne, the two leads in “The Girl with the Needle,” and two of Denmark’s most boundary-pushing actors.

The film — a social drama and dark fairy tale rolled into one black-and-white fever dream — follows Karoline (Sonne), a fictional character modeled after a real woman who became skeptical of Overbye’s adoption business.

Research into the court transcripts of Overbye’s trial informs the film, but it’s chiefly an imaginary retelling, with Dagmar (Dyrholm) depicted as both a survivor and a bringer of chaos. When Karoline nearly dies attempting to perform her own abortion in a public bathhouse, Dagmar intervenes and saves her life. The younger woman then volunteers to become a wet nurse for other newborns in Dagmar’s charge in exchange for room and board. Only later, after the two women have formed a bond, does Karoline discover the awful truth about what happens to the children.

“There’s no doubt Dagmar was a monster,” Dyrholm said. “But the movie is also about showing you her struggles and inner chaos.”

Dyrholm, 52, is one of Denmark’s most acclaimed actors, having won 10 Robert Awards — the Danish equivalent of an Oscar — throughout her decades-long career. She has achieved this stature by collaborating with provocative directors like Thomas Vinterberg and playing morally complex roles, such as a middle-aged woman who has a torrid affair with her teenage stepson in “[*Queen of Hearts*](https://www.hollywoodreporter.com/movies/movie-news/oscars-2025-denmark-the-girl-with-the-needle-international-feature-1236006654/)” (2018).

“I’ve always fought to play women that certain directors or producers were afraid weren’t likable enough,” she said. “That’s something I like about the beginning of ‘The Girl with the Needle,’” she added, referring to the delirious opening sequence, in which phantasmal faces flash across the screen like images from a Rorschach test. “Within us are all these different masks, but some people, because of awful things that have happened to them, are forced to wear only one.”

After World War I, Denmark’s economy was in a slump and single, ***working-class*** women were among the hardest hit. In the beginning of the film, Karoline moves into a leaky attic after she is kicked out of her apartment. When the owner of the textile factory where she works finds out she’s pregnant with his baby, his family forces him to abandon — then fire — her.

We empathize with Karoline’s struggles, yet she’s also callous, an embittered product of her social reality. When her husband, whom she believed to be dead, returns home from the war with PTSD and a disfigured face, she violently tosses him out of her home.

Sonne, 30, has also gravitated toward roles that test moral boundaries. In [*her breakout film, “Holiday”*](https://www.hollywoodreporter.com/movies/movie-news/oscars-2025-denmark-the-girl-with-the-needle-international-feature-1236006654/) (2018), she played an abusive gangster’s trophy girlfriend, a part that allowed her to blur the lines between victim and victimizer.

“If I think too much about representation, there’s the danger of turning the character into the idea of a strong woman rather than a real person,” Sonne said. “The audience sees the character at their best and worst: when they’re alone and secretly behaving in completely terrible ways,” she added.

It’s no wonder that Karoline and Dagmar are kindred spirits, connected by “the dark side of motherhood and womanhood,” Sonne said. The film takes Karoline’s point-of-view to show us how easily her life could have turned into someone like Dagmar’s, and how Dagmar’s once might not have been all that different from Karoline’s.

Dyrholm and Sonne became friends several years before co-starring in “The Girl with the Needle,” and Dyrholm has also been a mentor to the younger star. Their chemistry is tangible in one blissful scene where Dagmar and Karoline go to the cinema high on ether.

As Dagmar and Karoline watch the silent film, their joyous cackles break through the otherwise gloomy tone of the film. Briefly, it becomes a story about the rejuvenating powers of female camaraderie.

No matter how tough life gets, Sonne said, “you’re not constantly living it like a tragedy.” If only for a bit, she added, “you sometimes get to chase the feeling of being close to someone who is like you. Together you could even laugh and be in the eternal now.”

PHOTOS: Vic Carmen Sonne, above, in “The Girl With the Needle,” Denmark’s entry for best international feature at the Academy Awards. Far left, Trine Dyrholm, who plays the serial killer Dagmar Overbye in the film, left. (PHOTOGRAPHS VIA MUBI) This article appeared in print on page C3.

**Load-Date:** December 6, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Newsom? Whitmer? Shapiro? 2024 Could Kill Their 2028 Dreams.; Frank Bruni***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DDP-1N61-DXY4-X2PY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 14, 2024 Thursday 22:08 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 2476 words

**Byline:** Frank BruniFrank Bruni is a professor of journalism and public policy at Duke University, the author of the book &amp;#8220;The Age of Grievance&amp;#8221; and a contributing Opinion writer. He writes a weekly email .&amp;#160;&amp;#160; &amp;#160;&amp;#160;

**Highlight:** Trump’s big victory is sure to scramble the Democrats’ bench.

**Body**

The bitterness of Vice President Kamala Harris’s defeat and Donald Trump’s victories in two of the past three presidential races have Democrats seriously questioning their policies and their message.

They’ll be re-examining their messengers, too, and 2024 will haunt 2028, determining who’s in contention for the party’s presidential nomination and upending [*the Democratic bench*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/10/opinion/biden-democrat-2024.html) as it existed before Nov. 5.

Trump beat two women — Harris this time, Hillary Clinton before — and many Democrats partly blame sexism. That could make them reluctant to pick another woman, even one as compelling as Gov. Gretchen Whitmer of Michigan.

The party’s struggles with ***working-class*** voters could point it toward someone positioned to attract them. Keep an eye on a comer like U.S. Representative Ruben Gallego, a [*former Marine*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/10/opinion/biden-democrat-2024.html) who [*just won his Senate race*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/10/opinion/biden-democrat-2024.html) in Arizona as Trump beat Harris there by more than five percentage points.

But I think an even bigger dynamic should — and could — come into play. The party ought to rethink its allegiance to tradition and etiquette, creating opportunities for candidates who aren’t obvious choices, who don’t fit any mold, whose résumés (here a lawyer, there a lawyer) don’t read like anagrams of one another’s.

Clinton was a proper choice, her long history with the party and her formidable C.V. overriding concerns about how well she connected with voters. That didn’t pay off.

Democratic leaders let President Biden’s re-election dreams go unchallenged for so long because that was the respectful, decent course. It was also the foolish one.

By the time Biden bowed out, a real primary was impossible, and Democrats once again traveled the polite path, anointing Harris because she was next in line and her selection promised to ruffle the fewest feathers. That didn’t end well.

And she lost to someone who blithely junks tradition, gleefully jettisons etiquette and went through none of the usual paces en route to the presidency. While her failure was [*chiefly a function of many Americans’ economic frustrations, overall discontent and impulse to punish the party in power*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/10/opinion/biden-democrat-2024.html), Trump’s triumph nonetheless demonstrated the degree to which many voters feel that institutions aren’t working and business as usual no longer cuts it. Perhaps conventionally polished institutionalists aren’t the best candidates for this angry age.

“Trump has fundamentally changed the way that we campaign and govern in America,” said Rebecca Katz, the chief strategist for the successful Senate campaigns of Gallego and, before him, John Fetterman, the Pennsylvania Democrat. She told me that a candidate’s ability to communicate with voters on their own terms, in relatable language, is crucially important. And that skill and sensibility have nothing to do with how much political experience the person has.

State Auditor Rob Sand of Iowa, where he’s the only elected Democrat who holds statewide office, told me: “Our party has been too deferential to its establishment, and the establishment has been too deferential to its own wisdom. We should be more open.”

Other young Democratic officeholders — Sand is 42 — expressed similar views. “There’s a possibility that folks who have been in the inner circles and the backrooms are too tainted to be able to speak with any authenticity about what’s next and what’s new and what’s different,” Illinois State Representative Kam Buckner, 39, told me.

It’s worth remembering that the Democratic Party’s last two-term president, Barack Obama, wasn’t at the center of its conversations four years before his commanding victory over Senator John McCain, a longtime fixture on Capitol Hill, in the 2008 presidential race. And by nominating Obama that year, Democrats bypassed the politician who was “owed” — Clinton. Obama wasn’t the heir apparent. He was the insurgent.

“It is no coincidence that two outsiders as different as Mr. Obama and Mr. Trump have dominated politics for 20 years,” Ben Rhodes, who was deputy national security adviser for President Obama, [*wrote*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/10/opinion/biden-democrat-2024.html) in Times Opinion last week.

So the main question for the long list of accomplished Democrats who are routinely mentioned as potential presidents or have shown interest in the job isn’t who can claim the shiniest bona fides. It’s who has an aura of freshness and forges a genuine connection to Americans outside as well as inside cities and in the middle of the country, not just the coasts.

Gov. Gavin Newsom of California, whose [*flurry of post-Nov. 5 activity*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/10/opinion/biden-democrat-2024.html) looks a whole lot like a White House bid in the making, is a telegenic political gladiator. But is another candidate from Harris’s state — one who was previously mayor of San Francisco — his party’s wisest pick?

Gov. Josh Shapiro of Pennsylvania is getting a P.R. bounce from some political analysts’ second-guessing about whether he would have been a better addition to the Democratic ticket than Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, and Shapiro, in his own state, has [*proved his appeal to voters beyond Democratic strongholds*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/10/opinion/biden-democrat-2024.html). But would the party turn, after Harris, to another lawyer and former state attorney general? Startling fact: The last Democratic presidential nominee who didn’t go to law school was Jimmy Carter. That was half a century ago.

All of the Democratic politicians who were prominently mentioned as possible running mates for Harris could mount credible campaigns for the party’s 2028 nomination. That includes not only Whitmer, Walz and Shapiro but also Governors Andy Beshear of Kentucky, Roy Cooper of North Carolina, J.B. Pritzker of Illinois and Wes Moore of Maryland, along with Transportation Secretary Pete Buttigieg and Commerce Secretary Gina Raimondo. And such tested leaders may be precisely what the electorate wants if Trump creates chaos in the nation’s capital — [*his selection of U.S. Representative Matt Gaetz*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/10/opinion/biden-democrat-2024.html) of Florida to be attorney general is a provocative lurch in that direction — and the country fares poorly over the next few years.

But given the scattered and fickle attention of voters today, candidates’ seasoning arguably matters less than their sizzle. The perfect nominee “needs to be someone who is able to break through the fractured and spoiled media environment in a way that Democrats have really, really struggled to do,” Nicole Hemmer, a political historian at Vanderbilt University, told me. Buttigieg has accomplished that, she said. She also singled out Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, who turned 35 — the minimum age for a U.S. president — last month.

Faiz Shakir, who managed Senator Bernie Sanders’s 2020 presidential campaign, also mentioned Ocasio-Cortez. “What we need first and foremost is a candidate who has a relatability to ***working-class*** people,” Shakir told me, adding that despite Trump’s gilded station and ways, he gives many of those people the sense that he’s having a real conversation with them.

Gallego’s admirers credit him with that gift; Rebecca Katz noted that during his campaign, he comfortably visited the rodeo, hosted a boxing night, made tamales with grandmothers. “And he was just being himself,” she said. Shakir named [*Shawn Fain*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/10/opinion/biden-democrat-2024.html), the president of the United Auto Workers, as someone else with a talent for connecting with ***working-class*** Americans. And he said there’s no reason to count out someone from the worlds of labor or business or religion as a legitimate contender for the Democratic presidential nomination.

That’s where 2028 gets so unpredictable. A climate much more potentially receptive to atypical candidates could translate into more candidacies like Andrew Yang’s in 2020. (I wouldn’t be surprised to see him and his pitch for universal basic income return in 2028.) It could attract first-timers we don’t expect. Who’s to say that a prominent podcaster wouldn’t catch fire? Or a star athlete like LeBron James, whose [*charitable foundation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/10/opinion/biden-democrat-2024.html) has opened a public school, a medical center and more in Akron, Ohio?

Or an entrepreneur like Mark Cuban, whose name has been bandied about before? Or a trailblazing corporate figure like Mary Barra, who became the first female chief executive of one of the “big three” automakers in Michigan when she took the wheel at General Motors a decade ago? Just don’t say Michelle Obama. Everybody’s always saying Michelle Obama, but she has never signaled a skosh of interest in moving back to 1600 Pennsylvania Ave.

“It’s not a person we can decide on today,” Katz said. “I don’t know where our superstars are, but there has to be a way that people can get to bat. We can’t stifle anyone before they start.”

For the Love of Sentences

In The Times, James Poniewozik [*evaluated*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/10/opinion/biden-democrat-2024.html) television news coverage of election night: “A CNN map showed in shades of brown which areas of the country had suffered most from recent inflation, a vista of amber waves of pain.” (Thanks to Susan Milord of Rome and Neal Goldberg of Bethesda, Md., among others, for nominating this.)

Also in The Times, Michelle Cottle [*marveled*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/10/opinion/biden-democrat-2024.html) at House Speaker Mike Johnson’s desire to stay in that job: “With a Republican conference like this one, well, things have a tendency to fall apart. The center cannot hold, because there is no meaningful center: just Marjorie Taylor Greene and Lauren Boebert scrapping in the women’s room while Jim Jordan barks threats at the Justice Department and a sprinkling of suburban moderates struggles to avoid the flaming vortex of chaos.” (Michael Silk, Laguna Woods, Calif.)

In The New Yorker, Jill Lepore [*took issue*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/10/opinion/biden-democrat-2024.html) with what she saw as a condescending Democratic message to female voters that they could secretly defy their husbands’ wishes: “Trump liked to say that he will, as president, protect women, whether they want him to or not. The Harris campaign said the same thing, only with more celebrity endorsements.” (John Jacoby, Cambridge, Mass.)

In Town &amp; Country, Isiah Magsino [*marveled*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/10/opinion/biden-democrat-2024.html) at the gutsiness of an election night party: “Hosting a soiree of this nature in 2024 is like setting up a game of croquet on a field of land mines.” (Julie Brookbank, Alexandria, S.D.)

In his newsletter on Substack, Timothy Snyder [*justified*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/10/opinion/biden-democrat-2024.html) his mock pitch for a sitcom tweak on “Gilligan’s Island” called “Oligarchs’ Island”: “No matter how dark the evil, there is always a corner for ridicule’s little lantern.” (Elizabeth Tenney, Reno, Nev.)

For the USA Today Network, Nate Monroe [*appraised*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/10/opinion/biden-democrat-2024.html) the fitness of Florida’s surgeon general, Dr. Joseph Ladapo, for a high-level job alongside Robert Kennedy Jr. in the coming Trump administration: “If we’re returning to a pre-fluoridated world where apothecaries hawk elixirs, potions and tonics to cure break-bone and king’s evil, Ladapo’s your man. And he would add the patina of professional legitimacy to Kennedy’s rumpled conspiracism and sordid past.” (Bob Clark, Venice, Fla.)

In The Dispatch, Kevin D. Williamson [*explained*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/10/opinion/biden-democrat-2024.html) one chamber of Congress: “With its democratic character and elections every other year, the House was intended to be the receptacle of democratic energy, one part town hall meeting and one part constitutional drunk tank.” (Michael Smith, Georgetown, Ky.)

In The Washington Post, Charles Lane [*diagnosed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/10/opinion/biden-democrat-2024.html) a chastened party’s problem: “Democrats have been acting like the proverbial American tourist in France, trying to get their point across by shouting louder in a language only they understand.” (Chuck Isaacson, Oshkosh, Wis., and Linda Litowsky, Austin, Texas)

And in The Atlantic, Ian Bogost [*credited*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/10/opinion/biden-democrat-2024.html) one enterprising company with a certain accessory’s current ubiquity: “Until JanSport evolved the design, a backpack was a bulky, specialized thing for hiking, used only by smelly people on mountain trailheads or European gap years.” (Judy Greiman, Mount Sinai, N.Y.)

To nominate favorite bits of recent writing from The Times or other publications to be mentioned in “For the Love of Sentences,” please email me [*here*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/10/opinion/biden-democrat-2024.html) and include your name and place of residence.

What I’m Watching

* I was reasonably engrossed in “Woman of the Hour,” on Netflix, as I watched it, but came to think even more highly of it afterward. It stayed with me because of the particular way in which it places men who commit the most horrific violence against women on a spectrum of sexism and misogyny. Starring and directed by Anna Kendrick, the movie tells the true story of an aspiring actress and a serial killer who came to share the stage of — and exchange witty repartee on — the 1970s television show “The Dating Game.” It’s strangely funny, it’s plenty creepy and it’s smart, using a slice of obscure history as a whopper of a metaphor about women’s vulnerability. [*This review*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/10/opinion/biden-democrat-2024.html) by Ty Burr in The Washington Post gets it exactly right.

1. The enormous acclaim for the director Sean Baker’s 2017 movie “The Florida Project” puzzled me; I found “Florida” needlessly slow going. But the even greater acclaim he’s receiving for “Anora,” which was released in theaters last month? I’m onboard. While “Anora” also indulges Baker’s tendency to linger at length in the milieus he visits (here that means the strip club where the title character works and the gaudy Brooklyn mansion of sorts where she holes up with a Russian oligarch’s son), it’s so wildly funny when it means to be, so poignant in the end and such a showcase for splendid performances — by Mikey Madison and Yura Borisov in particular — that I left the theater sated and elated. [*This review*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/10/opinion/biden-democrat-2024.html) by Alissa Wilkinson in The Times captured what I found so moving about “Anora,” though a word of caution: If you bristle at nudity and sex, this isn’t for you.

On a Personal (by Which I Mean Regan) Note

More than a few of you have chided me for not updating you about Regan’s health — I mentioned a few weeks ago that she had arthritis — and others protested her absence in the newsletter after Election Day on other grounds, saying that a dose of Regan would have been especially welcome then.

Well, Regan has been struggling lately: Her issues go beyond that arthritis diagnosis. I’ll spare you the details because I myself don’t like to dwell on them and, well, Regan hasn’t signed [*a HIPAA release*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/10/opinion/biden-democrat-2024.html). But I promise to give you occasional reports on how she’s generally doing and — I’m confident — recovering.

Rest assured that it’s nothing fatal. It’s just difficult: For the time being, she and I aren’t able to take our usual long walks together, and I sometimes need to carry her up and down the stairs and lift her up to and down from the bed. Because I want to give her some diversion and plenty of time outdoors but she won’t linger in the yard if she’s alone there, I sit in an Adirondack chair — arms smooshed against my sides as I bang awkwardly on my laptop keyboard — while she watches the birds.

She deals with her new containment. I deal with al fresco punditry. Love means shooing away the fly that just landed on your semicolon, the mosquito that streaked past your past participle en route to your flesh.

This article appeared in print on page A22.

**Load-Date:** November 15, 2024

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[***In Oakland, Yet Another Blow Against Working-Class Fans***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:69NF-2RC1-DXY4-X1HV-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 1252 words

**Byline:** By Billy Witz

**Body**

With baseball owners approving the Athletics' move to Las Vegas, some see the departure as the death of the ***working-class*** sports fan.

One by one, they have left Oakland.

First, the Warriors headed back across the bay to San Francisco in 2019, a return for a basketball franchise whose recent championship reign has been defined more by glitz than grit. Then, a year later, it was the itinerant Raiders heading to Las Vegas, the eye patch on their gridiron bandit logo obscuring an apparently wandering eye.

On Thursday, the final departure became all but official: Major League Baseball owners unanimously approved a move to Las Vegas by the Athletics, who not long ago used the marketing catch phrase ''rooted in Oakland.''

There is still much for the ball club to sort out. The Athletics have another year on their lease in Oakland and their new stadium -- a $1.5 billion, 30,000-seat ballpark with a retractable roof for which the Nevada Legislature approved public financing -- won't be ready until 2028. Where they will play in between is an open question. The Nevada teacher's union is angling to put the subsidy on the ballot for voters.

But the A's impending move, as inevitable as it has seemed, landed in Oakland like a fastball to the ribs.

''I don't want this to sound hyperbolic, but for me it's not only the death of the A's, and of professional sports in the East Bay,'' said Jim Zelinski, who more than a decade ago co-founded Save Oakland Sports, one of several groups that sprouted up over the years to keep teams from leaving the East Bay. ''What this vote symbolizes for me is, this is really the death of the common, everyday fan.''

The working man has long been a central figure in American sports, attracted to the games as a diversion from the 9-to-5 grind and viewing them as a more level playing field than other societal arenas, the workplace among them.

As professional sports began to expand west in the late 1950s, Oakland -- anchored by ship building, automobile manufacturing and its port -- became an obvious landing spot.

Within little more than a decade, Oakland became home to the Raiders of the upstart American Football League, the Athletics, the Warriors and, briefly, the California Golden Seals of the National Hockey League, who for a time played in unfashionable white skates.

All the teams played at a complex centered on a vast asphalt lot, flanked by a major freeway and a rail line.

Soon, the lot will be vacant. This is not because Oakland has changed; it has largely retained a ***working-class*** ethos, albeit with California rents. Rather, the business calculus for teams has evolved.

Franchise revenue is now driven more by television deals and sponsorships than ticket sales, though those prices have skyrocketed. The transformation of sports into media products has relegated cities to backdrops and fans to props -- a point that was driven home during the coronavirus pandemic when the games went on in vacant or mostly empty stadiums.

If it is baffling why the Athletics are leaving the Bay Area, which is the 10th biggest market, according to the Nielsen Company, for Las Vegas, which is the 40th largest market, there is another factor at play, according to Roger Noll, a Stanford sports economist emeritus.

Sports gambling.

As regional sports networks, a cash cow for sports teams, have begun to teeter -- and in some cases collapse -- Mr. Noll says sports gambling via streaming broadcasts is ''the next golden goose'' for sports franchises.

While Nevada has predictably welcomed internet gambling, California has not: Two measures, one of which was backed by M.L.B., were trounced last year in what was the country's most expensive ballot campaign, with more than $450 million raised by both sides.

''If this is the next big thing, California sports teams are disadvantaged,'' Mr. Noll said. ''The old big-market, small-market dynamic is no longer going to favor the Bay Area and Los Angeles teams if a primary source of new revenue is unavailable to them.''

The Athletics have sought a new stadium for decades, under at least three different owners. They have tried to build a new ballpark south in Fremont and San Jose, downtown at Laney College or by the water at Howard Terminal, as well as at their current site.

Building new stadiums in California is its own contact sport, given the high cost of labor, stringent environmental standards and taxpayers' aversion to subsidies for sports franchises. But it's not impossible, as the Clippers' new arena, scheduled to open next year in Inglewood, is the latest to demonstrate.

In Oakland, now may have been the most challenging time, thanks to a record $360 million budget deficit -- and long memories of when the city lured the Raiders owner Al Davis back from Los Angeles in 1995 with a sweetheart loan deal that turned into a boondoggle for the city. Also, a towering bank of suites -- christened Mount Davis -- were built in the outfield, opening a revenue stream for the Raiders but closing off superb views of the Oakland Hills.

Over the years, the old Coliseum showed its age.

It had the concrete charm of a Soviet-era housing block, its plumbing regularly backed up -- prompting a tweaking of the Raiders' mantra to ''Commitment to Excrement'' -- and the arrival of food trucks were a culinary life raft for fans who no longer had to settle for concession offerings that tasted distinctly like cardboard.

Still, the Athletics continued to be competitive, reinventing themselves by shrewdly using data to assess undervalued skills, a process that became known as ''Moneyball,'' after the best-selling book. The A's have not reached the World Series since 1990, but they've been in the playoffs 11 times since 2000 -- more than the Mets and the San Francisco Giants, and just as often as the Boston Red Sox.

Attendance had lingered in the lower third, though drum-pounding fans in right field causing a nightly ruckus added a degree of atmosphere. But when the team began its latest tear down, trading away its best players for prospects rather than paying their accelerating salaries, fans finally had enough of John Fisher, the owner, who before last season had raised ticket prices in what many sensed was a ploy to suppress attendance as a pretext for moving.

The A's averaged 10,276 fans last season, the fewest in baseball. They finished 50-112, threatening for a while the record for futility set by the expansion Mets in 1962.

Fans who did turn up at the Coliseum often wore T-shirts or carried banners urging Mr. Fisher to sell the team.

Those who miss the Athletics most might be people like Matthias Haas.

He grew up a few miles from the Coliseum, steeped in the city's rich baseball history that traces from Frank Robinson to Rickey Henderson to Dave Stewart to Jimmy Rollins, all of whom matriculated from Oakland sandlots to stardom in the big leagues. He learned the game's finer points on the diamonds down the street at 66th and International in leagues that the Athletics helped bankroll. He has an enduring memory of sitting in the stands during the 2012 playoffs when the old mausoleum was rocking.

''There's a certain pride in being an Oakland Athletics fan,'' said Mr. Haas, who played baseball last season at California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo, plucking the adjectives ''gritty'' and ''tough'' to define his tribe. ''People from Oakland say that they are from Oakland, not the Bay Area. That's how it felt to be an A's fan.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/11/17/us/oakland-athletics-move-las-vegas.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/11/17/us/oakland-athletics-move-las-vegas.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: The Athletics are leaving for Las Vegas, and a new stadium. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JUNGHO KIM FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A1)

The A's averaged 10,276 fans last season, the fewest in baseball. Above, fans in April protested the proposed move. Below, a World Series victory parade in downtown Oakland in 1973. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JUNGHO KIM FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE, VIA GETTY IMAGES) (A21) This article appeared in print on page A1, A21.

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[***Government by Bro***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DDY-1H11-JBG3-624S-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Length:** 1589 words

**Byline:** Jess BidgoodJess Bidgood is a managing correspondent for The Times and writes the newsletter, a guide to the 2024 election and beyond.

**Highlight:** The hyper-macho and online energy of the Trump campaign is now aimed at Washington.

**Body**

The hyper-macho and online energy of the Trump campaign is now aimed at Washington.

It used to be that the perfect cabinet pick was a steady, behind-the-scenes expert who wouldn’t take too much attention away from the president.

Think James Baker III, the Princeton-educated lawyer who played tennis with George H.W. Bush, became Ronald Reagan’s Treasury secretary and was later named Bush’s secretary of state. Or Condoleezza Rice, who spent her career in government and academia before becoming a stalwart in the cabinet of George W. Bush.

That era ended this week, its demise encapsulated by a single word: “doge.”

With his early selections for cabinet and other high-level posts, President-elect Donald Trump is taking the bomb-throwing, hyper-macho and preternaturally online energy that infused his campaign and seeking to inject it directly into Washington’s veins.

He has asked Elon Musk and Vivek Ramaswamy to lead an [*initiative to cut government waste*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/15/us/politics/vivek-ramaswamy-doge.html) named for the elder statesman of online memes, [*Doge*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/15/us/politics/vivek-ramaswamy-doge.html). He has [*chosen Robert F. Kennedy Jr.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/15/us/politics/vivek-ramaswamy-doge.html), whose skepticism of basic measures like vaccines has haunted public health officials for years, to lead the Department of Health and Human Services, a $1.6 trillion agency charged with ensuring the “well-being of all Americans.” And he wants former Representative Matt Gaetz, a chest-thumping Trump loyalist who has been [*investigated on suspicion of sex trafficking*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/15/us/politics/vivek-ramaswamy-doge.html) and [*accused of showing colleagues nude photos of women*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/15/us/politics/vivek-ramaswamy-doge.html) on the House floor (and who has denied both accusations), to be his attorney general.

What Trump is proposing could bust norms, pave the way for his promises of retribution and [*make the institutions that stood in his way during his first term more pliant*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/15/us/politics/vivek-ramaswamy-doge.html). It’s effectively government by bro — and it seems that the more you’ve trolled the establishment, the better your chances are of being invited by the president-elect to join it.

POTUS, U.F.C.-style

Trump’s presidential campaign was a [*celebration of masculine kitsch*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/15/us/politics/vivek-ramaswamy-doge.html). It created multiple opportunities for Hulk Hogan to rip off his shirt in front of the president-elect’s most devoted followers and ended with the Ultimate Fighting Championship chief executive Dana White taking the stage as Trump declared victory.

“This is karma, ladies and gentlemen. He deserves this,” White said, before taking a moment to thank [*denizens of the Trump-boosting online manosphere*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/15/us/politics/vivek-ramaswamy-doge.html), including Adin Ross, the Nelk Boys, Theo Von and Joe Rogan.

All of those men host online spaces where men will be men and controversy is the point, and there, [*his message fit right in*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/15/us/politics/vivek-ramaswamy-doge.html). What’s less clear is how — and whether — that approach will work in Washington, and whether the half of the country still reeling from watching a female presidential candidate defeated for the second time in eight years will embrace any of it.

Some of his choices were a stark departure from any administration that has come before, including his own. In 2016, he chose James Mattis, a retired general who had the professional qualification of actually having been a general, to run the Department of Defense. Mattis later [*resigned in protest of Trump’s rejection of the nation’s overseas alliances*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/15/us/politics/vivek-ramaswamy-doge.html).

This time, Trump has chosen a figure to lead the Pentagon who he seemingly believes will be more loyal: Pete Hegseth, a Fox News host and a veteran of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan whose history of controversy may well be seen as a feature, not a bug, of his candidacy for the role.

As my colleague Helene Cooper [*wrote this week*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/15/us/politics/vivek-ramaswamy-doge.html), Hegseth has been an outspoken champion of service members who have been accused of war crimes. In his book “The War on Warriors: Behind the Betrayal of the Men Who Keep Us Free,” Hegseth asked whether General Charles Q. Brown Jr., the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, would have gotten his job as the highest-ranking military officer in the country if he were not Black. He has said that women should not serve in combat roles.

Trump shied away from none of this controversy in selecting Hegseth, and made a point of mentioning the book when he announced his intent to nominate him in a statement on Tuesday.

“The book reveals the leftwing betrayal of our Warriors, and how we must return our Military to meritocracy, lethality, accountability, and excellence,” Trump wrote.

‘God-tier-level trolling’

Mario Cuomo, the former governor of New York, once said that political figures campaign in poetry and govern in prose. Trump’s twist on that maxim: Campaign in combat, and govern in combat, too.

Some of Trump’s cabinet picks have hewed somewhat more toward the conventional: Take Senator Marco Rubio of Florida, a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, whom Trump intends to nominate to be secretary of state. Or Jay Clayton, the former Securities and Exchange Commission chair, whom Trump has [*chosen to be the top federal prosecutor*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/15/us/politics/vivek-ramaswamy-doge.html) in the Southern District of New York.

Yet many of his picks suggest that he values the willingness to be combative online and in the media — to tick people off deliberately — more than he does the ability to be wonky behind the scenes.

He does not seem to care that Tulsi Gabbard, the former Hawaii congresswoman and erstwhile Democrat whom he has chosen for the role of director of national intelligence, said publicly that his administration had not provided justification for killing the Iranian general Qassim Suleimani in 2020.

And then there is Gaetz, a figure who has deeply frustrated many in his own party by stirring up [*drama*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/15/us/politics/vivek-ramaswamy-doge.html) after [*drama*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/15/us/politics/vivek-ramaswamy-doge.html) in the House of Representatives. Trump’s choice of Gaetz for attorney general — a [*selection that came together during a roughly two-hour flight from Washington to Florida*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/15/us/politics/vivek-ramaswamy-doge.html) — landed like a cannonball in Washington, which seems to be exactly its intention.

“I would describe it as God-tier-level trolling,” Senator John Fetterman, a Democrat, [*told reporters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/15/us/politics/vivek-ramaswamy-doge.html) this week, adding that the Gaetz pick was too unserious to merit a real freak-out. “No one’s going to confirm him.”

Several Republican senators have expressed deep doubts about Gaetz’s chances, indicating there is a limit to their willingness to abet governance by trolling. Trump, however, [*has demanded that they give up their role in vetting his nominees*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/15/us/politics/vivek-ramaswamy-doge.html) if they cannot muster enough support to confirm his picks.

This weekend, the president-elect will scratch his itch for male-dominated combat one other way. According to a person familiar with his schedule, Trump is planning to head to Madison Square Garden tomorrow, my colleague Michael Gold tells me. Cabinet meeting? Nah. He’s going to watch a U.F.C. fight.

What went wrong, according to Bernie Sanders

As Democrats sift through the wreckage of their losses last week, they’ve offered up competing explanations over just what, exactly, caused them to lose the White House and the Senate while also failing to take back the House.

One explanation that’s getting a lot of attention comes from Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont, an independent who caucuses with the Democrats and a two-time presidential candidate. He says the Democratic Party has lost touch with the ***working class***.

In an interview posted this morning, [*he told my colleague Michael Barbaro*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/15/us/politics/vivek-ramaswamy-doge.html) that President-elect Trump had offered Americans a clear explanation for their anger, although he did not agree with it.

So what happened in this campaign is, Donald Trump said to the American people, ‘You’re angry, you’re really pissed off, and I know that, and you’re right.’ Then, he gave his explanation. And his explanation — which was obviously nonsense and false and racist, et cetera — was that millions and millions of undocumented people were coming across the border. They were invading America — we’re an occupied country. They were taking your jobs, taking your benefits, eating your cats and your dogs. That is why you are hurting. Now, that is a crazy explanation, but it is an explanation. Now, you tell me what the Democratic explanation was.

Democrats, he said, had told a story about their accomplishments that did not leave room for that anger. He contrasted their campaign message with Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s second inaugural address in 1937, when he acknowledged the continuing pain of the Great Depression four years into his presidency.

What Roosevelt did, he said: ‘Look, we’re making progress. But I look out all over this country, and I see tens of millions of people who are hurting.’ Instead of doing that, the Democrats said, ‘Well, we passed the Inflation Adjustment Act, and the economy is pretty good, and Donald Trump’s a bad guy, and we all defend the women’s constitutional right to an abortion.’ There was no appreciation — no appreciation — of the struggling and the suffering of millions and millions of ***working-class*** people. And unless you recognize that reality, and have a vision of how you get out of that, I think you’re not going to be going very far as a political party.

Sanders added this:

The point that I am making is that ordinary people are not stupid. They see what’s going on in their own eyes, and if you’re not even talking about the reality of what is going on — the reality of their lives — they’re going to say: ‘Hey, no change is going to come. Why would I want to vote for a group of people who don’t even acknowledge the reality?’

[*Listen to the rest of the interview here*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/15/us/politics/vivek-ramaswamy-doge.html).

How Justin Trudeau got Taylor Swift to show up in Canada

Step one: [*He asked nicely*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/15/us/politics/vivek-ramaswamy-doge.html).

PHOTO: President-elect Donald Trump and Elon Musk at a campaign rally in Butler, Pa., in October. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Doug Mills/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 16, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Democrats Hope Trade Policy Shift Will Win Back Votes From Trump***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D9M-S211-JBG3-62RT-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 31, 2024 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section B; Column 0; Business/Financial Desk; Pg. 5

**Length:** 1475 words

**Byline:** By Ana Swanson

**Body**

The Biden administration has pursued a big shift in trade policy, but it's not clear whether that will be enough to win votes.

Since Donald J. Trump won over many ***working-class*** voters in 2016 with his vows to impose tariffs and rework ''disastrous'' trade deals, Democrats have been scrambling to win back supporters by taking a more protectionist trade approach.

Over the last four years, the Biden administration spent more time emphasizing the harm trade policy has caused to American communities than the benefits. It hit the brakes on negotiating trade deals with other countries and chose to maintain and even increase Mr. Trump's tariffs on Chinese products. And it pumped billions of dollars into new American factories to make semiconductors and solar panels.

It's a significant shift from the decades that both mainstream Democrats and Republicans spent working to promote trade and lower international barriers.

For Vice President Kamala Harris, next week's election will be a moment of truth for whether the strategy worked.

Mr. Trump has helped bring trade to the forefront in presidential elections with his vitriolic criticisms of past policy and his proposals for high tariffs. It is an issue that resonates strongly with voters in Northern swing states like Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin, where manufacturing employment fell steeply in recent decades as factories moved abroad.

Biden officials have been trying to persuade more trade-skeptical voters that their policies to encourage manufacturing in the United States are working, pointing to a recent surge in U.S. factory construction.

Investment in American factory construction doubled between late 2021 and mid-2023, hitting its highest level in decades. That is largely the result of legislation, signed by President Biden, that provides federal subsidies to semiconductor and clean energy investments in the United States.

Heather Boushey, a White House economist, said the efforts of past administrations to spur investment through tax cuts and tariffs alone had not worked. ''Whereas here we've seen a doubling,'' she said at a recent event celebrating U.S. apparel manufacturing.

Katherine Tai, the U.S. trade representative, said at the same event that the government needed to look beyond the interests of multinational corporations to the broader social costs and benefits of trade.

Ms. Tai said that past trade policies had imposed ''significant costs to the fabric of American life'' and that the feeling of economic opportunity and security in many communities was ''very, very thin and brittle right now.''

The Biden administration's shift to a ''worker-centered trade policy'' has won the support of progressive Democrats, unions and trade groups that advocate U.S. manufacturing. But it has been criticized by the broader business community, which says the United States is not doing enough to promote trade with other countries.

Jake Colvin, the president of the National Foreign Trade Council, a business group that supports international trade, said the lack of U.S. leadership on promoting trade ''threatens to create a vacuum that our economic competitors and adversaries, including China, are all too happy to fill.''

''If the United States is not at the table making new deals with our allies, American businesses are going to be on the menu,'' Mr. Colvin said.

Mr. Biden appears set to leave office having overseen the least active administration in negotiating new trade deals in roughly 50 years. The White House announced agreements with Indo-Pacific countries last year to strengthen supply chains, protect workers and fight corruption. But it did not complete more traditional trade talks with those countries after some Democrats opposed them.

A spokeswoman for Ms. Tai said the administration had secured more than $26.7 billion in agricultural market access for American farmers and had a long list of wins that showed it was doing a lot to promote trade.

Todd Tucker, the director of the industrial policy and trade program at the Roosevelt Institute, a progressive think tank, has defended the administration's record, saying it made important changes like requiring firms to produce more in the United States to benefit from climate legislation, or cracking down on labor violations in Mexican factories.

''The U.S. actually did do a lot in the trade space,'' Mr. Tucker said. ''It just wasn't in the form of a traditional trade agreement.''

Trade policy has not been a major focus for Ms. Harris, and her positions on the subject are somewhat unclear. She has described herself as ''not a protectionist Democrat'' and criticized Mr. Trump's plans to impose broad-based tariffs as a tax on consumers. But she also has a history of opposing trade agreements, including the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement, a pact that replaced the North American Free Trade Agreement and was supported by many congressional Democrats.

In appearances this month, Ms. Harris visited a chip manufacturing plant and spoke to autoworkers in Michigan, where she called Mr. Trump ''one of the biggest losers of manufacturing jobs in American history,'' pointing to auto plants closing on his watch.

Mr. Trump has lodged his own criticisms. In a podcast last Friday, he said that the Biden administration had ''put up billions of dollars for rich companies'' in the semiconductor industry, and that a big tariff would have sufficed.

''You didn't have to put up 10 cents,'' Mr. Trump said. ''You tariff it so high that they will come and build their chip companies for nothing.''

It's unclear how the Biden administration's arguments about promoting investment will compare for voters with Mr. Trump's tariff-heavy proposals, which include hitting all imports with tariffs of 10 to 20 percent, plus tariffs of 60 percent or more on China. Many economists have argued that these tariffs would raise costs for the very voters that supported them.

But a September poll by Bloomberg News and Morning Consult found that the majority of likely voters in swing states either strongly or somewhat strongly supported Mr. Trump's proposal to impose a 10 percent tariff on all imports.

A separate poll in August by Morning Consult that was not confined to swing states found that those who intended to vote for Trump were more supportive of increasing tariffs than those who said they would vote for Ms. Harris -- though on net, Ms. Harris's voters also expressed support for increasing tariffs. Among undecided voters, slightly more opposed than supported tariffs, the poll showed.

Michael Beeman, a former U.S. trade official and the author of a recent book on trade policy, said trade was an issue that tended to motivate voters who felt they had been hurt by it, not those who had been helped.

Mr. Beeman, a longtime trade negotiator, said the trajectory of trade policy had first shifted with the rise of the Tea Party, which opposed free trade agreements. ''That formed the backbone of the new Republican Party, and was the platform on which Donald Trump was successful,'' he said.

Among Democrats, progressive voices also gradually gained influence, he said. Democrats hit a turning point with Hillary Clinton's loss to Mr. Trump in 2016, when the party was seen by many as having been too soft on trade.

''A lot of really important things were going on at the time that people weren't paying attention to, until it hit them in the face,'' Mr. Beeman said.

Some economists argue that the backlash has swung too far, and that trade has become a scapegoat. They say that, while trade agreements bear some of the blame for moving U.S. factories offshore, forces like globalization, automation and the decline of labor unions are also important.

Inu Manak, a fellow for trade policy at the Council on Foreign Relations, said many current voters were responding not to the effects of trade but to broader demographic shifts that had left ***working-class*** white Americans with fewer relative gains than other groups.

This feeling of being left behind in small-town America is more related to other policies, like the lack of a U.S. social safety net, job retraining programs or adequate educational systems, she said.

''What Trump did on the campaign trail when he won election the first time was to really pull at those anxieties, those grievances, and to say somebody else is to blame,'' Ms. Manak said. ''It's just a very easy piñata to hit for politicians.''

Dani Rodrik, a Harvard University economist who has written about the downsides of globalization, said that automation had played a role in deindustrialization across the entire country, but that there wasn't any question that trade policies had caused job losses in certain regions.

''You can see their effects to this day,'' he said. ''Many regions did well, some very poorly.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/30/business/economy/trade-democrats-harris-trump.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/30/business/economy/trade-democrats-harris-trump.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Vice President Kamala Harris at a semiconductor facility in Thomas Township, Mich., on Monday. Trade policy has not been a major focus for Ms. Harris. (PHOTOGRAPH BY BRITTANY GREESON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page B5.

**Load-Date:** October 31, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Trump Has a New Favorite Foreign Leader. He’s Known as the Madman.; Michelle Goldberg***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DM4-JMN1-JBG3-640C-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 9, 2024 Monday 15:51 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1010 words

**Byline:** Michelle GoldbergMichelle Goldberg has been an Opinion columnist since 2017. She is the author of several books about politics, religion and women&amp;#8217;s rights, and was part of a team that won a Pulitzer Prize for public service in 2018 for reporting on workplace sexual harassment.

**Highlight:** Javier Milei and the rebirth of austerity for the needy.

**Body**

Javier Milei, the wild-haired Argentine president known by his supporters as the Madman, has lately edged out Hungary’s Viktor Orban as the MAGA movement’s chief international inspiration.

Donald Trump has called Milei his “favorite president,” and Milei was the first foreign leader to visit him at Mar-a-Lago after his victory. Last week the Conservative Political Action Conference, which has increasingly sought to build a global network of right-wing activists and politicians, held its first-ever conference in Buenos Aires. Lara Trump, the president-elect’s daughter-in-law, gave a speech lauding Milei’s relentless budget slashing and vowed that, with help from Elon Musk and Vivek Ramaswamy’s Department of Government Efficiency, “we’re going to do the same thing in the United States.”

The ascendence of Milei in Trumpworld is a sign of an important ideological shift on the right. Trump first ran for office railing against corporate America and rejecting the sort of entitlement cuts long dreamed of by Republican wonks like the former House speaker Paul Ryan. “I’m not going to cut Social Security like every other Republican, and I’m not going to cut Medicare or Medicaid,” Trump said in 2015. After Trump won, Orban became an icon to a group of rising right-wing intellectuals less interested in fiscal discipline than in using the power of the state to [*remake*](https://christopherrufo.com/p/viktor-orbans-culture-war) culture, reward friends and punish enemies. Conservatives like JD Vance often speak admiringly of the subsidies Orban’s government gives families to encourage them to have more children; such [*spending*](https://christopherrufo.com/p/viktor-orbans-culture-war) is more than 5 percent of Hungary’s G.D.P.

Milei is a very different kind of right-winger. He’s an arch-libertarian — except when it comes to abortion — who has four cloned mastiffs named after conservative economists. He believes that drugs should be legal, as should the sale of organs, and sees marriage as a contract that should exist outside state regulation.

Since taking office a year ago amid devastating inflation, he’s undertaken a campaign of economic shock therapy, slashing government spending by around 30 percent. In doing so, as Jon Lee Anderson wrote in a recent New Yorker [*profile*](https://christopherrufo.com/p/viktor-orbans-culture-war), Milei has changed “the compact between the Argentinian state and its citizens — cutting cost-of-living increases to pensioners, funding for education and supplies for soup kitchens in poor neighborhoods.” In some ways, he is succeeding; inflation has plummeted. But the poverty rate rose by around 11 points during his first six months in office, to almost 53 percent, and the country has fallen into a recession.

In the American right’s admiration for Milei, you can see the rebirth of old-fashioned small-government conservatism in feral tech-bro form. Campaigning for Trump in October, Musk [*argued*](https://christopherrufo.com/p/viktor-orbans-culture-war) that Americans need to accept “temporary hardship” to reduce spending, and Ramaswamy recently [*called*](https://christopherrufo.com/p/viktor-orbans-culture-war) for “Milei-style cuts on steroids.” It’s far from clear how much policy influence Musk and Ramaswamy will actually have; the Department of Government Efficiency is just an advisory board, not a real department. But while Ryan may be banished from Trump’s Republican Party, some of the most unattractive elements of his politics have come roaring back.

Mike Lee, a Republican senator from Utah, has long dreamed of pulling up Social Security “by the roots.” In social media posts last week, he compared it to a “Ponzi scheme” and called for “real reform.” “Interesting thread,” wrote Musk, boosting it. On Fox Business Network, Representative Rich McCormick, a Republican from Georgia, said legislators need to have the “stomach” to make “hard decisions” about entitlements, while his fellow congressional Republican Mark Alford called for [*raising*](https://christopherrufo.com/p/viktor-orbans-culture-war) the Social Security retirement age.

At least in the immediate term, both Social Security and Medicare are probably safe, given the minuscule House Republican majority margin. Plenty of other programs could, however, be on the chopping block.

A Republican Congress may [*cut*](https://christopherrufo.com/p/viktor-orbans-culture-war) federal matching funds that helped states expand access to Medicaid, which covers low-income people and people with disabilities. Republicans are talking about imposing national Medicaid work requirements and checking recipient eligibility more than once a year, potentially [*burdening*](https://christopherrufo.com/p/viktor-orbans-culture-war) people with more paperwork than they can keep up with. The G.O.P. is also [*looking*](https://christopherrufo.com/p/viktor-orbans-culture-war) at ways to cut food stamps and to make it harder to qualify for them. Affordable housing programs [*could*](https://christopherrufo.com/p/viktor-orbans-culture-war) be gutted, and Trump will probably [*roll back*](https://christopherrufo.com/p/viktor-orbans-culture-war) what he can of President Biden’s student debt relief programs. New hardships, for many, may well be on the way. It remains to be seen how temporary they will be.

For years, observers, including me, have attributed at least part of Trump’s success to his rhetorical break with the unpopular elements of conservative economic orthodoxy. His choice of Vance as vice president suggested he might be open to an expansion of the social safety net aimed at shoring up blue-collar families. But the American right’s lionization of Milei indicates a different Republican path, one more congenial to the party’s biggest donors.

Milei, with his defiantly vulgar, anarchically anti-establishment style, has managed to build a ***working-class*** constituency for economic austerity and to maintain it even as his policies start to bite. (His approval rating is currently a relatively robust 55 percent.) He’s figured out a way to harness the insurrectionary energy of populism to the most elite economic program imaginable. This feat, such as it is, may not be replicable outside of Argentina, but it’s understandable that our plutocrats would want to try.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://christopherrufo.com/p/viktor-orbans-culture-war) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://christopherrufo.com/p/viktor-orbans-culture-war). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://christopherrufo.com/p/viktor-orbans-culture-war).

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY MAGALI DRUSCOVICH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (SR7) This article appeared in print on page SR6, SR7.

**Load-Date:** December 14, 2024

**End of Document**



[***My Last Column: Finding Hope in an Age of Resentment; Paul Krugman***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DM2-4651-JBG3-63Y9-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 9, 2024 Monday 14:16 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 936 words

**Byline:** Paul KrugmanPaul Krugman has been an Opinion columnist since 2000 and is also a distinguished professor at the City University of New York Graduate Center. He won the 2008 Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences for his work on international trade and economic geography.

**Highlight:** Where have all the good vibes gone?

**Body**

This is my final column for The New York Times, where I began publishing my opinions in January 2000. I’m retiring from The Times, not the world, so I’ll still be expressing my views in other places. But this does seem like a good occasion to reflect on what has changed over these past 25 years.

What strikes me, looking back, is how optimistic many people, both here and in much of the Western world, were back then and the extent to which that optimism has been replaced by anger and resentment. And I’m not just talking about members of the ***working class*** who feel betrayed by elites; some of the angriest, most resentful people in America right now — people who seem very likely to have a lot of influence with the incoming Trump administration — are billionaires who don’t feel sufficiently admired.

It’s hard to convey just how good most Americans were feeling in 1999 and early 2000. Polls showed a level of [*satisfaction*](https://news.gallup.com/poll/1669/general-mood-country.aspx) with the direction of the country that looks surreal by today’s standards. My sense of what happened in the 2000 election was that many Americans took peace and prosperity for granted, so they voted for the guy who seemed as if he’d be more fun to hang out with.

In Europe, too, things seemed to be going well. In particular, the introduction of the euro in 1999 was widely hailed as a step toward closer political as well as economic integration — toward a United States of Europe, if you like. Some of us ugly Americans had [*misgivings*](https://news.gallup.com/poll/1669/general-mood-country.aspx), but initially they weren’t widely shared.

Of course, it wasn’t all puppies and rainbows. There was, for example, already a fair bit of proto-QAnon-type conspiracy theorizing and even instances of [*domestic terrorism*](https://news.gallup.com/poll/1669/general-mood-country.aspx) in America during the Clinton years. There were financial crises in Asia, which some of us saw as a potential harbinger of things to come; I published a 1999 [*book*](https://news.gallup.com/poll/1669/general-mood-country.aspx) titled “The Return of Depression Economics,” arguing that similar things could happen here; I put out [*a revised edition*](https://news.gallup.com/poll/1669/general-mood-country.aspx) a decade later, when they did.

Still, people were feeling pretty good about the future when I began writing for this paper.

Why did this optimism curdle? As I see it, we’ve had a collapse of trust in elites: The public no longer has faith that the people running things know what they’re doing, or that we can assume that they’re being honest.

It was not always thus. Back in 2002 and ’03, those of us who argued that the case for invading Iraq was [*fundamentally fraudulent*](https://news.gallup.com/poll/1669/general-mood-country.aspx) received a lot of pushback from people refusing to believe that an American president would do such a thing. Who would say that now?

In a different way, the financial crisis of 2008 undermined any faith the public had that governments knew how to manage economies. The euro as a currency survived the European crisis that peaked in 2012, which sent unemployment in some countries to Great Depression levels, but trust in Eurocrats — and belief in a bright European future — didn’t.

It’s not just governments that have lost the public’s trust. It’s astonishing to look back and see how much more favorably [*banks*](https://news.gallup.com/poll/1669/general-mood-country.aspx) were viewed before the financial crisis.

And it wasn’t that long ago that technology billionaires were widely admired across the political spectrum, some achieving folk-hero status. But now they and some of their products face disillusionment and worse; Australia has even [*banned*](https://news.gallup.com/poll/1669/general-mood-country.aspx) social media use by children under 16.

Which brings me back to my point that some of the most resentful people in America right now seem to be angry billionaires.

We’ve seen this before. After the 2008 financial crisis, which was widely (and correctly) attributed in part to financial wheeling and dealing, you might have expected the erstwhile [*Masters of the Universe*](https://news.gallup.com/poll/1669/general-mood-country.aspx) to show a bit of contrition, maybe even gratitude at having been bailed out. What we got instead was “[*Obama rage*](https://news.gallup.com/poll/1669/general-mood-country.aspx),” fury at the 44th president for even suggesting that Wall Street might have been partly to blame for the disaster.

These days there has been a lot of [*discussion*](https://news.gallup.com/poll/1669/general-mood-country.aspx) of the hard right turn of some tech billionaires, from Elon Musk on down. I’d argue that we shouldn’t overthink it, and we especially shouldn’t try to say that this is somehow the fault of politically correct liberals. Basically it comes down to the pettiness of plutocrats who used to bask in public approval and are now discovering that all the money in the world can’t buy you love.

So is there a way out of the grim place we’re in? What I believe is that while resentment can put bad people in power, in the long run it can’t keep them there. At some point the public will realize that most politicians railing against elites actually are elites in every sense that matters and start to hold them accountable for their failure to deliver on their promises. And at that point the public may be willing to listen to people who don’t try to argue from authority, don’t make false promises, but do try to tell the truth as best they can.

We may never recover the kind of faith in our leaders — belief that people in power generally tell the truth and know what they’re doing — that we used to have. Nor should we. But if we stand up to the kakistocracy — rule by the worst — that’s emerging as we speak, we may eventually find our way back to a better world.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://news.gallup.com/poll/1669/general-mood-country.aspx) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://news.gallup.com/poll/1669/general-mood-country.aspx). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://news.gallup.com/poll/1669/general-mood-country.aspx).

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY WILL MATSUDA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A22.

**Load-Date:** December 10, 2024

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[***Ruben Gallego Wins Arizona Senate Race, Defeating Kari Lake***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DD6-2YH1-DXY4-X2V5-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 11, 2024 Monday 22:57 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 693 words

**Byline:** Kellen BrowningKellen Browning is a Times reporter covering the 2024 election, with a focus on the swing states of Nevada and Arizona.

**Highlight:** The Democratic congressman had led Ms. Lake, a former television anchor and bombastic Trump ally, in most polls.

**Body**

The Democratic congressman had led Ms. Lake, a former television anchor and bombastic Trump ally, in most polls.

Representative Ruben Gallego, a Phoenix-area Democrat and military veteran, has won the Senate race in Arizona, The Associated Press said on Monday night — a bright spot for Democrats after Republicans regained control of the chamber.

Mr. Gallego defeated his Republican opponent, Kari Lake, a fiery ally of President-elect Donald J. Trump’s, after leading her by sizable margins throughout the summer and the fall. The final result was much closer than some predictions, another sign of Republican strength throughout the country.

Mr. Gallego is a five-term congressman who grew up in a ***working-class*** Chicago family, working jobs as a teenager to support his family and sometimes sleeping on the floor of their apartment. He attended Harvard University and fought in the Iraq war as a Marine. He will become Arizona’s first Latino senator, replacing Senator Kyrsten Sinema, an independent and former Democrat.

At a news conference in Phoenix late Monday night, Mr. Gallego, with tears in his eyes, referred to his humble roots.

“For the kids sleeping on the floor, dreaming about a better, better America and a better, better future, this victory is for you,” he said.

After going decades without electing a Democrat to the Senate, Arizona’s voters have now done so in four successive elections, underscoring the state’s shift from reliable conservative stronghold to competitive battleground. Voters backed Ms. Sinema in 2018, picked Senator Mark Kelly in a special election in 2020 and then elected him again in 2022.

But Mr. Gallego’s victory is perhaps the most notable from an ideological standpoint. For years, he was an outspoken progressive, and there were early questions about whether he would come across as too liberal to be elected statewide.

Mr. Gallego announced in January 2023 that he would challenge Ms. Sinema for her seat, after she angered Democrats by voting with Republicans to stymie key pieces of President Biden’s agenda.

During his campaign, he caught two big breaks. One came when Ms. Sinema announced this year that she would not run for re-election, allowing him to consolidate the support of Democratic voters.

The other was the entrance of Ms. Lake, a former television anchor and vocal ally of Mr. Trump’s who rose to prominence through a divisive governor’s race in 2022, during which she insulted her fellow Republicans and championed Mr. Trump’s baseless election conspiracy theories.

Ms. Lake alienated many on the right with her tactics, especially after she filed a series of fruitless lawsuits contesting her 2022 loss. Republicans nevertheless mostly coalesced around her in the G.O.P. primary for Senate this year, giving Mr. Gallego as vulnerable an opponent as he could hope for.

Ms. Lake’s campaign did not immediately respond to a request for comment. On Election Day, she told reporters that she would “accept the results of the election.”

Mr. Gallego, who was once known for lobbing profanities at Republicans on social media, ran a disciplined campaign. He successfully rebranded himself as an even-tempered moderate, highlighting his veteran status and pitching himself as a pragmatic legislator who would focus on lowering costs for families and championing tribal water rights. Strategists also expected Mr. Gallego, because of his background and military experience, to perform better among Latino men — a group that Vice President Kamala Harris seemed to struggle with.

He enjoyed an enormous cash advantage over Ms. Lake, which enabled him to introduce himself to voters on his terms. He also crisscrossed the state, [*visiting all 22 of Arizona’s federally recognized*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/16/us/politics/ruben-gallego-grand-canyon.html) Native American tribes.

Ms. Lake was an underdog throughout the fall, with polls showing her consistently trailing Mr. Gallego, even as Mr. Trump led Ms. Harris in Arizona.

She failed to land a decisive blow at the candidates’ sole televised debate, in early October. And in the waning days of the campaign, she was unable to generate a big moment that could swing the race.

PHOTO: Ruben Gallego This article appeared in print on page A13.

**Load-Date:** November 12, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Eric Adams Proposes Tax Cut for New York City’s Lowest Earners***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DJY-WX81-DXY4-X2YH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 4, 2024 Wednesday 14:14 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 911 words

**Byline:** Jeffery C. Mays and Benjamin OreskesJeffery C. Mays is a Times reporter covering politics with a focus on New York City Hall.

**Highlight:** Under indictment and facing re-election, Mr. Adams has turned his attention to the city’s affordability crisis.

**Body**

Under indictment and facing re-election, Mr. Adams has turned his attention to the city’s affordability crisis.

Amid voter concerns over the cost of rent, food and child care, Mayor Eric Adams announced a plan on Wednesday to eliminate New York City income taxes for more than 400,000 of the lowest wage earners.

Under the proposal, which requires approval by the State Legislature, New Yorkers who earn 150 percent of the federal poverty level, or between roughly $31,000 to $46,000 depending on family size, would have their city income taxes eliminated.

Others who earn slightly more could also have their taxes reduced, bringing to 582,000 the number of people affected by the plan. Households who qualify would save an average of $350, according to city officials.

If the plan is approved, the city would forfeit roughly $63 million a year in tax revenue, but administration officials believe that other revenue such as corporate taxes or cannabis sales taxes would make up for the loss.

“How do we put money back into the pockets of New Yorkers?” Mr. Adams said at a news conference announcing the plan. “We can’t bring down the cost of bread, but we can give you some bread to pay for the bills and the necessities that you have.”

The announcement comes as Mr. Adams, who is under a [*federal corruption indictmen*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/09/26/nyregion/eric-adams-indictment-charges-annotated.html)t and scheduled to go to trial in April, has focused on affordability as a major plank in his campaign for re-election. The mayor has labeled this week “affordability week” and has rolled out a series of proposals and announcements designed to make living in the city more manageable, especially for ***working-class*** New Yorkers.

A few hours after announcing his income tax proposal, the mayor broke ground on a plan to build affordable housing and a soccer stadium in Willets Point, Queens.

The City Council will also vote this week on the mayor’s [*City of Yes*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/09/26/nyregion/eric-adams-indictment-charges-annotated.html) zoning overhaul, designed to allow the construction of 80,000 additional homes.

It was not immediately clear how the tax plan would fare in Albany, but legislative leaders seemed open to discussion. It will be introduced by State Senator Leroy Comrie of Queens and Assemblywoman Rodneyse Bichotte Hermelyn of Brooklyn, both allies of the mayor.

Senator Liz Krueger, who chairs the body’s finance committee, called the idea “more of a gimmick than a significant tax policy reform.” She was unsure how other Senate colleagues would respond to the idea but said “if the City Council asks us to do this, along with the mayor, there is probably not a big ‘hold on here’ from us.”

Mr. Adams faces s[*everal challengers*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/09/26/nyregion/eric-adams-indictment-charges-annotated.html) in the June primary, and many of his rivals have criticized his administration’s efforts at managing the city’s [*$112 billion budget and improving affordability*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/09/26/nyregion/eric-adams-indictment-charges-annotated.html).

Zellnor Myrie, a state senator from Brooklyn who officially launched his mayoral campaign Tuesday with a [*plan*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/09/26/nyregion/eric-adams-indictment-charges-annotated.html) to build and preserve one million housing units in a decade, said that “every dollar helps” but that the mayor wasn’t doing enough to bring down the cost of housing.

“New York’s cost of living will keep rising until we put forward solutions as big as the challenges we face,” Mr. Myrie said.

Brad Lander, the city comptroller who is also running for mayor, called the proposal a “good idea” but said Mr. Adams was failing to deliver for struggling New Yorkers “on things he actually has control over” such as [*early childhood education, library funding*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/09/26/nyregion/eric-adams-indictment-charges-annotated.html) and delivering financial assistance in a [*timely fashion*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/09/26/nyregion/eric-adams-indictment-charges-annotated.html).

But the plan’s fate lies in Albany, where Democrats hold large majorities in the State Assembly and Senate. They are also eager to tackle problems relating to affordability. But some have expressed reluctance to work with Mr. Adams, whom they had viewed as disengaged on the issue and mostly concerned with maintaining his own political career.

Even on Tuesday, some dissension was evident. A spokeswoman for Mr. Adams said that his office had notified leaders of the Assembly and the State Senate of his plan, but legislative leaders said they had not been briefed.

Still, Mike Murphy, a spokesman for the Senate Democrats, said in a written statement that “affordability has always been a major component of our agenda.”

“We look forward to working with our partners in Albany to continue addressing the affordability crisis affecting everyday New Yorkers across New York State,” Mr. Murphy added.

Mike Whyland, a spokesman for Assembly Speaker Carl E. Heastie, called the proposal “promising” and part of a larger affordability agenda under discussion with Gov. Kathy Hochul.

Ms. Hochul was “supportive” of efforts to lower the personal income tax and praised the mayor for “continuing to focus on affordability,” said her spokesman, Avi Small.

Senator Michael Gianaris, the deputy majority leader, said that the Senate would always consider ideas from Mr. Adams and that the city’s upcoming mayoral election would not factor into how senators dealt with the proposal. Addressing affordability is a priority for elected officials from across the state, he added.

“But there are a lot of ideas about how to do that,” Mr. Gianaris said. “We will have a robust discussion with our colleagues to figure out the best way forward.”

PHOTO: Mayor Eric Adams plan to trim income tax would reduce the city’s annual revenue by an estimated $63 million, but officials said that could be replaced by corporate taxes or cannabis sales taxes. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HIROKO MASUIKE/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A19.

**Load-Date:** December 5, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Trump Hates the ‘Deep State.’ But He Also Needs It.; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DNF-YC81-DXY4-X4VR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 16, 2024 Monday 12:19 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1244 words

**Byline:** Matthew Schmitz

**Highlight:** He should fuse these two impulses into a single governing ideology.

**Body**

Donald Trump won the 2024 election after promising to wage war on elements of the federal work force. “Either the deep state destroys America, or we destroy the deep state,” he said in the first major rally of his campaign. Russell Vought, whom Mr. Trump has tapped to head the Office of Management and Budget, has said he wants bureaucrats to be “increasingly viewed as the villains.” Elon Musk and Vivek Ramaswamy, the leaders of Mr. Trump’s new Department of Government Efficiency, promise to enact “mass head-count reductions across the federal bureaucracy.”

Yet Mr. Trump has also signaled a desire to use the administrative state to advance his policy goals. His vice president-elect, JD Vance, has championed bank regulation, rail-safety standards and other forms of administrative oversight. Robert F. Kennedy Jr., Mr. Trump’s pick to lead the Department of Health and Human Services, says that he is looking to impose new regulations, promising, for example, to “ban the worst agricultural chemicals.” Mr. Trump vows to raise billions of dollars by “taxing, fining and suing excessively large private university endowments.”

These two impulses — to destroy and to wield the power of the federal bureaucracy — are bound at times to conflict. But they need not always. Mr. Trump can and should fuse these two impulses into a single governing ideology. What he should seek is neither the libertarian dream of a vanishing government nor an ostensibly independent bureaucracy, but a leaner administrative state that is ready to execute the will of the people, as reflected in Mr. Trump’s governing priorities.

To make the federal bureaucracy more responsive to democratic outcomes, Mr. Trump will first need to be able to appoint civil servants who will carry out the agenda on which he successfully campaigned. At the core of this effort is Schedule F, an executive order that would allow the Trump administration to reclassify tens of thousands of government workers as “at will” employees, making it easier to remove those who are unwilling to enact his policies. Mr. Trump issued this order at the end of his first presidency (only for President Biden to rescind it) and has vowed to do so again.

Critics have objected that such streamlining would erode the political neutrality of the federal bureaucracy. But there is good reason to regard that neutrality as a fantasy. In 2024, Kamala Harris received 100 percent of donations to the two major presidential campaigns made by employees of the Education Department, 99 percent of those made by employees of the Environmental Protection Agency, 97 percent from the Energy Department and 96 percent from the Commerce Department, according to [*data*](https://www.govexec.com/workforce/2024/11/federal-employees-donate-42m-presidential-race-mostly-harris/400760/) compiled by the publication Government Executive. (Broadly similar figures were reported in 2020 and 2016.) By replacing civil servants with political appointees, Mr. Trump would engage in a rebalancing, bringing the ideology of the bureaucracy closer to the views of the country that elected him.

This approach may be compared with that of Andrew Jackson, another populist who sought to replace long-serving bureaucrats with political appointees. To be sure, his reforms gave rise to real abuses by promoting political patronage, and Mr. Trump’s are likely to have downsides as well. Among other things, replacing civil servants with political appointees will reduce the experience and expertise of the federal bureaucracy.

But presidents, like voters, value competence most when it is aligned with their political goals. And as historians such as Sean Wilentz have argued, Jackson’s reforms had a democratic effect, opening up the civil service to a broader range of candidates. Those reforms also made clear, as Jackson said, that in America the people are sovereign, and when they speak, government officials are “bound to obey or resign.”

More recently, presidents of both parties have complained about the intractability of the federal bureaucracy, and conflicts have been particularly acute over foreign policy. Franklin D. Roosevelt inveighed against a Foreign Service that was slower to recognize the fascist threat than he was. He also lamented that the Treasury Department was so “large and far-flung and ingrained in its practices” that he could not control it even with a sympathetic secretary. Today, higher education levels increasingly correlate with more progressive political views, widening the ideological gap between credentialed bureaucrats and many of their fellow citizens, and increasing the need for political accountability.

A leaner, less autonomous bureaucracy should appeal to otherwise disparate factions of Mr. Trump’s coalition. There is a clear attraction for populists like Mr. Vance who see the administrative state as a necessary means to resist private forces of oppression — be it corporations that pollute rural communities or universities that discriminate against applicants who aren’t seen as contributing to diversity. But even conservatives who view the administrative state as violating the separation of powers envisioned by the Constitution can embrace a powerful executive as a means to restrain the federal bureaucracy. And Silicon Valley entrepreneurs can applaud a strong president who clears bureaucratic impediments to startups and space exploration.

In theory, extensive presidential control over the bureaucracy should appeal as well to those leftists and liberals who place democracy above technocracy. It is easy to imagine a left-populist president whose attempts to change American foreign policy are resisted by career employees. Such a leader would be more likely to succeed if Mr. Trump’s reforms are already in place.

The left-wing government of Mexico is already pursuing a similar approach. The country’s previous president, Andrés Manuel López Obrador, ran on a platform that promised simultaneously to lift up the common people and to punish what he called the country’s “golden bureaucracy,” an array of officials who he believed acted for their own benefit. He championed a “minimal state” in which poverty was reduced through direct cash transfers, while institutions like government-subsidized day care centers lost funding. Critics have accused Mr. López Obrador of breaking with left-wing commitments by attacking government, but his protégée Claudia Sheinbaum won the presidency in June with nearly 60 percent of the vote, reflecting popular approval of his policies.

If Mr. Trump is to enjoy his own success, he will need not only to pare back the public sector but also to offer policies that help ***working-class*** voters. We can already see the outlines of this approach in his promise to promote tariffs while cutting environmental regulations, to preserve Social Security while reducing the number of federal employees. But he will have to do something more general, too: He will need to demonstrate that if the Democrats are the party of government, then the Republicans are the party of governance, promoting effective programs as they cut unhelpful bureaucracy.

Matthew Schmitz ([*@matthewschmitz*](https://www.govexec.com/workforce/2024/11/federal-employees-donate-42m-presidential-race-mostly-harris/400760/)) is the editor of the magazine [*Compact*](https://www.govexec.com/workforce/2024/11/federal-employees-donate-42m-presidential-race-mostly-harris/400760/).

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.govexec.com/workforce/2024/11/federal-employees-donate-42m-presidential-race-mostly-harris/400760/) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.govexec.com/workforce/2024/11/federal-employees-donate-42m-presidential-race-mostly-harris/400760/). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.govexec.com/workforce/2024/11/federal-employees-donate-42m-presidential-race-mostly-harris/400760/).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY George Wylesol FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***The Player***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DKS-PKP1-DXY4-X4PG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 8, 2024 Sunday

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 48; NONFICTION

**Length:** 1060 words

**Byline:** By Caryn James

**Body**

From Shakespeare to Strindberg to ''Scarface'': The actor remembers all of it and talks about some of it in ''Sonny Boy.''

SONNY BOY: A Memoir, by Al Pacino

Al Pacino was a young actor in 1968, rehearsing for a now-forgotten play called ''Huui, Huui'' at the Public Theater. One day the Public's impresario, Joseph Papp, took him aside, told him, ''You will be a great star one day,'' and fired him. Just a few years later, while making ''The Godfather,'' his director, Francis Ford Coppola, summoned him to a restaurant where he was having dinner with his family. Without inviting Pacino to sit down, Coppola warned him, ''You're not cutting it.'' Soon after, under threat of being fired by the studio, Pacino shot one of the classic scenes in film history, when Michael Corleone enters a restaurant bathroom, retrieves a hidden gun and becomes a killer. The intensity and fear on Michael's face are still chilling.

Pacino tells anecdotes like those with modesty and a bit of a shrug -- ''In this business, you're up, you're down, and you're up again,'' he says -- and they are among the most endearing parts of ''Sonny Boy.'' They pop up sporadically in an uneven memoir that is sometimes a heartfelt consideration of art, and often a perfunctory cradle-to-age-84 overview of his life and career. Pacino doesn't dish gossip or give much detail about his personal life, but he is passionate about acting. You can almost hear a collaborator or editor leaning over his shoulder here, saying, ''Al, at least mention the affair with Tuesday Weld,'' nudging the book toward its cookie-cutter, uninspired form. (In the acknowledgments, Pacino thanks both his collaborator, Dave Itzkoff, and editor, Scott Moyers.)

''Sonny Boy,'' titled after his mother's boyhood nickname for him, begins in the most conventional way, in childhood. Pacino's parents divorced when he was 2, and he lived in a ***working-class*** neighborhood in the South Bronx with his loving but emotionally fragile mother and grandparents. With obvious affection, he remembers running around the neighborhood with his pals Cliffy, Bruce and Petey. All three of those friends later died of drug overdoses, a fate Pacino was spared thanks to his family's vigilance. This stretch of the memoir is earnest, but not especially revealing. Plenty of boys survive rough childhoods and don't become one of the greatest actors of their time.

More of Pacino's voice comes through when he talks about acting, and his goal of instinctively embodying a character. He dropped out of the High School of Performing Arts at 16, worked odd jobs and performed in tiny, way-off-Broadway spaces. Onstage in Strindberg's ''Creditors,'' he had a life-altering epiphany. ''Words are coming out, and they're the words of Strindberg, but I'm saying them as though they're mine,'' he says. ''I'm lifting off the ground.'' From then on, ''I eat, I don't eat. I make money, I don't make money. I'm famous, I'm not famous.'' Careerism was beside the point. That sounds like Pacino because the idea fits with his lifelong pursuit of art at its most sincere, as in several small films he directed, including ''Looking for Richard'' (1996), about Shakespeare's ''Richard III,'' right through to his role as King Lear in a film he has been shooting.

He won a Tony early, but movies changed everything. In the 1970s alone he starred as a drug addict in ''The Panic in Needle Park,'' a breakthrough followed quickly by enduring performances in ''Godfather I'' and ''II,'' ''Serpico'' and ''Dog Day Afternoon,'' films largely shaped by his singular conviction and kinetic presence in the lead roles.

He tells a few behind-the-scenes stories from movies through the decades. He was rushed to an E.R. while making ''Scarface'' because a machine gun fused to his hand when he grabbed the hot barrel. But he is better at analyzing his performances. The drug-fueled crime boss Tony Montana in ''Scarface'' is deliberately two-dimensional. ''The way I played him, the character never has any inner conflict until the moment he kills his best friend.'' And Pacino is well aware of his reputation for scenery chewing, never more deserved than in his often parodied performance yelling ''Hoooooo-ah!'' in ''Scent of a Woman.'' With great understatement he says, ''I did go overboard sometimes in that part.''

Midcareer, he had a string of 1980s flops, like ''Cruising,'' in which he plays an undercover detective investigating murders of gay men, a film he now flat out calls ''exploitative.'' He ended up, as he puts it, broke. He says he would have been fine quitting movies, just reading books and doing theater, but Diane Keaton, with whom he was living at the time, knew that was impossible. She gave him one of the memoir's best, most bracing lines. ''There's no going back,'' she told him. ''You've been rich too long.''

He has glowing but vague things to say about Keaton and other romantic partners. Jill Clayburgh, his partner in the early days, was one of the great loves of his life. But the memoir barely mentions many of the most significant personal moments. He refers to becoming a father in 1989 but doesn't mention his daughter's mother, and does the same when he talks about his youngest child, a son born just last year. In between, he had twins with the actress Beverly D'Angelo, and writes mostly about adjusting to life in Los Angeles to be near them. He is more comfortable talking about himself, acknowledging that he drank heavily in the early part of his career.

You can respect his choice not to reveal more, but all those flyby references make the memoir feel forced, constantly straining against his immense imagination -- there is a brief fantasy conversation between him and the long-dead Bertolt Brecht -- and his impulse to ponder subjects like fame. He starts to talk about the cost of being a public figure but pulls back because he says going on might be self-centered. That's too bad, because he is fascinating when he recalls that his sudden fame in the '70s meant dealing with ''a changed life, one that leads to desperate solitude and a strange way of being set apart from the world.'' In those instances, the memoir sounds as if there's a different, more freewheeling book he wanted to write, and I would read that book in a second.

SONNY BOY: A Memoir | By Al Pacino | Penguin Press | 370 pp. | $35

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/19/books/review/sonny-boy-al-pacino.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/19/books/review/sonny-boy-al-pacino.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Al Pacino in 2019. (PHOTOGRAPH BY PHILIP MONTGOMERY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page BR48.

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[***All-Consuming Love***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCT-HCX1-JBG3-62JJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 10, 2024 Sunday

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**Length:** 731 words

**Byline:** By Hugh Ryan

**Body**

In ''Feast While You Can,'' two women who have long been nemeses rely on each other to face an ancient terror that has re-emerged.

FEAST WHILE YOU CAN, by Mikaella Clements and Onjuli Datta

For queer women, horror and hunger have stuck cheek by jowl since at least the time of ''Carmilla,'' the ur-Sapphic vampire novel from 1872. The figure of the devouring lesbian is both a symbolic inversion of the good, sacrificing mother and a tantalizing embodiment of the male terror of cunnilingus. But this familiar paradigm is queerly inverted in ''Feast While You Can,'' Mikaella Clements and Onjuli Datta's exciting new hybrid horror-romance novel. Angelina and Jagvi, the novel's monster-crossed lovers, race to escape an ancient entity that wants to devour more than just their bodies.

As the novel begins, Angelina is living with her brother, Patrick, in Cadenze, the rural Italian mountain town where they grew up. Patrick and Angelina's sprawling family is a pillar of the ***working-class*** community, and Angelina is particularly favored. Jagvi grew up alongside them but as an outsider (she's brown and butch and vocally dissatisfied with their provincial hometown), and she left as soon as it was possible. When Jagvi returns to Cadenze to sell her father's home, the painful tangle of their relationships reignites.

Years earlier, when they were in high school, Jagvi broke Patrick's heart, and though they are close friends now, Patrick's family never forgave her (Angelina included). For their part, Angelina and Jagvi have always sniped at each other, using sarcasm to maintain a distance rather than acknowledge an attraction that could shatter Patrick all over again. But when a mysterious spirit begins to possess Angelina during Jagvi's visit, the three accidentally discover that the only thing that can break the monster's hold over Angelina is Jagvi's touch, forcing them together.

''Feast While You Can'' is lightly set in the 1990s, which mostly just means there are no cellphones in the story, but there are occasional references to the riot grrrl folk singer Ani DiFranco. The central monster is a clever enfleshing of the homophobia of the era and the way it limited opportunities for queer people. ''Its attention felt like Cadenze itself,'' Angelina notes. Early in the novel, Jagvi says that provincial Cadenze ''swallows up options,'' which is what the monster does as well, rooting through the minds of its victims to devour their memories, and spiraling forward to experience and erase all their possible futures until no one remembers its victims ever existed.

Like many creative works set in the queer '90s, the book doesn't grapple with the pervasiveness of the period's xenophobia. Although the monster as metaphor for homophobia is strong, the representation of actual homophobia and racism is rather weak: noted on a surface level, but for the most part, vaporous and indistinct. Perhaps Clements and Datta rightly intuit that more explicit references would swamp the lighter, more adventurous, exciting, fantastical and erotic parts of the novel. But readers familiar with the era may feel ungrounded.

Where the novel sings, however, is in its representations of queer life and desire. Jagvi's hands are continually eroticized through Angelina's gaze. ''And those hands,'' she waxes early on, ''hanging open at her sides, square fingers beckoning.'' Later, readers are drawn again to cast our eyes on Jagvi's fingers, particularly the ''capable crook to her knuckles.'' There are also several discussions of packers, strap-ons and vibrators. Jagvi's butchness is handled with great nuance, inviting the questions of gender identity that readers of today might hold, but never pushing the dialogue or descriptions to an anachronistic place.

Queer women have always been part of the horror genre. But in the capable, beckoning hands of Clements and Datta, we get to see the story from their perspective, with monsters made not from them, but for them. In ''Feast While You Can,'' queer desire is the cure, not the curse, and it will satiate readers who have subsisted for too long on the crumbs of representation.

FEAST WHILE YOU CAN | By Mikaella Clements and Onjuli Datta | Grand Central Publishing | 296 pp. | $30Hugh Ryan is the author of ''When Brooklyn Was Queer,'' ''The Women's House of Detention'' and, forthcoming in 2026, ''Becoming History.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/31/books/review/feast-while-you-can-mikaella-clements-onjuli-datta.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/31/books/review/feast-while-you-can-mikaella-clements-onjuli-datta.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO This article appeared in print on page BR26.

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[***A Success Story Of Frazzled Charm And Endless Y'alls***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DNF-K551-JBG3-629M-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Length:** 1048 words

**Byline:** By Dwight Garner

**Body**

Leanne Morgan went from helping her husband sell mobile homes to sudden success in her 50s.

WHAT IN THE WORLD?!: A Southern Woman's Guide to Laughing at Life's Unexpected Curveballs and Beautiful Blessings, by Leanne Morgan

On many insomniac nights, when I'm trying to quiet the voices in my head, I listen to stand-up comics. I've been back and forth through Netflix's roster: the blue-collar and the big city, the clean and the crude, the capital-W woke and the close-to-canceled, the ironists and the oafs, the oldies and the mere pups.

Greil Marcus, the rock critic, has said he plays comedy albums while he writes. I have no idea how that might work. But perhaps we're not so far apart. I use congenial stand-up routines -- especially after I know them a bit, when they're worn in -- to settle my mind down.

For months my favorite has been Leanne Morgan, a Tennessee-born comic, whose special is called ''I'm Every Woman.'' Morgan has a regal, self-deprecating, ex-beauty queen, seen-it-all manner onstage, one that reminds me of certain Southern and Appalachian women I've been lucky to know.

Morgan comes on like the family member you hope to be seated next to at dinner: the one for whom life is fundamentally a comedy and not a tragedy, the one who doesn't need liquor on her breath to be anybody's fun aunt, the one who makes any conversation seem like a little conspiracy between the two of you.

She's a red-state comic who doesn't touch politics. Instead, she unloads in public about private and sometimes squeamish things: perimenopause and its discontents, hemorrhoids, breastfeeding, the size of her undergarments (''you could use them to fight a bull''), Jell-O salads, weight gain and the ''nasty'' things men still want in bed when their wives are long over it. She's working in the tradition of Phyllis Diller, Joan Rivers and Roseanne Barr, among others, but she's got a spark that's her own.

Morgan has a memoir out, titled ''What in the World?!: A Southern Woman's Guide to Laughing at Life's Unexpected Curveballs and Beautiful Blessings.'' As soon as I saw it, I knew I was going to read it.

At this point you may have questions. For example:

Is this one of those top-tier comic's memoirs, like those from Tina Fey, Trevor Noah and Steve Martin, where you sense the author might have taught at Brown if the whole comedy thing didn't work out?

No, but it's got a frazzled charm, and it works.

Is it as funny as Morgan's stand-up?

Not quite. The hard thing about trying to be funny on the page, as opposed to in front of an audience, is that you lose your delivery, as Calvin Trillin has said. Morgan's sweet-toned Southern accent has bestowed on her a world-class delivery system.

But ''What in the World?!'' has a lot going for it. It's the twisting, up-from-nowhere story of a ***working-class*** woman who went from helping her husband sell mobile homes to sudden success relatively late in life. I devoured it in two sittings.

Morgan grew up in small-town Adams, Tenn., about 45 minutes north of Nashville. Her parents ran the only grocery store. Her mother presided at the counter, Winston Light in one hand, can of Tab in the other, while her father cut meat in the back. He got so good at it that he sold the grocery store and opened a meat-processing plant behind the family's house.

Leanne didn't mind that, except for the smell, which she describes as ''sage-infused death.'' It clung to her clothes. I wish I had space here to print her mother's method of quickly skinning a deer, which involved a rope tied around a golf ball.

Morgan was an extrovert, pretty and boy crazy. After high school she wanted to marry a cute young tobacco farmer and commence having children. But her father gave her two options: the military or college. She attended the University of Tennessee. With her teased hair she looked like a member of the band Bananarama, she writes, while other girls seemed to have stepped out of ''The Official Preppy Handbook.''

She married the wrong guy and divorced at 23. She worked a lot of dead-end jobs in malls, including at a Lancôme counter. (''I loved it, but those French words were really hard.'') She waited tables at Applebee's.

She met her husband, Chuck, while they were working together at another restaurant. He's the strong, silent type. (''Chuck believes in suffering.'') She deplores his habit of grabbing one of her breasts, out of the blue, and holding onto it. Chuck is the good-natured butt of many of her jokes, though she prefers the word ''butthole'' -- it's her go-to putdown.

Chuck refurbished mobile homes, and later began to sell them. They lived in one for a while. Slowly he became successful, traveling for a major national retailer.

Leanne knew she was good at getting people to laugh. She had few chances to demonstrate this until she began to host parties to sell high-end costume jewelry, as if it were Tupperware. Was this part of a pyramid scheme? It didn't seem that way to her.

She was good at it. She began to get ''bookings'' to appear at other women's houses. This led to performances at Rotary and Kiwanis clubs. She did her first professional set at a comedy club in Knoxville in her mid-30s, but for two decades she mostly put away comedy to raise her three children.

She emerged again in 2020, when she was 55, after some clips of her material began to go viral on social media, including one called ''When you go to concerts with old people,'' about staring at the Def Leppard lead singer's hernia. She did a 100-city tour and is at work on a Netflix sitcom series with the producer Chuck Lorre.

''It's hard to describe the feeling of killing onstage,'' she writes. ''It's like you're plugged into the sun.'' In this memoir, her sunny side is usually up. The best thing about the book, though, may be its darker aspects. There's a moving and well-made chapter about being dumped by her best friend.

That friend had grown up sheltered, Morgan writes, ''so I had to teach her about secular things, like camel toe.''

Comedy on the edge of pain is Morgan's specialty. She's Appalachian, and over the elegy.

WHAT IN THE WORLD?!: A Southern Woman's Guide to Laughing at Life's Unexpected Curveballs and Beautiful Blessings | By Leanne Morgan | Convergent Books | 222 pp. | $27

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/09/books/review/leanne-morgan-what-in-the-world.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/09/books/review/leanne-morgan-what-in-the-world.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Leanne Morgan has a self-deprecating, ex-beauty queen, seen-it-all manner. (C4) This article appeared in print on page C1, C4.

**Load-Date:** December 16, 2024

**End of Document**



[***For a Pro-Democracy Activist, Determination and Frustration***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DHM-4FD1-JBG3-63NG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 28, 2024 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 11

**Length:** 795 words

**Byline:** By Tiffany May

**Body**

When a court in Hong Kong sentenced 45 pro-democracy politicians and activists to prison sentences of up to 10 years, it took down the city's once-vocal opposition in one fell swoop, making clear the risks of dissent.

But a handful still remain.

One of them is Chan Po-ying, the 68-year-old leader of the League of Social Democrats, a political party focused on labor and social welfare.

Hong Kong's opposition was once a small but formidable presence. Lawmakers organized filibusters to block bills they saw as limiting freedoms. Street marches were common. Then, after anti-government protests engulfed Hong Kong in 2019, China imposed a sweeping crackdown on the city.

Ms. Chan took over as the party's chairwoman in 2021 after the arrest of several members and leaders, including her husband, Leung Kwok-hung, a former lawmaker better known as Long Hair. Mr. Leung was among those sentenced last week.

The New York Times spoke with Ms. Chan to hear how she navigates the increasingly narrow -- not to mention risky -- confines of politics in today's Hong Kong. This interview has been edited and condensed.

How did you become an activist?

I came of age during the Vietnam War protests, civil rights movement and the women's suffrage movement, and they were big influences on me as I was growing up.

In my 20s, I worked in a garment factory for four years, partly to earn a living and partly in the hopes of understanding firsthand the situation of female workers. Many had to give up their education and marry for economic or family reasons. It felt very unjust.

I went to university at 30 to study social work and started doing advocacy on behalf of ***working-class*** women, as well as victims of domestic violence or sexual assault.

What is political life in Hong Kong like for you now?

There's not much I can do now. Some organizations that weren't even that political were forced to disband.

It used to be common for us to forge alliances with other small groups to amplify our voices. Now, we keep our distance and are cautious around one another.

Also, when we asked volunteers to help with our street booths, they were accused of soliciting donations and displaying posters without a permit. They pleaded guilty and had to pay a fine.

Once, when we went hiking with friends, the police detained us at the start of the trail for more than two hours and took down our ID numbers. Every step we take is restricted.

How do you and your group avoid arrest?

We are no longer delivering petitions to the government on politically sensitive dates like we used to. We have been contacted [by the authorities] ''suggesting'' that we stop doing this.

This year, ahead of the passage of Article 23 [a local security law], three of us were surrounded by around 50 police officers when we tried to submit a petition.

The first year and a half after the national security law was passed was a nerve-racking time. Something happened every week.

But I believe their tactics are now less heavy-handed, to avoid it turning into international news. Instead, they will try to dry up your money and come at you with laws and regulations you haven't even considered. The charges are petty, but you will be fined.

It feels like we're being repressed in a very underhanded way.

What can't you do now?

Last year, HSBC terminated our bank accounts. Since then, we have been unable to accept donations online. We have had to reduce our expenses to a minimum. We stopped renting an office, and let go of all paid staff.

At the street booths that we set up, we no longer ask people to sign petitions or write cards to political prisoners.

There is a lot of psychological pressure because the police arrive at the street booths before we do, and film the entire process. If we ask people for their signatures, they will be filmed, too. We don't want to cause harm to anyone.

People used to think that signing a petition or coming out for a march could put pressure on the government. Now many know that there is no use.

What motivates you to keep going?

When you are under pressure for a long time, you have to find ways to cope. I try to face it calmly. I always say that we can't change our circumstances. We can only change ourselves and how we handle our feelings.

Over the past few years, things I used to find unjust and infuriating I now simply find ludicrous and absurd. It all feels like a farce.

Do you feel that what you're doing is meaningful?

Of course it is. If it weren't, I wouldn't do it.

And I'm not the only one. Carrying on is a way to support and encourage each other. At least we feel less lonely.

For example, when I'm at a street booth, I see people walking over from far away to get a pamphlet. You don't know how far small gestures can go.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/27/world/asia/hong-kong-democracy-activist.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/27/world/asia/hong-kong-democracy-activist.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Chan Po-ying's husband and fellow activist Leung Kwok-hung was sentenced to prison last week. (PHOTOGRAPH BY BILLY H.C. KWOK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A11.

**Load-Date:** November 28, 2024

**End of Document**



[***My Brother Is Doing the Trump Dance; Maureen Dowd***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DHM-G0Y1-JBG3-64XS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 28, 2024 Thursday 13:04 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 835 words

**Byline:** Maureen DowdMaureen Dowd is an Opinion columnist for The Times. She won the 1999 Pulitzer Prize for distinguished commentary.

**Highlight:** Kevin sighs happily and sleeps easily, while I’m holding my breath.

**Body**

I know that every year, some of you see this Thanksgiving column by my brother and think that it is actually I who is serving up this slab of red meat under the nom de plume of Kevin Dowd. I can assure you that Kevin is very real and, this year, very excited. So, caveat emptor: Here is Kevin’s column.

ROCKVILLE, Md. — My sister told me not to gloat. But Democrats are eating a giant helping of crow since voters delivered a stunning victory to Donald Trump after spending months — years, really — claiming he was a racist, a wannabe dictator, Adolf Hitler and a threat to democracy.

Somehow this racist dictator was able to assemble a new coalition of Black, Hispanic, middle-class and ***working-class*** voters. Maybe it’s because nobody wants to live in the kind of country that the Biden-Harris administration and its leftist bedfellows were creating. Voters rejected the lax border measures championed by Joe Biden and the incompetent man supposedly in charge of homeland security, Alejandro Mayorkas. Turns out even people in blue America don’t like it when their groceries cost more and they feel less safe.

I must admit I had misgivings about Trump and his election denial after Jan. 6, but Nancy Pelosi’s hijacking of the House’s special investigating committee shifted my perspective. There was no world in which Trump could have come out of that committee without being scarred. So why did she have to overreach? It didn’t seem fair. And the ensuing lawfare waged against him only strengthened my support for him, and my feeling that there was nothing the opposition wouldn’t do to get him.

The negativity spread to the mainstream media, where coverage of Trump was wildly slanted. Even the owner of The Washington Post warned that the media was losing the trust of its audience. Seniors get their news from cable, and young people get it from podcasts and social media. Trump’s freewheeling three-hour interview with Joe Rogan helped him capture that vote.

Kamala Harris evaded the Rogan invitation. She was a terrible candidate, and the conga line of celebrities her campaign relied on couldn’t obscure that fact. Some of the same Democrats who tried to tell us Biden wasn’t in decline then tried to tell us Harris was an exciting, transformative force. Please.

Trump, hardened and informed by his first cabinet selections, has moved with warp speed to assemble his cabinet. Some of his most controversial picks may be intended to scare some deep state bureaucrats into resigning. Matt Gaetz did not make it even to a committee hearing. Robert F. Kennedy Jr. and Tulsi Gabbard will need to pass Senate scrutiny, but compared with the clown show Biden assembled, they look mainstream.

Trump is pressing for recess appointments. A bad idea. The Senate has the role of advise and consent. It can weed out some of the more troublesome picks, and Trump will be better for it. Republicans will have the Senate majority. No qualified candidate will be denied.

The federal government is like a house filled with mold that needs a good cleaning. Trump will take care of it. When Covid came, the government was sent home, where many employees remain. He could order everyone to come back to the office full time, and 20 percent of the work force would refuse and be gone. Will anyone notice? I doubt it.

Trump promises a return to common sense and has been given the tools to accomplish it with an electoral mandate and all three branches of government on his side. He cannot squander it. He must not get bogged down in petty disputes and perceived slights.

Our cities need to be safe again, our border secure and our country energy independent. Our elections need to be fair and incorruptible from foreign influence. The United States of America is the strongest and best country in the world. We demean ourselves when we are not at our full potential.

Biden and Harris have left a huge mess. Trump is the right choice to fix it. There are things he can do right away to make a difference: close the border, eliminate regulations, end the war on fossil fuels and cancel E.V. mandates.

No matter how maddening Trump can be, the country needs him. The wind is truly at his back. The election was decided not just by MAGA rallygoers but also by millions of voters who’d simply had enough. He should move forward without rancor or grievance, fueled by the joy of the Trump Shuffle, his robot-like dance that has broken out at U.F.C. fights and across the N.F.L. I’m going to have the younger members of the family teach it to Maureen on Thanksgiving.

As I ease into my twilight years, I want to thank Trump for letting me sleep safely and soundly again.

Vaya con Dios, Mr. President.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/31/opinion/letters/letters-to-editor-new-york-times-women.html).

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This article appeared in print on page SR2.

**Load-Date:** November 30, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Can a Marriage Survive a Summer Holiday With the In-Laws?; Fiction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DJP-BBC1-JBG3-6126-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 3, 2024 Tuesday 22:38 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 923 words

**Byline:** Alexandra Kleeman

**Highlight:** In Weike Wang’s novel “Rental House,” a couple invite their families to visit them on vacation.

**Body**

In Weike Wang’s novel “Rental House,” a couple invite their families to visit them on vacation.

RENTAL HOUSE, by Weike Wang

“Every happy family is unhappy in its own way” — is that the quote? Or maybe it’s, “Every unhappy family is happy to stay that way,” or even, “You only learn the ways in which a family is unhappy when they come to stay.” With or without Tolstoy’s wisdom, most couples know that extended visits from their in-laws reveal new edges to old dynamics between parents and children. Over the course of a friendly visit, tried-and-true ways of keeping the peace fail to function and new ways struggle to be born. It’s in this strange clash of familiarity and friction that Weike Wang’s third novel, “Rental House,” makes its home.

Keru and Nate are young married professionals living in New York City with high-pressure jobs and a sheepdog. Keru, a corporate consultant, is the child of strict, highly driven Chinese immigrants who became United States citizens when she was young and instilled in her “the belief that to live was to struggle, and that to struggle was a given, yet one need not know why.” Nate, a biology professor, is the first in his white, ***working-class*** family to go to college, and carries with him a sense of isolation born of climbing into the elite ranks of tenure-track academia. Their marriage is a merging of two cultural backgrounds into a functioning unit, oriented around their shared social status (even their dog’s name, Mantou, the Chinese word for a tasty steamed bun, accords with what Nate calls “the propensity of yuppie couples to name their expensive dogs after basic starch items”). But four encounters across the novel’s two halves expose serious fissures in their relationship that have gone unperceived, and therefore unaddressed.

In the first half, the couple drive out to a New England cottage they’ve rented for a month in the summer, where they will host each of their families in succession. First Keru’s mother and father arrive, armed with Mace and carrying coolers full of homemade food, afraid in the year since the onset of the pandemic to eat out or be unmasked around anyone outside their immediate family unit. When Keru’s parents leave, Nate’s show up: cheery Midwesterners whose goals are to see every lighthouse and eat every oyster in the area, while worrying out loud about whether Nate is doing enough to stay in touch with his prodigal brother, Ethan — an aspiring entrepreneur but frequent washout — and whether Nate is assimilating himself too much within the culture and values of his Chinese wife.

The book’s second half takes place on another vacation several years later, after illness strikes both sets of parents and the progress of Nate’s and Keru’s careers means they’re spending more and more time apart. In a lakeside bungalow two hours north of the city where the couple have gone to unwind, a meeting with their neighbors, a well-off Romanian family visiting from Brooklyn, turns sour; and then Ethan shows up to ask Nate to fund an ill-conceived business venture.

Wang’s elegantly off-kilter structure has a disruptive quality to it, like an uninvited guest. “There is a tendency to take two halves of something and assign them equal weight,” Wang writes at the novel’s exact midpoint, just before the second half begins. “Marriage is 50-50, but who said that? Who believes this to be true?” The visitors peel back the layers of the central relationship one by one, exposing resentments and longings that they would rather keep out of view. Keru is ambivalent about her cultural difference: She can’t help seeing the world through the immigrant striving she has replicated so well and yet she also hungers to fit in, to talk schools and real estate with a glamorous young mother she meets on vacation, and to go for a run, ponytail swinging, with Ethan’s fit blond girlfriend. Nate, for his part, wishes mostly to get by without conflict, tolerating his parents’ opinions about his life choices but feeling deeply wounded nevertheless when they fail to see and accept who he is.

Through these alienating moments the pair do not quite grow closer, but they do come to understand that they are alone — in their particular experiences of race, class and culture — together. Wang’s two previous novels, “[*Chemistry*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/25/books/chemistry-weike-wang.html)” and “[*Joan Is Okay,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/25/books/chemistry-weike-wang.html)” skillfully draw humor from the foibles and ambiguities of finding your place in the world. In this one, similarly funny but more focused on the melancholies of place once you’ve found it, she dramatizes the riddle of adulthood: Even as you flee a family, you carry it along with you, in memories of how and who you learned to be in the past.

Of course, couples, if they stay together long enough, become families of their own, fighting against their own particular flaws and disorders. “Ease is an illusion,” Keru’s mother tells her early in the novel. “Nothing worth achieving can or should be easy, and if you chose to do something for its ease, then you have become complacent.” For Keru and Nate, the vacation home is supposed to be a place for relaxation, an escape from the mundane stresses of life; but it presses them up against their problems without the escape of work. The two see each other laid bare, rife with neuroses, disappointments, insecurities — and only then do they see what exactly it is that holds them close.

RENTAL HOUSE | By Weike Wang | Riverhead | 215 pp. | $28

Alexandra Kleeman is the author, most recently, of the novel “Something New Under the Sun.”

This article appeared in print on page BR16.

**Load-Date:** January 2, 2025

**End of Document**



[***How Democrats Can Regain the Upper Hand; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DFX-PK81-JBG3-61DT-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 20, 2024 Wednesday 16:13 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 2920 words

**Byline:** Thomas B. EdsallThomas B. Edsall&amp;#160;has been a contributor to the Times Opinion section since 2011. His column on strategic and demographic trends in American politics appears every Wednesday. He previously covered politics for The Washington Post.

**Highlight:** Are there ways to bring the left and the center together without sacrificing either?

**Body**

There have been repeated clashes between the left and the center of the Democratic Party over the past 50-plus years, especially in the presidential nomination contests of 1968, 1972, 1984, 1992, 2016 and 2020. The post-election debate is now in full flower, with left-wing and centrist Democrats blaming each other for the loss.

The selection of Kamala Harris, a woman of Black and South Asian ancestry as the nominee, might have accentuated the perception of the Democratic Party as more progressive on race and gender and made some voters feel alienated or concerned about the direction of the party.

As my Times colleagues Erica L. Green and Maya King wrote on Nov. 7, in “[*For Black Women, America Has Revealed to Us Her True Self”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/harris-black-women.html):

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.

The ascendance within the Democratic Party of well-educated white people holding very liberal views has, in fact, pushed the party to the left of the mainstream. This intraparty ideological shift raises another question for 2026 and 2028: Have the forces supporting unpopular progressive policies in the general electorate become strong enough to successfully push back against the calls coming from Democratic pragmatists for centrist retrenchment on such issues as immigration, policing and the promotion of diversity, equity and inclusion?

In a Nov. 15 article, “[*Trump Broke the Democrats’ Thermostat*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/harris-black-women.html),” John Burn-Murdoch of The Financial Times wrote:

The data shows Democrats taking a sharp turn leftward on social issues over the past decade. This has distanced them from the median voter. We see this not only in Democratic voters’ self-reported ideology but in their views on issues, including immigration and whether or not minorities need extra help to succeed in society. Notably, the shift began in 2016. This suggests that Trump’s election radicalized the left, not the right.

The shift to the left was most pronounced among those who identify themselves as “strong Democrats,” those who dominate the activist and agenda-setting wing of the party. Burn-Murdoch cited General Social Survey data to show that these Democrats reacted most intensely to the election of Donald Trump, which was manifested in their shift on such issues as affirmative action and immigration.

In the case of immigration, for example, strong Democrats were close to the median voter in 2008, supporting cuts in the level of immigration by 20 points, according to Burn-Murdoch. But by 2020, strong Democratic voters had taken a giant step to the left, supporting increased immigration by 40 points, placing them far away from the median voter, whose views remained unchanged.

There are signs that the Democratic Party not only has adopted left orthodoxy on social and cultural issues but also is still not prepared to tolerate debate over these choices. This is reflected in the hostility expressed toward Democratic leaders who suggest moderating the party stance on transgender rights — a seemingly peripheral issue, as far as the country as a whole goes, that Trump and other Republicans used to portray Democrats as more concerned with special interests than the public interest.

“You have a choice as a party,” [*Gilberto Hinojosa*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/harris-black-women.html), the chairman of the Texas Democratic Party, commented in an [*interview*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/harris-black-women.html) on Nov. 6 with a Texas public radio station — after turnout for the former president helped Texas Republicans win big. “You can support transgender rights up and down all the categories where the issue comes up, or you can understand that there’s certain things that we just go too far on, that a big bulk of our population does not support.”

Hinojosa added, “If you are going to ignore the political consequences of these kinds of things, then you’re asking to lose these elections in the manner that we did.”

By the end of the day, Hinojosa reversed himself, [*posting on X*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/harris-black-women.html):

I extend my sincerest apologies to those I hurt with my comments today. I recognize the pain and frustration my words have caused. In frustration over the G.O.P.’s lies to incite hate for trans communities, I failed to communicate my thoughts with care and clarity.

Two days later, Hinojosa [*announced his retirement*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/harris-black-women.html), ending 12 years of service as chairman.

I asked [*Sean Westwood*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/harris-black-women.html), a political scientist at Dartmouth, for his assessment of the ability of the Democratic Party to adapt in the wake of defeat. He responded by email:

Parties evolve. In the eight years after their complete loss to Reagan in 1984 the Democrats moved from the ideals of the New Deal to the free market policies of Bill Clinton. It took time, but the party shifted to match the demands of the country.

It will be hard for the modern Democratic Party to shift from coddling white progressive voters to a policy platform that more strongly resonates with a diverse and moderate electorate, but they can do it. The path is clear: cultivate economic centrists and marginalize culture warriors. The problem is that it is not clear that there is a powerful voice within the party who can guide Democrats back to the center.

Westwood, citing poll data from Gallup and Pew, argued:

Parties win elections by aligning with the priorities and values of voters. The Democratic Party, however, often seems to assume that its perspective on social issues is inherently superior and that debate itself is morally and ethically unacceptable.

Westwood added:

It is just the truth that [*69 percent of Americans*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/harris-black-women.html) think that kids should play on teams that match their birth gender, that [*98 percent of Latinos*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/harris-black-women.html) do not prefer the term “Latinx” and that [*68 percent of both all adults and of Latinos specifically*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/harris-black-women.html) think ending affirmative action in college admissions is mostly a good thing.

[*Lanae Erickson*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/harris-black-women.html) is the senior vice president for policy and politics at [*Third Way*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/harris-black-women.html), a centrist Democratic think tank that is premised on the conviction that there is a moderate majority within the Democratic Party electorate and that the party’s cultural and social left is a minority. She replied by email to my queries about prospects for the party:

The good news for the Democratic Party is that the college-educated white voters it has gained are not ideologues, and they would, at worst, tolerate this shift (to moderation) and more likely welcome it. Unlike the Republican Party, our ideological activists remain a very small proportion of our coalition — overrepresented on social media and louder than the rest but not representative.

Nearly all Democratic voters, she continued,

still prefer winning over ideological purity, and a move to the middle on cultural issues that keeps our values steady but acknowledges more nuance instead of casting issues as black and white would create the big tent we need to defeat MAGA forces and move our country forward toward sustainable progress. That’s what our whole coalition really wants.

Despite that, Erickson contended:

we already have plenty of data to conclude one thing: Voters of nearly every demographic and geography rejected what we had on offer because they believed we focused too much on social issues and have moved too far left on both culture and some economic issues.

A Democratic comeback starts with an honest assessment of the damage inflicted by being associated with, or pressured by, the far left and their ideas — on immigration (open borders), climate (Green New Deal), health care ($33 trillion Medicare for all), crime (defund the police) and sweeping debt forgiveness only for those who already went to college.

Now that MAGA has taken over American government wholesale, the only way to defeat it next time around is to rebrand Democrats as a more moderate, mainstream party that is in touch with the lives and values of a wide swath of voters, including ***working-class*** voters of all races.

There are some political analysts who believe the Democratic Party and its future candidates will be able to move toward the center on cultural issues without facing debilitating opposition from the progressive left.

[*Nicholas Stephanopoulos*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/harris-black-women.html), a law professor at Harvard who specializes in election and constitutional law, replied by email to my inquiries:

I think the party’s desire to win the presidency will be strong enough — especially after four more years of Trump — to allow the Democratic nominee in 2028 to move to the center on controversial issues (at least in the general election). Biden did this to some extent in 2020, and so did Harris this year (albeit mainly by not talking about thorny issues, as opposed to explicitly rejecting more liberal stances).

Stephanopoulos pointed out that even though “a supermajority of Republicans supports stringent abortion limits, Trump took a more moderate position in the campaign,” declaring he would veto legislation calling for a national ban:

If a Republican can do that on abortion — the most high-profile social issue of all — I don’t see why a Democrat couldn’t do so on less salient issues. And note that a candidate has a lot of flexibility in how to frame a Sister Souljah moment. He/she doesn’t have to overtly disagree with a stance that most Democrats support. Instead, the candidate can single out an extreme position that most Democrats oppose, criticize that position and thereby convey an image of moderation to the electorate.

Some of Stephanopoulos’s professional colleagues are skeptical. [*Eitan Hersh*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/harris-black-women.html), a political scientist at Tufts, wrote by email:

I do think the Democrats could lose again and again because of this predicament that they are in, in that their core voters (and volunteers and donors) want candidates to pass some litmus tests that the median voter does not like.

It certainly won’t be enough for candidates to just focus ads on issues popular with the median voter if it’s very clear to all that the candidates have passed the litmus tests required by the base. On the other hand, who knows what the future holds? Generally speaking, parties don’t like losing, especially again and again.

In a reflection of the competing views over ideology and strategy, some Democratic political operatives warn against the adoption of retrenchment strategies that could further weaken the Democratic coalition, pushing away key constituencies.

[*Nick Gourevitch*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/harris-black-women.html), a partner and the managing director of the Global Strategy Group, a Democratic polling firm that worked on the Biden-Harris campaign, wrote me to say:

Any conversation about the future of the Democratic Party needs to start with theories about how to add voters to our coalition and not subtract voters from it, which is where a lot of the dialogue is today.

The basic theory you are talking about — that the Democratic Party needs to move to the center on cultural issues and focus more on ***working-class*** economic issues in order to win back a more culturally conservative ***working class***, which is mostly white though increasingly diverse. That theory is quite attractive, since it’s easy to look at the Democratic Party of the 1990s and the Democratic Party of today and see that is where the party lost votes.

But is the path forward the exact path we just came from? I am concerned about the parts of the Democratic coalition — which is still around 50 percent of the country — that we would have to throw under the bus to get there.

Which piece of our coalition, Gourevitch asked,

are we throwing under the bus to get there? The L.G.B.T.Q. rights movement? Suburbanites who want decisive action on gun violence in schools? Young people who care about the climate? Black voters who want to be treated fairly by the police?

One of the early tests of the strength of the center and the left of the Democratic Party will be the [*selection of a new chair*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/harris-black-women.html) of the Democratic National Committee, which is expected to take place in January or February.

It is doubtful, however, whether the new D.N.C. chair and other party officials can determine the ideological direction of the party. [*David Hopkins*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/harris-black-women.html), a political scientist at Boston College, pointed out in an email:

Parties are not entirely the masters of their own fate. The rising centrality of conflicts over social identity, D.E.I. initiatives, transgender rights, language policing, tolerance of illegal immigration, “fighting the patriarchy” and other similar topics over the past decade or so was not principally driven by the preferences or choices of Democratic politicians and professional strategists.

Instead, it mostly reflected the priorities of other influential social actors — some activists and interest groups within the party, for sure, but also a large population of journalists, intellectuals, educators, nonprofit and corporate executives and celebrities who represent liberalism in the public eye, even if they don’t hold formal positions within the Democratic Party.

Democratic politicians, Hopkins argued,

can try to pick ugly public fights with these people to demonstrate their independence from the purist left, as Bill Clinton did in the 1990s, but that’s a risky move sure to be internally divisive and which might even feed abstentions or defections to the Green Party among committed progressives.

A less dangerous path, Hopkins continued, “would be for the prominent figures and social institutions that have most strongly promoted culturally progressive ideas in recent years to mute their aggressive advocacy of controversial values and practices.”

Along similar lines, [*Nolan McCarty*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/harris-black-women.html), a political scientist at Princeton, wrote by email that left ideological orthodoxy is

mostly policed by activists and interest groups rather than by the electorate. Polling indicates that there is far more diversity of opinion on issues of sexuality, immigration and race within Democratic Party identifiers than there is among the activists.

I think candidates espousing somewhat moderate positions on such issues could still win Democratic primaries if they could withstand the opposition of progressive groups. So the key going forward is whether such groups will exercise just a bit of forbearance to candidates in red and purple states.

[*Noah Smith*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/harris-black-women.html), a former professor of finance at Stony Brook University who now writes at [*Noahpinion*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/harris-black-women.html), has produced an optimistic analysis for the future of the Democratic Party and liberalism generally. On Nov. 15, Smith posted “[*Liberalism Is the Rebellion Now*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/harris-black-women.html)”:

When I was growing up in the 1990s, liberalism — the idea that society should be based around the rights, freedoms and dignity of individual human beings — was ascendant. Here in the U.S. and in other rich democratic nations, there was little question that we were more free and our rights better protected than at any point in our history.

Now, three decades later, Smith argued:

you can feel the decline of liberalism here in the United States. Very few leaders on either side of the aisle talk about freedom anymore. Progressives tend to couch their appeals in terms of justice, conservatives in terms of greatness. Americans still pay lip service to freedom of speech, but no one seems to really want it — Elon Musk has [*increased X’s censorship*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/harris-black-women.html) on behalf of foreign governments and [*suppressed content*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/harris-black-women.html) he doesn’t like, while Democratic leaders like [*Tim Walz*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/harris-black-women.html) and [*John Kerry*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/harris-black-women.html) have called for legal crackdowns on “hate speech” and “misinformation.”

The significance, Smith continued,

is that liberalism — the dominant global ideology of my youth — is now an underground rebellion. If you believe that individual human freedom and dignity are paramount, you’re now facing a world that wants to crush your ideals and enslave you to the will of various authoritarians. In America you’re watching powerlessly as Trump remakes the country’s institutions, while in Eurasia you’re warily eyeing the suddenly unchecked power of China and Russia.

Of all the posts he has written, Smith contended, “this one scares me the most,” adding, “I wish it was just a bad dream.”

In fact, few things could reinvigorate the center-left and the Democratic Party more than coming to the realization that liberalism in contemporary America is the underdog and that it is in a fight for its survival.

The left has grown comfortable as it dominates the culture — academia, the media, television entertainment — and as its well-educated constituents remain insulated by their college degrees from the costs of globalization, as the technology revolution ravages less well-off sections of the country.

From roughly the early 1930s to the early 2000s, the Democratic Party challenged institutional power, corporations seeking to suppress workers’ wages and benefits, white Southerners determined to subordinate Black people, men committed to keeping their wives in the kitchen.

The election of Donald Trump has opened the door to Democrats once again becoming the insurgent party. The next two years will determine whether the party takes this opportunity or remains mired in conflicts over policies and orthodoxies of little or no relevance to the broader electorate.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/harris-black-women.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/harris-black-women.html). And here&#39;s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/us/politics/harris-black-women.html).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Jamie Lee Taete for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 20, 2024

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[***Meet One of Hong Kong’s Last Remaining Pro-Democracy Activists***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DHC-NVC1-JBG3-61X0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 27, 2024 Wednesday 01:09 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; asia

**Length:** 817 words

**Byline:** Tiffany MayTiffany May is a reporter based in Hong Kong, covering the politics, business and culture of the city and the broader region.

**Highlight:** For Chan Po-ying, a labor rights leader, life is one of constant police surveillance, even on hikes. But she finds solace from tiny gestures of support.

**Body**

When a court in Hong Kong [*sentenced 45 pro-democracy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/18/world/asia/hong-kong-democrats-sentenced.html) politicians and activists to prison sentences of up to 10 years, it took down the city’s once-vocal opposition in [*one fell swoop*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/18/world/asia/hong-kong-democrats-sentenced.html), making clear the risks of dissent.

But a handful still remain.

One of them is Chan Po-ying, the 68-year-old leader of the League of Social Democrats, a political party focused on labor and social welfare.

Hong Kong’s opposition was once a small but formidable presence. Lawmakers organized filibusters to block bills they saw as limiting freedoms. Street marches were common. Then, after anti-government protests engulfed Hong Kong in 2019, China imposed a [*sweeping crackdown*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/18/world/asia/hong-kong-democrats-sentenced.html) on the city.

Ms. Chan took over as the party’s chairwoman in 2021 after the arrest of several members and leaders, including her husband, Leung Kwok-hung, a former lawmaker better known as Long Hair. Mr. Leung was among those sentenced last week.

The New York Times spoke with Ms. Chan to hear how she navigates the increasingly narrow — not to mention risky — confines of politics in today’s Hong Kong. This interview has been edited and condensed.

How did you become an activist?

I came of age during the Vietnam War protests, civil rights movement and the women’s suffrage movement, and they were big influences on me as I was growing up.

In my 20s, I worked in a garment factory for four years, partly to earn a living and partly in the hopes of understanding firsthand the situation of female workers. Many had to give up their education and marry for economic or family reasons. It felt very unjust.

I went to university at 30 to study social work and started doing advocacy on behalf of ***working-class*** women, as well as victims of domestic violence or sexual assault.

What is political life in Hong Kong like for you now?

There’s not much I can do now. Some organizations that weren’t even that political were forced to disband.

It used to be common for us to forge alliances with other small groups to amplify our voices. Now, we keep our distance and are cautious around one another.

Also, when we asked volunteers to help with our street booths, they were accused of soliciting donations and displaying posters without a permit. They pleaded guilty and had to pay a fine.

Once, when we went hiking with friends, the police detained us at the start of the trail for more than two hours and took down our ID numbers. Every step we take is restricted.

How do you and your group avoid arrest?

We are no longer delivering petitions to the government on politically sensitive dates like we used to. We have been contacted [by the authorities] “suggesting” that we stop doing this.

This year, ahead of the [*passage of Article 23*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/18/world/asia/hong-kong-democrats-sentenced.html) [a local security law], three of us were surrounded by around 50 police officers when we tried to submit a petition.

The first year and a half after the national security law was passed was a nerve-racking time. Something happened every week.

But I believe their tactics are now less heavy-handed, to avoid it turning into international news. Instead, they will try to dry up your money and come at you with laws and regulations you haven’t even considered. The charges are petty, but you will be fined.

It feels like we’re being repressed in a very underhanded way.

What can’t you do now?

Last year, HSBC terminated our bank accounts. Since then, we have been unable to accept donations online. We have had to reduce our expenses to a minimum. We stopped renting an office, and let go of all paid staff.

At the street booths that we set up, we no longer ask people to sign petitions or write cards to political prisoners.

There is a lot of psychological pressure because the police arrive at the street booths before we do, and film the entire process. If we ask people for their signatures, they will be filmed, too. We don’t want to cause harm to anyone.

People used to think that signing a petition or coming out for a march could put pressure on the government. Now many know that there is no use.

What motivates you to keep going?

When you are under pressure for a long time, you have to find ways to cope. I try to face it calmly. I always say that we can’t change our circumstances. We can only change ourselves and how we handle our feelings.

Over the past few years, things I used to find unjust and infuriating I now simply find ludicrous and absurd. It all feels like a farce.

Do you feel that what you’re doing is meaningful?

Of course it is. If it weren’t, I wouldn’t do it.

And I’m not the only one. Carrying on is a way to support and encourage each other. At least we feel less lonely.

For example, when I’m at a street booth, I see people walking over from far away to get a pamphlet. You don’t know how far small gestures can go.

PHOTO: Chan Po-ying’s husband and fellow activist Leung Kwok-hung was sentenced to prison last week. (PHOTOGRAPH BY BILLY H.C. KWOK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A11.

**Load-Date:** November 28, 2024

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[***Mayor Adams’s Indictment Leaves City Hall Leaderless***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D27-9141-DXY4-X06P-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 26, 2024 Thursday 16:43 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 434 words

**Highlight:** It is the low point of a failed mayoralty.

**Body**

The indictment of New York City’s Mayor Eric Adams on Thursday for charges that include bribery and soliciting foreign donations represents the lowest point of a failed mayoralty that has delivered stunningly little to the city it was meant to serve.

Adams was elected in 2021 vowing to improve public safety and trust in the Police Department. He said he would be a voice for ***working-class*** residents in the city. He promised a campaign focused on literacy in the nation’s largest public school system.

What New York City received instead was a mayor who filled City Hall with his cronies and patronage hires. Several of his highest-ranking appointments, including his former police commissioner, schools chancellor and a top deputy mayor, are under separate federal investigations, and several are among a widening group of city officials who have resigned, either in protest or disgrace.

According to federal officials, Adams used his office for personal gain, soliciting a contribution from foreign officials, committing wire fraud and bribery. He took discounted trips and luxury travel benefits from the Turkish government, the indictment said, and engaged in a conspiracy to accept and conceal foreign campaign contributions, which are illegal. In exchange, he let a Turkish consular building open without a proper Fire Department inspection.

The images on Thursday of federal agents arriving at Gracie Mansion before dawn brought reality into painful relief: New York City is without any clear leadership, a situation that is untenable.

Adams has said he is innocent and plans to fight the charges, as is his legal right. But even if he remains in office as the prosecution unfolds, it is hard to see him seeking a second term, or successfully persuading voters to give him one. For now, his most pressing struggle is to assure the public that the people’s business continues while he defends himself, which will be an immense task.

There are pressing needs in New York City, beginning with affordable housing, and few signs that City Hall is up to meeting those needs.

Rather than expend his political capital to push a promising plan within his administration to build more affordable housing, known as the City of Yes, Adams has focused much of his attention on pursuits like redesigning trash cans and fighting a war on rats. He has struggled to address the arrival of over 210,000 migrants, allowing City Hall to operate in a constant state of reaction.

The more than eight million residents of New York City deserve better.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY John Taggart/EPA, via Shutterstock FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 26, 2024

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[***Want to Make Sense of the Chaos on Election Night? Here Are the House Races I’m Watching.; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DB9-D5J1-DXY4-X0J6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 3, 2024 Sunday 11:28 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1492 words

**Byline:** Kyle Kondik

**Highlight:** Key districts will give us clues for how the election is going. They may also answer some of the big demographic questions looming over U.S. politics.

**Body**

As the presidential race comes down to the wire, so too does the race for the U.S. House of Representatives. Democrats have a roughly 50-50 shot at reclaiming control of the chamber; to do so, they need to win only four more seats than they currently hold (214, including a couple of current vacancies in safely Democratic districts).

While presidential and House contests are often won by the same party, they aren’t always. This year, Republicans could reclaim the presidency while losing the House — a reverse flip that has no precedent in this two-party era, dating back to the Republican Party’s creation just before the Civil War.

Still, House and district-level presidential results have become highly correlated in recent years, and some key House districts will give us clues not just about which way the House might go, but the presidency as well. They could also provide answers to some of the big demographic questions looming over American politics.

Is the election breaking for one party early in the night?

One of the earliest poll closings, at 7 p.m., is in Virginia. While it is not part of the core presidential battleground, it hosts a couple of competitive House elections. If there is an upset in either, it could help set the tone for the evening, both at the presidential and House levels.

Virginia’s Second District, centered on competitive Virginia Beach in the coastal, military-heavy Hampton Roads region, voted for Joe Biden by a little under two percentage points in 2020. The incumbent is a first-term Republican, Jen Kiggans. Up in Northern Virginia, Democrats are defending the Seventh District, an open seat where Biden ran ahead of his national margin. Publicly released polls, albeit some from partisan sources, have shown that the congressional races are close.

The likeliest outcome is that the districts stay with their current party, but if either party wins the pair, that could be an early sign of momentum for that side. In 2022, Republicans flipped the Second, an important piece of their eventual House majority, but they failed to flip the Seventh, an early sign that a “red wave” was not materializing that year.

Have Republicans gained ground with Black voters?

Although African Americans still overwhelmingly vote for Democrats, some polls have indicated erosion of that support, particularly [*among young men*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/12/us/politics/poll-black-voters-harris-trump.html). That shift could matter in swing districts that Biden won four years ago and that now may end up flipping to Donald Trump (and, as a result, to Republicans at the House level).

A telling district like this to watch is North Carolina’s First District, which Representative Don Davis, a Democrat, is trying to defend. The district covers some rural and small-town areas with significant Black populations, with whom the Democratic Party’s national troubles have been evident: Biden’s districtwide victory in 2020 was down a few points from Hillary Clinton’s in 2016. Given North Carolina’s early 7:30 p.m. poll closing, this race might be an early indicator of Democratic performance with Black voters more broadly. The district was redrawn this year, which has made it harder for Democrats to defend, so if the race is tight, that might have something to do with it, but weaker Democratic turnout than in 2020 would still be revealing.

A Davis loss would be a blow to Democratic hopes of winning a majority and would be consistent with Trump winning North Carolina, while a Davis victory — particularly if the margin is not that tight — may suggest Democratic troubles with Black voters were overstated.

Where could control of the House be decided?

Far outside the presidential battlegrounds, California and New York both include several Biden-won districts held by Republicans. Democrats most likely need to net at least a couple of these seats from each state to build a House majority.

One of those is New York’s 19th District, in the middle of the state. Of several competitive races in New York, this is the only House race that we listed as a tossup in our Sabato’s Crystal Ball ratings, and the seat looms large as one of a handful of potentially majority-making seats for both sides. That’s partly because in 2020, Biden won New York’s 19th by roughly the same margin as the popular vote — 4.5 points — making it one of the few districts in the country to so closely mirror the nation. In the 2022 midterms, New York’s 19th was one of several Biden-won districts that Republicans flipped as part of a state “red wave.” If the Democrat Josh Riley can unseat the Republican Representative Marc Molinaro, it would be a very positive sign for a Democratic House takeover.

Another seat Democrats most likely need to win is California’s 13th, in the Central Valley, which is one of the Republicans’ toughest defensive assignments. Held by first-term Representative John Duarte, it is one of just a few seats in districts that Biden won by double digits being defended by Republican House incumbents. The 13th District is probably the best Democratic target in the state for flipping; if Democrat Adam Gray loses, it’s probably a sign that Republicans are on track to keep the House.

Will Democrats keep bleeding support from Hispanic voters?

There’s another reason California’s 13th District is worth watching: It’s a Hispanic-majority district, so the results there might give us a clearer picture of Trump’s strength with that demographic, [*which has shifted toward Republicans in recent years*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/12/us/politics/poll-black-voters-harris-trump.html). Directly south of the 13th is California’s 22nd District, which is also majority-Hispanic and held by another Republican, David Valadao. The consensus is that Valadao, a longtime member with a strong campaign record, will be harder for Democrats to dislodge than Duarte; but if Democrats do defeat Valadao, it would be a positive sign for their overall House math and might also indicate that Kamala Harris is holding up decently with Latino voters.

To be sure, the Hispanic electorate varies across the country. There is a significant Puerto Rican population in Pennsylvania’s Lehigh Valley-centered Seventh District, a key district in a key state, held by the Democrat Susan Wild. One of the big stories in the final stage of the campaign has been an inflammatory joke about Puerto Rico told by a comedian at Trump’s Madison Square Garden rally. How Puerto Rican voters turn out in Pennsylvania’s Seventh will be an important part of both the House and presidential pictures: Wild losing her very marginal Biden-won district would be a bad sign for Democrats’ Hispanic support and their House hopes overall.

How high can Harris drive up her margins with suburban and college-educated voters?

In the Trump era, voters without college degrees, especially white and rural ones, have turned to the Republican Party, while college-educated and suburban voters have trended Democratic.

This shift in the party coalitions will be on display in the two congressional districts that directly award electoral votes: Maine’s Second, a rural, ***working-class*** district that delivered an electoral vote to Trump in 2016 and 2020, and Nebraska’s Second, a more suburban, higher-education district based in Omaha that delivered an electoral vote to Democrats in 2008 and 2020.

Trump is clearly favored to win the former and Harris the latter, but the House races may not mimic the presidential race: The incumbents — Representative Don Bacon, a Republican, of Nebraska’s Second District and Representative Jared Golden, a Democrat, of Maine’s Second — are both fighting against the presidential tide and strong challengers from the other party. If Golden wins, that might suggest that ***working-class*** white voters aren’t turning out as enthusiastically as expected for Republicans. By the same token, if Bacon wins, it may mean that Harris is not pushing her suburban, college-educated voter margins high enough in the electorally vital Midwest.

The House map is a lot like the Electoral College map: Only a relatively small number of districts and states are truly in play for both sides. Some of these battlegrounds overlap while others do not, but the trends that emerge across the nation’s congressional districts will help us understand not just how a majority was won, but how the presidency was, too.

Source: 2024 congressional district boundaries from [*Redistricter*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/12/us/politics/poll-black-voters-harris-trump.html)

Kyle Kondik is the managing editor of Sabato’s Crystal Ball, the election analysis newsletter published by the Center for Politics at the University of Virginia. He is also the author of “The Long Red Thread,” a history of the growth of Republican power in the House of Representatives.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/12/us/politics/poll-black-voters-harris-trump.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/12/us/politics/poll-black-voters-harris-trump.html). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/12/us/politics/poll-black-voters-harris-trump.html).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Will Matsuda for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 4, 2024

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[***There’s Something Very Different About Harris vs. Trump; Ezra Klein***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DB8-J121-JBG3-60BV-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** OPINION

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**Byline:** Ezra KleinEzra Klein joined Opinion in 2021. Previously, he was the founder, editor in chief and then editor at large of Vox; the host of the podcast &amp;#8220;The Ezra Klein Show&amp;#8221;; and the author of &amp;#8220;Why We&amp;#8217;re Polarized.&amp;#8221; Before that, he was a columnist and editor at The Washington Post, where he founded and led the Wonkblog vertical. He is .&amp;#160;

**Highlight:** There’s something very different about Harris vs. Trump.

**Body**

Imagine telling yourself, in 2012, that just three presidential elections into the future Barack Obama, Dick Cheney, Arnold Schwarzenegger, Alberto Gonzales, Barbara Lee and Elizabeth Warren would be endorsing the same candidate. Such is the strange breadth of Kamala Harris’s coalition: a popular front united not by shared policy goals but by a shared defense of American institutions.

The breadth of Trump’s coalition is different: It stretches from anti-corporate naturalists like Robert F. Kennedy Jr. — who says Trump has promised him “control” of public health agencies — to post-liberal Catholics like JD Vance to crypto bros to Elon Musk. This, too, is a coalition with vast policy differences. They are united by a shared distrust in — and desire to take control of — American institutions.

We’re used to elections pitting Democrats against Republicans. This election pits Guardians against Counterrevolutionaries.

Steven Teles, a political scientist at Johns Hopkins, described it to me like this: We normally think of America as polarized across a left-right ideological divide. This was the axis of political polarization in 2012: The parties were divided on Obamacare and tax rates and austerity. Republicans said they represented America’s entrepreneurial makers against the Democratic coalition built around the indolent 47 percent who paid no income tax and lived off the government. Democrats painted Mitt Romney as a rapacious private equity firm that had taken temporary human form.

That left-right divide on economics persists: Mike Johnson, the Republican speaker of the House, just said he’d prioritize uprooting Obamacare. But it’s not the divide that matters most in this election. After all, Trump has repeatedly (and falsely) bragged on the campaign trail about saving Obamacare. Other traditional ideological divisions are more present: To the extent the election is about any one policy issue, it’s about abortion, and there the stakes are undeniable.

But there’s another axis that politics can polarize along: the basic worth of institutions. To Democrats, the institutions that govern American life, though flawed and sometimes captured by moneyed interests, are fundamentally trustworthy. They are repositories of knowledge and expertise, staffed by people who do the best work they can, and they need to be protected and preserved.

The Trumpist coalition sees something quite different: an archipelago of interconnected strongholds of leftist power that stretch from the government to the universities to the media and, increasingly, big business and even the military. This network is sometimes called the Cathedral and sometimes called the Regime; Trump refers to part of it as the Deep State, Vivek Ramaswamy calls the corporate side “Woke Inc.” and JD Vance has described it as a grave threat to democracy.

This is not a unified critique. Trump’s evangelical supporters see institutions dominated by the godless discriminating against their way of life. Elon Musk bought Twitter because he thought it had become a vector for the “woke mind virus” that had infected his children and was snuffing out free speech. R.F.K. Jr. spreads conspiracy theories about vaccines and frets over food additives (which makes for an odd alliance with Trump, a man made of Big Macs and Diet Coke who presided over the Covid vaccine project Operation Warp Speed). There is no singular set of policy changes that would satisfy these figures and many that would divide them. This is a bid for control of the commanding institutions of American life, not for reform.

“Go back to McCain-Romney era,” Patrick Ruffini, the co-founder of Echelon Insights, a Republican polling firm, said. “There was a sense that the elections then were about basically earning the right to run the system. We were going to have our attendant think tanks and internal institutions that’ll be elected as guardians of what the system is. That’s been thrown out.”

In that sense, the Trumpist coalition isn’t conservative at all. It’s counterrevolutionary. It believes a leftist revolution has corrupted American institutions, and a counterrevolution — which may even require violence — is necessary. I think a lot about something that Kevin Roberts, president of the Heritage Foundation, which oversaw Project 2025, told Steve Bannon’s “War Room”: “We are in the process of the second American Revolution, which will remain bloodless if the left allows it to be.”

In 2024, Pew [*polled*](https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/08/12/americans-see-many-federal-agencies-favorably-but-republicans-grow-more-critical-of-justice-department/) Democrats and Republicans on their views of various government agencies. The net favorability gap between Democrats and Republicans on the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention was a stunning 92 points; on the Environmental Protection Agency, it was 80 points; on the Department of Education, it was 73 points. Fine, all those are liberal-coded agencies. But it keeps going: a 62-point gap for the F.B.I., a 60-point difference on the Department of Transportation; a 37-point gap on the Department of Homeland Security. In all of these cases — yes, even the Department of Homeland Security — it was Democrats reporting far more favorable feelings.

It wasn’t always this way. In 1970, Democrats and Republicans were [*nearly equally likely*](https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/08/12/americans-see-many-federal-agencies-favorably-but-republicans-grow-more-critical-of-justice-department/) to trust the media (74 percent and 68 percent). Now 54 percent of Democrats [*trust the media*](https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/08/12/americans-see-many-federal-agencies-favorably-but-republicans-grow-more-critical-of-justice-department/) but only 12 percent of Republicans do. Republicans are turning against institutions they had more trust in until recently. In 2019, 54 percent of Republicans, but only 23 percent of Democrats, [*said*](https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/08/12/americans-see-many-federal-agencies-favorably-but-republicans-grow-more-critical-of-justice-department/) big corporations had a positive impact on American life. By 2022, that [*had fallen*](https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/08/12/americans-see-many-federal-agencies-favorably-but-republicans-grow-more-critical-of-justice-department/) to 26 percent of Republicans, and risen ever so slightly to 25 percent of Democrats.

Fully diagnosing these trends is beyond what I can do in this column. Suffice it to say that there is no one cause, and the many causes that do exist feed off one another. Part of it reflects the Democratic Party’s increasing strength among highly educated voters, which has led them to dominate institutions that prize elite credentials; part of it reflects a long-running conservative effort to delegitimize academia and the media and the government, which has led to fewer Republicans seeking careers in those institutions; part of it reflects the behavior of Donald Trump, which was and is so extreme that institutions have been forced into responses that have enraged his supporters, ranging from his 2021 ban from major social media platforms to the criminal prosecutions against him.

You might assume that this realignment would push Democrats, at least, toward a less progressive economic agenda. But that’s not the case: Democrats are well to the left of where they were in the Clinton or Obama years, even as their coalition is more affluent now. This reflects richer Americans adopting more liberal views as they assimilate into the Democratic coalition.

“The very richest Democrats have become just as left-wing on economics as their less affluent party members, and far more economically progressive than low- and middle-income Republicans,” Rogé Karma [*writes*](https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/08/12/americans-see-many-federal-agencies-favorably-but-republicans-grow-more-critical-of-justice-department/) in The Atlantic. “U.S. politics seems to have decisively entered what you might call a post-Marxist or post-materialist phase.”

Some of this reflects Donald Trump scrambling the system’s litmus tests. You could not be a Republican in good standing in 2012 and support the Affordable Care Act or raising taxes on the rich. With very rare exceptions, you cannot be a Republican in good standing in 2024 and forthrightly say that Donald Trump lost the election or that the insurrection of Jan. 6 was heinous. Democrats have shifted their policies less spectacularly, but the ease with which Harris walked back the most progressive positions she took in 2019 reflects a similar dynamic: What matters most, now, is protecting the system from its enemies.

But here, too, we see a feedback loop emerging. A [*survey*](https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/08/12/americans-see-many-federal-agencies-favorably-but-republicans-grow-more-critical-of-justice-department/) by the Center for ***Working Class*** Politics and YouGov tested a number of messages among ***working***- ***class*** Pennsylvanians and found that none performed worse, for Democrats, than focusing on the threat Trump poses to democracy. At least in that survey, those voters wanted to hear how Harris would curb the power of billionaires, not how she’d protect the integrity of a government they mistrust.

Surveys like that should be treated with some skepticism. The Harris team is running plenty of its own polls and focus groups and message tests. Still, it was striking to see Harris delivering her closing argument in Washington at the site Trump used to incite the mob that stormed the Capitol. Her speech had plenty to say about the economy, but the visual made the stakes of the election perfectly clear: one party promising to defend America’s institutions against the other party, which seeks to conquer them.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/08/12/americans-see-many-federal-agencies-favorably-but-republicans-grow-more-critical-of-justice-department/) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/08/12/americans-see-many-federal-agencies-favorably-but-republicans-grow-more-critical-of-justice-department/). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/08/12/americans-see-many-federal-agencies-favorably-but-republicans-grow-more-critical-of-justice-department/).

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page SR2.

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[***Competing Visions Doomed Harris's Wall Street-Approved Economic Pitch***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCT-HCX1-JBG3-62G3-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Nicholas Nehamas and Andrew Duehren

**Body**

The vice president vacillated on how to talk about the economy, and ended up adopting marginal pro-business tweaks that both corporate and progressive allies agreed made for a muddled message.

When Vice President Kamala Harris traveled to a locally owned brewery in New Hampshire to talk about helping small businesses -- a major plank of her economic platform -- she made sure that one group of Americans felt included: millionaires who wanted to keep more of their profits from selling stocks and real estate.

''If you earn a million dollars a year or more, the tax rate on your long-term capital gains will be 28 percent under my plan,'' Ms. Harris said in that campaign speech this fall. ''Because we know when the government encourages investment, it leads to broad-based economic growth.''

The moment stuck out. In remarks that her campaign had pitched as a major address to the middle class, Ms. Harris offered a striking concession on tax rates for the wealthy -- an olive branch that she used to present herself as more business friendly than President Biden, who had sought a higher rate.

Her speech underscored just how much the advice of her allies and donors from Wall Street and Silicon Valley -- as well as her own longstanding belief in pragmatic, incremental progress over sweeping, ideological change -- was driving her messaging on the economy.

One important influence on Ms. Harris was her brother-in-law, Tony West, who took a leave from his job as the chief legal officer at Uber to advise her campaign. Ms. Harris would often ask her staff, ''Has Tony seen this?'' before she would review her economic speeches or talking points, according to two people with knowledge of the conversations.

Mr. West, who served as a top Justice Department official in the Obama administration but has little background in economic policy, also flagged social media posts from her campaign and official accounts that he thought were off Ms. Harris's economic message, one of the people said. He and Brian Nelson, a longtime adviser to Ms. Harris, were in frequent contact with business executives and Wall Street donors during the campaign.

The result was a Democratic candidate who vacillated between competing visions for how to address the economic problems that voters repeatedly ranked as their top issue. Ms. Harris neither abandoned nor fully embraced key liberal goals for confronting corporate power and raising taxes on the rich. Instead, she adopted marginal pro-business tweaks to the status quo that both her corporate and progressive allies agreed never coalesced into a clear economic argument.

Voters ultimately preferred Donald J. Trump's broad but vague promises to cut taxes and shake up the global trading system. And as frustration with the historic increase in inflation has led to losses among governing parties across the world, some Democrats doubt that Ms. Harris could have prevailed even with a stronger economic message.

The Harris campaign and Mr. West declined to comment for this article.

Democrats from across the party saw plenty to criticize in the economic agenda that Ms. Harris's campaign had to slap together in a matter of weeks after Mr. Biden dropped out. Rather than the ''opportunity economy'' that Ms. Harris envisioned, several Democrats said Americans hungered for a more ambitious overhaul of the system.

''When you're too conflicted between the interest of corporate America and average working-day people, I think this is what you end up with,'' said Jimmy Williams, the president of the International Union of Painters and Allied Trades. ''A message that doesn't resonate.''

Failing to call out the 'big, bad wolf'

An early case study of Ms. Harris's quandary came during her first economic policy speech, in North Carolina in August. Members of her communications team had suggested she focus her speech on cracking down on corporate price gouging, according to two people briefed on the deliberations, as a way to address rising costs. Her speech ultimately focused only on addressing price gouging for groceries.

Still, the criticism from both Republicans and Ms. Harris's Wall Street allies came swiftly. They slammed the plan as price controls that would disrupt economic growth.

The blowback caught Ms. Harris's operation off guard, and campaign officials further narrowed the scope of her plan. While she brought up the idea repeatedly in campaign speeches and television advertisements, for some Democrats the approach remained too intangible.

''You can say there's a big, bad wolf blowing houses down, but you have to go after those people and point them out,'' said Dwan Walker, the Democratic mayor of Aliquippa, a small, formerly industrial city outside Pittsburgh. ''It's effective because now you went after somebody, you brought it to bear and you showed us what it was.''

Over the course of the campaign, it became clear that Ms. Harris would de-emphasize Mr. Biden's attacks on big companies in favor of a more conciliatory approach that she hoped would appeal to moderates. She wanted corporate leaders in her camp, as she tried to outrun the progressive reputation she had gained during the 2020 presidential primary race and to blunt Mr. Trump's attacks that she was a ''communist.''

''We're a center-right country,'' said Charles Myers, a fund-raiser for Ms. Harris and the chairman and founder of Signum Global Advisors. ''One of the few things we all agree on as Americans is the American dream, and a very big part of the American dream is the accumulation of wealth.''

In an economic policy speech in late September in Pittsburgh, the vice president spoke of the importance of investing in ''A.I., quantum computing, blockchain, digital assets and other emerging technologies'' alongside a pledge to support ''factory towns and workers.''

Such messaging was a departure from Mr. Biden, who often styled himself as the most pro-labor president in the country's history. Still, while progressives loved much of Mr. Biden's economic message, he appeared on track for an even bigger loss to Mr. Trump.

And aides to Ms. Harris pointed out that voters graded her more favorably than Mr. Biden on the economy, as she pushed policies including expanding the child tax credit, granting $25,000 in down-payment assistance to first-time home-buyers and allowing Medicare to cover home health care.

Trump's simple explanation

On the campaign trail, Ms. Harris sometimes sent mixed signals about her economic agenda.

Her campaign was intentionally ambiguous about whether she backed Mr. Biden's ambitious idea to raise taxes on the ultrawealthy. She neither supported nor directly criticized financial regulators in the Biden administration. She did not talk about raising the minimum wage until two weeks before Election Day and frequently noted that Goldman Sachs analysts preferred her economic plan to Mr. Trump's.

On Election Day, voters decisively chose Mr. Trump, who promised across-the-board tariffs and the mass deportation of immigrants. Such policies would reshape the economic life of the United States -- and many economists on the right and left agree that they would significantly raise prices.

''People want to understand what's going on in their lives. Trump gave them an explanation,'' Senator Bernie Sanders, independent of Vermont, said in an interview. ''He attributed all of our problems to undocumented immigrants. What is the Democratic explanation for why the gap between the rich and the poor is getting wider and ***working-class*** people are struggling? You tell me.''

The results showed that Democrats lost ground with voters across the board compared with 2020, including in ***working-class*** areas and among people of color. Although Ms. Harris campaigned hard in the suburbs, pitching herself as a centrist to try to win over moderate Republicans and independents, her support there lagged as well.

Nationwide, Democratic enthusiasm withered. While Mr. Trump received roughly the same amount of votes he did in 2020 -- when he lost -- Ms. Harris appears to have fallen well short of Mr. Biden's haul four years ago.

'You can't out-Republican Republicans.'

While Democrats were defeated, populist, progressive economic policies did well at the ballot box.

In Missouri, a red state, voters passed an amendment to raise the minimum wage to $15 an hour by a wide margin, even as they overwhelmingly voted against Ms. Harris. In Alaska, they were poised to do the same, with results still being tallied. Roughly 75 percent of voters in conservative Nebraska backed a measure to institute paid sick leave.

Ms. Harris did not make either policy a major part of her campaign.

Now, the miscalculations the Harris campaign potentially made on the economy could shape how the Democratic Party moves forward as it enters a period of rebuilding and recrimination.

Progressives said the answer was to develop a distinctive message.

''There is a tendency in every general election to run to the center to court moderate Republicans,'' said Representative Pramila Jayapal, Democrat of Washington and the chair of the Congressional Progressive Caucus. ''You can't out-Republican Republicans.''

Sara Nelson, the international president of the Association of Flight Attendants union, said that, for Democrats, ''the biggest problem is that people would say, 'I can't tell the difference between the parties.' And they leaned hard into that problem.''

Some of Ms. Harris's loudest backers have been more muted since the election.

During the campaign, the billionaire Mark Cuban became an increasingly prominent surrogate for the vice president. He said repeatedly that Ms. Harris would abandon higher taxes on the ultrawealthy and appeared with her on the trail in swing-state Wisconsin. But he declined to comment when asked this week to weigh in on Ms. Harris's economic messaging.

''No interest in talking politics at all,'' Mr. Cuban wrote in an email.

Kate Kelly, Erica L. Green, Reid J. Epstein and Ruth Igielnik contributed reporting.Kate Kelly, Erica L. Green, Reid J. Epstein and Ruth Igielnik contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/09/us/politics/harris-trump-economy.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/09/us/politics/harris-trump-economy.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Vice President Kamala Harris during a campaign event at a semiconductor facility in Thomas Township, Mich., last month. (PHOTOGRAPH BY BRITTANY GREESON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A23.

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[***President Accuses G.O.P. Of Hurting Working Class***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:695S-SB61-JBG3-6443-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

President Biden trained his criticism on House Republicans who are threatening to shut down the federal government if their budget cuts are not enacted.

President Biden challenged his Republican opponents on Thursday in their area of political strength, arguing that he has done a better job of managing the economy than former President Donald J. Trump did and accusing his predecessor's congressional allies of undercutting ***working-class*** Americans.

While Mr. Trump has long made his stewardship of the economy his most salient bragging point, Mr. Biden declared that his ''Bidenomics'' program had done more to help everyday Americans make a living than what he termed ''MAGAnomics'' ever did. He framed the argument in terms of the fall's coming budget battles, but it also represented a preview of next year's campaign.

''They have a very different vision for America,'' Mr. Biden said in a speech at Prince George's Community College in Largo, Md., just outside the nation's capital, where he held up a copy of budget plans by House Republicans. ''Their plan, MAGAnomics, is more extreme than anything America has ever seen before.''

Mr. Biden trained his criticism on Republicans who are threatening to shut down the federal government if their plans are not enacted. The president accused the Republicans of caring more about the wealthy than the ***working class***, pointing to proposals to cut taxes for high-income households and corporations; wring savings from Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid; and reverse initiatives to lower the cost of insulin and other prescription medicine.

The intensified criticism of Republicans follows months of speeches and other messaging by the president and his team promoting the benefits of Bidenomics, a phrase used by critics that they have chosen to embrace. But the credit-taking has not budged Mr. Biden's poll numbers, and so White House officials now plan to spend the next few weeks or longer emphasizing the contrast with his opponents.

''House Republicans have understandably been reluctant to tout the MAGAnomics Budget -- but the White House is going to spend much of this fall doing it for them,'' Anita Dunn, a senior adviser to the president, wrote in a memo released to reporters.

Mr. Biden faces strong political headwinds on the economy. A new poll released on Thursday by USA Today and Suffolk University found that only 22 percent of Americans think the economy is improving while 70 percent think it is getting worse. Asked to volunteer a single word to describe the economy, a majority came up with terms like ''horrible,'' ''terrible,'' ''crashing,'' ''shambles,'' ''chaotic'' and ''expensive.''

Just 34 percent of Americans approved of Mr. Biden's handling of the economy and, when asked to choose, more expressed faith in his predecessor to improve the country's economic health than they did in the incumbent, 47 percent to 36 percent.

Mr. Trump sought to rebut Mr. Biden even before the speech. ''The public has not been fooled,'' his campaign said in a statement. ''They see Bidenomics for what it is: inflation, taxation, submission and failure.''

''With polls confirming that Americans overwhelmingly reject Biden's effort to whitewash his abysmal economic record,'' the statement added, ''he will now attempt to reverse his message 180 degrees, ludicrously trying to blame President Trump for the destruction and misery that Joe Biden himself has wrought.''

Mr. Trump has always used superlatives to exaggerate the strength of the economy while he was in office. While he presided over a strong and generally healthy economy, it was not the best in history, as he has often stated, and before the pandemic it was roughly comparable in many ways to the economy of the last few years of his predecessor, President Barack Obama.

During Mr. Trump's first two years in office, the economy grew an average of 2.5 percent per quarter on an annualized basis, while it grew an average of 3.1 percent per quarter in Mr. Biden's first two years coming out of the pandemic, according to a comparison by Barron's. The stock market soared by 21 percent during the early part of Mr. Trump's tenure compared with 8.5 percent during a comparable period under Mr. Biden.

Unemployment has been roughly similar during the two administrations, at 3.8 percent near a record low, but job growth under Mr. Biden has far surpassed that under Mr. Trump as the economy rebounds from Covid-19 lockdowns. By last spring, monthly job growth had averaged 470,000 since Mr. Biden took office, compared with 180,000 in the start of Mr. Trump's administration, Barron's calculated.

Where Mr. Biden has struggled most economically is with inflation, which averaged around 2 percent under Mr. Trump but peaked at 9 percent last year under Mr. Biden before falling to about 3.7 percent now. Inflation has increased the cost of groceries, clothes, household goods and housing, while eating away at rising wages. The federal deficit is also rising sharply, as have interest rates.

Still, the recession many feared has yet to materialize, and many experts now are more optimistic about what they call a soft landing. Mr. Biden argues that his expansive legislative program has positioned the country for the future better than Mr. Trump ever did through new or repaired airports, roads, bridges and other infrastructure; vast investment in the semiconductor industry; ambitious clean energy programs to combat climate change; and initiatives to bring down the cost of prescription drugs.

''America has the strongest economy in the world of all major economics,'' Mr. Biden said. ''But all they do is attack it. But you notice something? For all the time they spend attacking me and my plan, here's what they never do -- they never talk about what they want to do.'' He added: ''It's like they want to keep it a secret. I don't blame them.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/14/us/politics/biden-republicans-economy.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/14/us/politics/biden-republicans-economy.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A14.

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[***Green Acres To New Pastures***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DMK-PCP1-DXY4-X2V0-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Shivani Gonzalez

**Body**

The celebutantes-turned-businesswomen are rebooting the show that provided a blueprint for the past 20 years of reality TV.

How would two troubled Los Angeles heiresses manage as members of the Bible Belt ***working class***?

The answer helped revolutionize reality TV and legitimized the careers of Paris Hilton and Nicole Richie. In 2003, the pair of 22-year-olds debuted in Fox's ''The Simple Life,'' which documented their move to Altus, Ark., to live with a family on their farm and try out blue collar jobs.

Hilton and Richie brought rich-girl haughtiness and high jinks to mundane tasks like cleaning hotel rooms and, in one memorable episode, serving burgers at a Sonic Drive-In. The result was a quotable megahit -- with heart. ''Their fish-out-of-water ineptitude serves as a social leveler that gives them their comeuppance and preserves the dignity of their rural hosts,'' Alessandra Stanley wrote in a review for The New York Times. Unlike the other popular reality programs of the time, like ''Big Brother'' and ''Survivor,'' the allure of ''The Simple Life'' didn't come from a wild premise or shocking competition: The personalities of and friendship between Hilton and Richie were the drawing card. That recipe has been built upon in subsequent reality franchises like ''Keeping Up With the Kardashians,'' ''Jersey Shore'' and ''The Real Housewives.''

More than two decades later, the two are appearing in ''Paris & Nicole: Encore,'' a three-part reboot which is primarily set in L.A. and involves activities and outings a bit closer to home. It will air on Peacock beginning Thursday. Though the show centers on the pair's staging of an opera based on ''sanasa,'' a made-up word which fans might remember as a mainstay joke on the original, Hilton and Richie also revisit Altus, Sonic and the friendship that made their show riveting TV.

Ahead of the ''Encore'' premiere, we talked to Hilton and Richie about how reality TV has changed since ''The Simple Life,'' the impact of social media on the genre and the shows they're enjoying now.

Here are edited excerpts from the conversation.

You were some of the first reality TV stars, and now it is an oversaturated industry. How do you think the landscape has changed since ''The Simple Life'' first aired?

NICOLE RICHIE We didn't say yes to doing the show to build our brand or get exposure for something else in our business. We really said yes to this show because we wanted to have fun and we wanted to be together. We actually had no information about the show. We didn't even know what city we were going to. We had no idea. We were just up for an adventure. We were just, like, down to laugh, you know? We had no idea that it was going to take off and be in, you know, multiple seasons or anything like that.

In the early days of reality TV, even with ''Jersey Shore,'' which came later, the cast members didn't really know what they were signing up for. And that was the beauty of it.

RICHIE In 2024, it can lead to so many other things. That was not on our minds at all. We were, you know, 20 and just wanting to live, laugh, love.

PARIS HILTON There was nothing really to compare it to. So we had no idea what we were getting ourselves into. We were just doing it because we love having fun together, going on adventures --

RICHIE We wanted to leave town and go for it.

Do you think that the prominence of technology and social media has helped or hindered the genre?

RICHIE A show like ''The Simple Life'' could never exist now, because the whole point of that show was that we didn't have phones, we had no access to the outside world at all and that was something that I think really stood out about the show and the times in which we did it. We had no idea what was going on with our family or our friends back home.

How did your experience filming ''Paris & Nicole: Encore'' differ from your experience on ''The Simple Life?''

RICHIE It was very different just in the sense of we were clocking in and clocking out every day, so we were not out of town. I'd say the biggest difference is that when we did ''The Simple Life,'' we were signing up to do someone else's show. And ''Encore'' is a show that we created, that we produced, and we just had a lot of fun doing it.

You both have lots of your own ventures, could you see yourselves coming back to reality TV more long-term?

RICHIE ''The Simple Life'' was all about us leaving our lives and stepping into other people's. So, you know, we did always maintain a certain level of privacy and protection just within our own lives. That show was really special, I love it so much. It would be impossible for us to do it again just because, you know, we're now real adults. We've got careers and families. And it's just not possible.

What advice would you give to younger people quickly gaining prominence after appearing on a reality show?

HILTON I think it's important to definitely just be very aware of everything that you post. And if you want to parlay that into a brand or building a product line or something, that's something important as well to really figure out what you want to do, get the correct team to make it happen and try to capitalize on it, to do something with it.

What reality show or shows are you currently loving?

HILTON ''The Simple Life,'' it's a great show. I love to watch it all the time, been watching it with my kids.

How do they feel watching it with you?

HILTON My little baby boy, he just, like, sits there and he's like, ''Mama, mama.'' He just, like, watches and laughs. And now he's learned our song ''Sanasa'' and sings it all the time. And it's just the cutest thing in the world just to hear him singing in his little baby voice.

What about you, Nicole?

RICHIE I didn't watch the whole season, but I did see a few episodes of ''The Golden Bachelor,'' and I loved it. I found it to be extremely moving to see people in these different stages in later stages in their lives that want to take a new chapter and put themselves out there. I thought that was entertaining and really nice.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/11/arts/television/paris-hilton-nicole-richie-encore-simple-life.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/11/arts/television/paris-hilton-nicole-richie-encore-simple-life.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Top, Paris Hilton, left, and Nicole Richie stage an opera based on their made-up word ''sanasa,'' in ''Paris & Nicole: Encore,'' on Peacock. On a 2005 episode of ''The Simple Life,'' Richie, left, and Hilton with Captain Evans at a fire station in Atlantic City, N.J. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHRISTINE BARTOLUCCI/PEACOCK

MICHAEL YARISH/FOX) This article appeared in print on page C7.

**Load-Date:** December 12, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Harris Had a Wall Street-Approved Economic Pitch. It Fell Flat.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCK-1JF1-JBG3-624V-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 9, 2024 Saturday 09:50 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1706 words

**Byline:** Nicholas Nehamas and Andrew DuehrenNicholas Nehamas is a Times political reporter covering the presidential campaign of Vice President Kamala Harris.

**Highlight:** The vice president vacillated on how to talk about the economy, and ended up adopting marginal pro-business tweaks that both corporate and progressive allies agreed made for a muddled message.

**Body**

The vice president vacillated on how to talk about the economy, and ended up adopting marginal pro-business tweaks that both corporate and progressive allies agreed made for a muddled message.

When Vice President Kamala Harris traveled to a locally owned brewery in New Hampshire to talk about helping small businesses — a major plank of her economic platform — she made sure that one group of Americans felt included: millionaires who wanted to keep more of their profits from selling stocks and real estate.

“If you earn a million dollars a year or more, the tax rate on your long-term capital gains will be 28 percent under my plan,” Ms. Harris said in that campaign speech this fall. “Because we know when the government encourages investment, it leads to broad-based economic growth.”

The moment stuck out. In remarks that her campaign had pitched as a major address to the middle class, Ms. Harris offered a striking concession on tax rates for the wealthy — an olive branch that she used to present herself as [*more business friendly*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/04/us/politics/harris-tax-break-small-business.html) than President Biden, who had sought a higher rate.

Her speech underscored just how much the advice of her allies and donors from Wall Street and Silicon Valley — as well as her own longstanding belief in pragmatic, incremental progress over sweeping, ideological change — was driving her messaging on the economy.

One important influence on Ms. Harris was her brother-in-law, Tony West, who [*took a leave*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/04/us/politics/harris-tax-break-small-business.html) from his job as the chief legal officer at Uber to advise her campaign. Ms. Harris would often ask her staff, “Has Tony seen this?” before she would review her economic speeches or talking points, according to two people with knowledge of the conversations.

Mr. West, who served as a top Justice Department official in the Obama administration but has little background in economic policy, also flagged social media posts from her campaign and official accounts that he thought were off Ms. Harris’s economic message, one of the people said. He and Brian Nelson, a longtime adviser to Ms. Harris, were in frequent contact with business executives and Wall Street donors during the campaign.

The result was a Democratic candidate who vacillated between competing visions for how to address the economic problems that voters repeatedly ranked as their top issue. Ms. Harris neither abandoned nor fully embraced key liberal goals for confronting corporate power and raising taxes on the rich. Instead, she adopted marginal pro-business tweaks to the status quo that both her corporate and progressive allies agreed never coalesced into a clear economic argument.

Voters ultimately preferred Donald J. Trump’s broad but vague promises to cut taxes and shake up the global trading system. And as frustration with the historic increase in inflation has led to losses among governing parties across the world, some Democrats doubt that Ms. Harris could have prevailed even with a stronger economic message.

The Harris campaign and Mr. West declined to comment for this article.

Democrats from across the party saw [*plenty to criticize*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/04/us/politics/harris-tax-break-small-business.html) in the economic agenda that Ms. Harris’s campaign had to slap together in a matter of weeks after Mr. Biden dropped out. Rather than the “opportunity economy” that Ms. Harris envisioned, several Democrats said Americans hungered for a more ambitious overhaul of the system.

“When you’re too conflicted between the interest of corporate America and average working-day people, I think this is what you end up with,” said Jimmy Williams, the president of the International Union of Painters and Allied Trades. “A message that doesn’t resonate.”

Failing to call out the ‘big, bad wolf’

An early case study of Ms. Harris’s quandary came during her [*first economic policy speech*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/04/us/politics/harris-tax-break-small-business.html), in North Carolina in August. Members of her communications team had suggested she focus her speech on cracking down on corporate price gouging, according to two people briefed on the deliberations, as a way to address rising costs. Her speech ultimately focused only on addressing price gouging for groceries.

Still, the criticism from both Republicans and Ms. Harris’s Wall Street allies came swiftly. They slammed the plan as price controls that would disrupt economic growth.

The blowback caught Ms. Harris’s operation off guard, and campaign officials further narrowed the scope of her plan. While she brought up the idea repeatedly in campaign speeches and television advertisements, for some Democrats the approach remained too intangible.

“You can say there’s a big, bad wolf blowing houses down, but you have to go after those people and point them out,” said Dwan Walker, the Democratic mayor of Aliquippa, a small, formerly industrial city outside Pittsburgh. “It’s effective because now you went after somebody, you brought it to bear and you showed us what it was.”

Over the course of the campaign, it became clear that Ms. Harris would de-emphasize Mr. Biden’s attacks on big companies in favor of a more conciliatory approach that she hoped would appeal to moderates. She wanted corporate leaders in her camp, as she tried to outrun the progressive reputation she had gained during the 2020 presidential primary race and to blunt Mr. Trump’s attacks that she was a “communist.”

“We’re a center-right country,” said Charles Myers, a fund-raiser for Ms. Harris and the chairman and founder of Signum Global Advisors. “One of the few things we all agree on as Americans is the American dream, and a very big part of the American dream is the accumulation of wealth.”

In an economic policy speech in late September in Pittsburgh, the vice president [*spoke of*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/04/us/politics/harris-tax-break-small-business.html) the importance of investing in “A.I., quantum computing, blockchain, digital assets and other emerging technologies” alongside a pledge to support “factory towns and workers.”

Such messaging was a departure from Mr. Biden, who often styled himself as the most pro-labor president in the country’s history. Still, while progressives loved much of Mr. Biden’s economic message, he appeared on track for an even bigger loss to Mr. Trump.

And aides to Ms. Harris pointed out that voters [*graded her more favorably*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/04/us/politics/harris-tax-break-small-business.html) than Mr. Biden on the economy, as she pushed policies including expanding the child tax credit, granting $25,000 in down-payment assistance to first-time home-buyers and allowing Medicare to c[*over home health care*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/04/us/politics/harris-tax-break-small-business.html).

Trump’s simple explanation

On the campaign trail, Ms. Harris sometimes sent mixed signals about her economic agenda.

Her campaign was intentionally ambiguous about whether she backed Mr. Biden’s ambitious idea to raise taxes on the ultrawealthy. She neither supported nor directly criticized financial regulators in the Biden administration. She did not talk about raising the minimum wage until two weeks before Election Day and frequently noted that Goldman Sachs analysts [*preferred*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/04/us/politics/harris-tax-break-small-business.html) her economic plan to Mr. Trump’s.

On Election Day, voters decisively chose Mr. Trump, who promised [*across-the-board tariffs*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/04/us/politics/harris-tax-break-small-business.html) and the [*mass deportation of immigrants*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/04/us/politics/harris-tax-break-small-business.html). Such policies would reshape the economic life of the United States — and many economists on the right and left agree that they would significantly raise prices.

“People want to understand what’s going on in their lives. Trump gave them an explanation,” Senator Bernie Sanders, independent of Vermont, said in an interview. “He attributed all of our problems to undocumented immigrants. What is the Democratic explanation for why the gap between the rich and the poor is getting wider and ***working-class*** people are struggling? You tell me.”

The results showed that Democrats [*lost ground with voters across the board*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/04/us/politics/harris-tax-break-small-business.html) compared with 2020, including in ***working-class*** areas and among people of color. Although Ms. Harris campaigned hard in the suburbs, pitching herself as a centrist to try to win over moderate Republicans and independents, her support there lagged as well.

Nationwide, Democratic enthusiasm withered. While Mr. Trump [*received*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/04/us/politics/harris-tax-break-small-business.html) roughly the same amount of votes he did in 2020 — when he lost — Ms. Harris appears to have fallen well short of Mr. Biden’s haul four years ago.

‘You can’t out-Republican Republicans.’

While Democrats were defeated, populist, progressive economic policies did well at the ballot box.

In Missouri, a red state, voters passed an amendment to [*raise the minimum wage*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/04/us/politics/harris-tax-break-small-business.html) to $15 an hour by a wide margin, even as they [*overwhelmingly voted*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/04/us/politics/harris-tax-break-small-business.html) against Ms. Harris. In Alaska, they were [*poised to do the same*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/04/us/politics/harris-tax-break-small-business.html), with results still being tallied. Roughly 75 percent of voters in conservative Nebraska [*backed a measure*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/04/us/politics/harris-tax-break-small-business.html) to institute paid sick leave.

Ms. Harris did not make either policy a major part of her campaign.

Now, the miscalculations the Harris campaign potentially made on the economy could shape how the Democratic Party moves forward as it [*enters a period of rebuilding and recrimination*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/04/us/politics/harris-tax-break-small-business.html).

Progressives said the answer was to develop a distinctive message.

“There is a tendency in every general election to run to the center to court moderate Republicans,” said Representative Pramila Jayapal, Democrat of Washington and the chair of the Congressional Progressive Caucus. “You can’t out-Republican Republicans.”

Sara Nelson, the international president of the Association of Flight Attendants union, said that, for Democrats, “the biggest problem is that people would say, ‘I can’t tell the difference between the parties.’ And they leaned hard into that problem.”

Some of Ms. Harris’s loudest backers have been more muted since the election.

During the campaign, the billionaire Mark Cuban became an increasingly prominent surrogate for the vice president. He said repeatedly that Ms. Harris would abandon higher taxes on the ultrawealthy and appeared with her on the trail in swing-state Wisconsin. But he declined to comment when asked this week to weigh in on Ms. Harris’s economic messaging.

“No interest in talking politics at all,” Mr. Cuban wrote in an email.

Kate Kelly, Erica L. Green, Reid J. Epstein and Ruth Igielnik contributed reporting.

Kate Kelly, Erica L. Green, Reid J. Epstein and Ruth Igielnik contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Vice President Kamala Harris during a campaign event at a semiconductor facility in Thomas Township, Mich., last month. (PHOTOGRAPH BY BRITTANY GREESON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A23.

**Load-Date:** November 11, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Runoff Vote For Election In Uruguay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D96-TM11-DXY4-X014-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 29, 2024 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 12

**Length:** 700 words

**Byline:** By The Associated Press

**Body**

Yamandú Orsi, a center-left former mayor, finished first on Sunday but fell short of the 50 percent threshold needed to avoid another round of voting.

Uruguay's presidential election was pushed into a second round of voting on Sunday, as a center-left former mayor finished ahead of the center-right governing coalition's candidate.

With more than 80 percent of the votes counted, both leading candidates -- Yamandú Orsi, a two-time mayor and former history teacher, and Álvaro Delgado, who was the current president's chief of staff -- told crowds of supporters that they expected to face each other in a runoff on Nov. 24.

Exit polls showed Mr. Orsi with 42 percent to 44 percent of the vote, well ahead of Mr. Delgado but short of the 50 percent threshold needed to win outright. Mr. Delgado had 27 percent to 28 percent of the vote, according to polls.

Mr. Orsi represents the center-left Broad Front alliance, which held the presidency from 2005 to 2019. He went into the election as the front-runner, reflecting a desire for a stronger social safety net in one of Latin America's most expensive countries.

''We are going in for these 27 days,'' he told thousands of supporters in Montevideo, the capital, referring to the final campaign push.

Mr. Delgado, a former chief of staff to President Luis Lacalle Pou, has promised to continue the policies of the president, who has an approval rating of about 50 percent, according to surveys. The Constitution bars Mr. Lacalle Pou from seeking a second consecutive term.

''People placed their trust in us,'' Mr. Delgado told a gathering of his supporters shortly after midnight on Monday. ''Tomorrow we will be meeting to plan the campaign for the runoff.''

Many see Uruguay as a model democracy and a bastion of stability in the region. It is not plagued by the bitter polarization seen in many democracies, and the race was essentially between two moderates whose talking points often overlapped.

Mr. Delgado was joined onstage by another candidate, Andrés Ojeda, who placed a distant third but exceeded many analysts' expectations. A media-savvy lawyer, he tried to energize apathetic young voters with campaign videos that showed him lifting weights. ''The government cannot be won without us,'' Mr. Ojeda said.

Electoral officials reported a turnout of 89 percent of the county's 2.7 million eligible voters. Voting in presidential and congressional elections is compulsory in Uruguay.

The campaign has largely focused on a rise in homicides and robberies, with the governing coalition pushing a tough-on-crime approach and the liberal coalition seeking to boost the state's role in security matters.

During its 15 years in power, the Broad Front presided over robust economic growth and socially liberal laws that raised Uruguay's global profile, legalizing abortion, same-sex marriage and marijuana for recreational use. Uruguay has also developed one of the world's greenest grids, powered by 98 percent renewable energy.

With Mr. Orsi's ***working-class*** roots, casual wear and promise to eschew many of the benefits enjoyed by heads of state, many voters seemed to endorse a candidate with the same folksy appeal as José ''Pepe'' Mujica, who was president from 2010 to 2015.

A former guerrilla who is now a chrysanthemum farmer, Mr. Mujica, 89, helped spearhead Uruguay's transformation into the continent's most socially liberal country. He is battling esophageal cancer, but he cast his ballot in Montevideo on Sunday.

''We need to support democracy, not because it is perfect, but because humans have not yet invented anything better,'' he told journalists.

The campaign has played out without the vitriolic insults and personal attacks seen in many countries, including two of its neighbors, economically dysfunctional Argentina and politically polarized Brazil.

''In a way, Uruguay has been boring, but boring in this sense is very good,'' said Juan Cruz Díaz, a political analyst who runs the Cefeidas Group, a consultancy in Buenos Aires. ''We've seen so many dramatic changes in Argentina, Brazil, Ecuador, Colombia and suddenly we face elections in Uruguay in which there is a general consensus, there's stability.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/28/world/americas/uruguay-election-president.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/28/world/americas/uruguay-election-president.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A12.

**Load-Date:** October 29, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Classic Tacos Made the Simple, and Right, Way***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D0G-2CT1-JBG3-61WN-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 18, 2024 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section D; Column 0; Dining In, Dining Out / Style Desk; Pg. 6

**Length:** 970 words

**Byline:** By Priya Krishna

**Body**

Long before tacos exploded onto menus worldwide, they were quite literally explosive.

During Mexico's economic boom in the late 18th century, tacos were the makeshift sticks of dynamite that silver miners used to excavate rock. According to a popular theory from the food historian Jeffrey Pilcher, the name entered the food canon when those miners realized that their lunches -- boiled potatoes wrapped in tortillas, often with a splash of hot sauce -- resembled their incendiaries.

It took about two more centuries for tacos to travel to New York, where they have settled into every kind of setting and style -- street food, fine dining, desserts, Indian cuisine and even as part of an omakase.

There's merit to all that creativity. But what makes the tacos at Carnitas RamÃ­rez so special is that they are, in a way, unremarkable. They follow a classic formula that you'll find at other taquerias: a pliable tortilla, a deftly seasoned filling and a brightly stinging salsa. Many taquerias get two out of the three elements right. Carnitas RamÃ­rez nails them all, and goes a step further -- it reminds diners that, as ubiquitous and varied as tacos may now be, they began as a staple of the ***working class***.

When the married couple who co-own the restaurant, Tania Apolinar and Giovanni Cervantes, opened their first place, Taqueria RamÃ­rez, four years ago in Greenpoint, Brooklyn, neither had any restaurant experience. Mr. Cervantes, the chef, spent the coronavirus lockdown teaching himself to make tacos like the ones he grew up eating in Mexico City -- where thousands of New Yorkers had decamped during the pandemic.

The cross-pollination between those cities has stirred great interest here in the couple's traditional approach: preparing cuts like tripe and suadero in bubbling lard inside a comal choricero. Taqueria RamÃ­rez made many Mexicans feel at home, and others feel as if they were on vacation. The owners' background in photography and their social media savvy certainly helped. The restaurant quickly became the most talked-about New York taqueria since Los Tacos No. 1.

This sequel -- an airy, counter-service spot in the East Village filled with abuela-coded kitsch -- feels even more ambitious and so far, just as busy. In look and taste, it pays homage to what tacos were created to be: an inexpensive, satisfying food stuffed with whatever ingredients were around. (The restaurant has two additional owners, the chef Yvon de Tassigny and the manager, Kari Boden.)

Carnitas were one of the earliest taco fillings, according to Dr. Pilcher, and they included an indiscriminate mix of pork parts, not just the so-called choice cuts like pork butt.

All of those parts are on offer at Carnitas RamÃ­rez. They come dressed with diced onion and cilantro and wrapped in supple, lard-stained tortillas that are cooked to order. The oreja (ear) is lean and gelatinous, like a chubby noodle. The cachete (cheek) arrives in rich, juicy shreds. The trompa (snout) has the slippery, fat-licked pleasure of a mushroom plucked from a bowl of ramen. The surtida taco, which includes a little bit of everything, is texture roulette: crunchy, creamy, tender and slick. The sesadilla is a fried tortilla pocket concealing a ricotta-like filling -- that's the brain.

What's the trick to making offal this exciting? Doing the most with very little, a technique Mr. Cervantes learned from the chef Victor Fuentes of the restaurant Carnitas Don Pepe in MichoacÃ¡n, Mexico. Mr. Cervantes sears the meatiest parts of the animal -- the butt, ribs, shank, belly and head -- then slowly cooks them in their own fat, along with salt and garlic. Later on, he adds the other cuts, letting them swim in the lardy liquid until tender. The cooked meat is plucked from the pot, still dripping, and placed on steam tables, then on colorful plastic plates for serving.

Some cuts can border on overly rich, so you'll want toppings. On each of my visits, I licked my plate clean of the kicky salsa roja with guajillo and habanero chiles, and the tomatillo-avocado salsa verde. The chicharrones, available either as a side or as a crumbly topping, provide a lovely crunch.

The casual, unpretentious food is matched by the dÃ©cor, including plastic pails that double as chairs. The restaurant is meant to look like ''a humble, ***working-class*** home,'' said Ms. Apolinar, similar to the ones she and Mr. Cervantes grew up in. In Mexico, she said, carnitas are a weekend family tradition, purchased by the kilogram and eaten on a big table with the television on in the background.

Carnitas RamÃ­rez, accordingly, used to be open only on weekends. (This week it'll begin serving on Wednesdays and Thursdays.) The dining room features several depictions of the Virgin of Guadalupe, mint-green paint that is peeling by design and a small TV usually playing the telenovela ''MarÃ­a la del Barrio.''

The barrio, this is not. Your dining companions may include Latino families, but also East Village hipsters in vintage concert T-shirts filming TikTok videos. The next-door neighbor is a vaguely Latin-inspired restaurant where the brunch hordes slurp bottomless margaritas under pink neon signs. And the tacos at Carnitas Ramirez are $5 each. (Ms. Apolinar said the price accounts for the labor required to make the tortillas and the $18 to $22 an hour, plus tips, that the staff is paid.)

It's not hard to find a great taco in New York, especially in neighborhoods like Sunset Park and the South Bronx. Carnitas RamÃ­rez is just one gem in a rich landscape. Its tacos aren't groundbreaking, but that doesn't make them any less delicious.

Follow New York Times Cooking on Instagram, Facebook, YouTube, TikTok and Pinterest. Get regular updates from New York Times Cooking, with recipe suggestions, cooking tips and shopping advice.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/dining/carnitas-ramirez-restaurant-review.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/17/dining/carnitas-ramirez-restaurant-review.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: At Carnitas RamÃ­rez, right, the surtida taco, above, arrives with varied textures: crunchy, creamy, tender and slick. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY COLE SALADINO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page D6.

**Load-Date:** September 18, 2024

**End of Document**



[***After a Harrowing Night, Clearwater, Fla., Faces Severe Flooding***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D56-WNV1-JBG3-609H-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 10, 2024 Thursday 12:14 EST

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**Section:** WEATHER

**Length:** 485 words

**Highlight:** Residents of one apartment building described fleeing a second-floor unit as water rose around them. After the storm, they are worried about those who lived below them.

**Body**

Residents of one apartment building described fleeing a second-floor unit as water rose around them. After the storm, they are worried about those who lived below them.

Andreína Zapiaín and her family watched with growing desperation Wednesday night as the floodwaters rose outside their apartment complex in Clearwater, Fla. Hurricane Milton’s winds howled, whipping a palm tree against the wall of their second-floor unit.

Two weeks ago, when Hurricane Helene hit Florida, the complex — which housed many ***working-class***, mostly Hispanic residents — had endured a flood about thigh-high, said Ms. Zapiaín, 31. But on Wednesday with Milton, the water crept higher and higher.

Ms. Zapiaín and her family realized the swell would only get worse, she said. Despite the dark, they decided to leave. They figured they could swim and trudge through the flood to a higher building in the same complex where some of their relatives lived.

Her husband lifted their 11-year-old daughter onto his back and led the way, Ms. Zapiaín said. She followed behind them with her 25-year-old cousin. She could hear first-floor residents trapped by the water behind their closed doors screaming for help, she said, but could do nothing to help them.

At 4 feet 9 inches tall, Ms. Zapiaín could barely keep her chin above the water.

“I couldn’t touch the bottom, really,” she said in Spanish as she recalled the deepest point of the flood. “I was floating. I think it’s the worst thing I’ve experienced in my life.”

In the darkness, facing the wind and fighting the water, she prayed. “I asked God that we wouldn’t run into anything underwater,” Ms. Zapiaín said.

She and her family made it to their relatives’ apartment, a long stretch of buildings away.

By morning, the flood had receded a bit, but the water level still covered the doorknobs on the first-floor apartment below them. On the street, pickup trucks peeked out above the water. Some sedans and hatchbacks were still nearly covered.

Sheriff’s deputies and other rescuers commandeered small boats to help stranded people reach safety. One woman carried an infant. Another family clutched two small dogs.

A rescuer in an orange vest waded through the flood and knocked on the doors of first-floor units.

Ms. Zapiaín, a Venezuelan immigrant who arrived in the United States two months ago, stood on the side of an elevated road, looking down at the destruction and chaos. She worried that one of her downstairs neighbors, an older man who lived alone, had not escaped. She yelled for a rescue team not only to knock on his door but also to push it in to make sure he was safe.

“I kind of want to swim there myself,” she said.

Later, more rescuers arrived carrying red paint to mark units that had been checked — and tools to break down doors.

PHOTO: Hurricane Milton flooded an apartment complex in Clearwater, Fla. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Zack Wittman for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 10, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Paris Hilton and Nicole Richie Revisit ‘The Simple Life’***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DMD-W7X1-DXY4-X2D7-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 11, 2024 Wednesday 10:08 EST

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**Section:** ARTS; television

**Length:** 1060 words

**Byline:** Shivani GonzalezShivani Gonzalez is a news assistant at The Times who writes a weekly TV column and contributes to a variety of sections.

**Highlight:** The celebutantes-turned-businesswomen are rebooting the show that provided a blueprint for the past 20 years of reality TV.

**Body**

The celebutantes-turned-businesswomen are rebooting the show that provided a blueprint for the past 20 years of reality TV.

How would two troubled Los Angeles heiresses manage as members of the Bible Belt ***working class***?

The answer helped revolutionize reality TV and legitimized the careers of Paris Hilton and Nicole Richie. In 2003, the pair of 22-year-olds debuted in Fox’s “The Simple Life,” which documented their move to Altus, Ark., to live with a family on their farm and try out blue collar jobs.

Hilton and Richie brought rich-girl haughtiness and high jinks to mundane tasks like cleaning hotel rooms and, in one memorable episode, serving burgers at a Sonic Drive-In. The result was a quotable megahit — with heart. “Their fish-out-of-water ineptitude serves as a social leveler that gives them their comeuppance and preserves the dignity of their rural hosts,” Alessandra Stanley wrote in a [*review for The New York Times*](https://www.nytimes.com/2003/12/02/arts/television-review-with-a-rich-girl-here-and-a-rich-girl-there.html). Unlike the other popular reality programs of the time, like “Big Brother” and “Survivor,” the allure of “The Simple Life” didn’t come from a wild premise or shocking competition: The personalities of and friendship between Hilton and Richie were the drawing card. That recipe has been built upon in subsequent reality franchises like “Keeping Up With the Kardashians,” “Jersey Shore” and “The Real Housewives.”

More than two decades later, the two are appearing in “Paris &amp; Nicole: Encore,” a three-part reboot which is primarily set in L.A. and involves activities and outings a bit closer to home. It will air on Peacock beginning Thursday. Though the show centers on the pair’s staging of an opera based on “sanasa,” a made-up word which fans might remember as a mainstay joke on the original, Hilton and Richie also revisit Altus, Sonic and the friendship that made their show riveting TV.

Ahead of the “Encore” premiere, we talked to Hilton and Richie about how reality TV has changed since “The Simple Life,” the impact of social media on the genre and the shows they’re enjoying now.

Here are edited excerpts from the conversation.

You were some of the first reality TV stars, and now it is an oversaturated industry. How do you think the landscape has changed since “The Simple Life” first aired?

NICOLE RICHIE We didn’t say yes to doing the show to build our brand or get exposure for something else in our business. We really said yes to this show because we wanted to have fun and we wanted to be together. We actually had no information about the show. We didn’t even know what city we were going to. We had no idea. We were just up for an adventure. We were just, like, down to laugh, you know? We had no idea that it was going to take off and be in, you know, multiple seasons or anything like that.

In the early days of reality TV, even with “Jersey Shore,” which came later, the cast members didn’t really know what they were signing up for. And that was the beauty of it.

RICHIE In 2024, it can lead to so many other things. That was not on our minds at all. We were, you know, 20 and just wanting to live, laugh, love.

PARIS HILTON There was nothing really to compare it to. So we had no idea what we were getting ourselves into. We were just doing it because we love having fun together, going on adventures —

RICHIE We wanted to leave town and go for it.

Do you think that the prominence of technology and social media has helped or hindered the genre?

RICHIE A show like “The Simple Life” could never exist now, because the whole point of that show was that we didn’t have phones, we had no access to the outside world at all and that was something that I think really stood out about the show and the times in which we did it. We had no idea what was going on with our family or our friends back home.

How did your experience filming “Paris &amp; Nicole: Encore” differ from your experience on “The Simple Life?”

RICHIE It was very different just in the sense of we were clocking in and clocking out every day, so we were not out of town. I’d say the biggest difference is that when we did “The Simple Life,” we were signing up to do someone else’s show. And “Encore” is a show that we created, that we produced, and we just had a lot of fun doing it.

You both have lots of your own ventures, could you see yourselves coming back to reality TV more long-term?

RICHIE “The Simple Life” was all about us leaving our lives and stepping into other people’s. So, you know, we did always maintain a certain level of privacy and protection just within our own lives. That show was really special, I love it so much. It would be impossible for us to do it again just because, you know, we’re now real adults. We’ve got careers and families. And it’s just not possible.

What advice would you give to younger people quickly gaining prominence after appearing on a reality show?

HILTON I think it’s important to definitely just be very aware of everything that you post. And if you want to parlay that into a brand or building a product line or something, that’s something important as well to really figure out what you want to do, get the correct team to make it happen and try to capitalize on it, to do something with it.

What reality show or shows are you currently loving?

HILTON “The Simple Life,” it’s a great show. I love to watch it all the time, been watching it with my kids.

How do they feel watching it with you?

HILTON My little baby boy, he just, like, sits there and he’s like, “Mama, mama.” He just, like, watches and laughs. And now he’s learned our song “Sanasa” and sings it all the time. And it’s just the cutest thing in the world just to hear him singing in his little baby voice.

What about you, Nicole?

RICHIE I didn’t watch the whole season, but I did see a few episodes of “The Golden Bachelor,” and I loved it. I found it to be extremely moving to see people in these different stages in later stages in their lives that want to take a new chapter and put themselves out there. I thought that was entertaining and really nice.

PHOTOS: Top, Paris Hilton, left, and Nicole Richie stage an opera based on their made-up word “sanasa,” in “Paris &amp; Nicole: Encore,” on Peacock. On a 2005 episode of “The Simple Life,” Richie, left, and Hilton with Captain Evans at a fire station in Atlantic City, N.J. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHRISTINE BARTOLUCCI/PEACOCK; MICHAEL YARISH/FOX) This article appeared in print on page C7.

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[***Can Democrats Win Back Voters From Trump on Trade Policy?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D9G-6WY1-DXY4-X20T-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 30, 2024 Wednesday 22:41 EST

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**Section:** BUSINESS; economy

**Length:** 1500 words

**Byline:** Ana SwansonAna Swanson covers trade and international economics for The Times and is based in Washington. She has been a journalist for more than a decade.

**Highlight:** The Biden administration has pursued a big shift in trade policy, but it’s not clear whether that will be enough to win votes.

**Body**

The Biden administration has pursued a big shift in trade policy, but it’s not clear whether that will be enough to win votes.

Since Donald J. Trump won over many ***working-class*** voters in 2016 with his vows to impose tariffs and rework “disastrous” trade deals, Democrats have been scrambling to win back supporters by taking a more protectionist trade approach.

Over the last four years, the Biden administration spent more time emphasizing the harm trade policy has caused to American communities than the benefits. It hit the brakes on negotiating trade deals with other countries and chose to [*maintain and even increase*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/13/us/politics/biden-tariffs-chinese-goods-clothing.html) Mr. Trump’s tariffs on Chinese products. And it pumped billions of dollars into new American factories to make [*semiconductors*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/13/us/politics/biden-tariffs-chinese-goods-clothing.html) and [*solar panels*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/13/us/politics/biden-tariffs-chinese-goods-clothing.html).

It’s a significant shift from the decades that both mainstream Democrats and Republicans [*spent working to promote trade*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/13/us/politics/biden-tariffs-chinese-goods-clothing.html) and lower international barriers.

For Vice President Kamala Harris, next week’s election will be a moment of truth for whether the strategy worked.

Mr. Trump has helped bring trade to the forefront in presidential elections with his vitriolic criticisms of past policy and his [*proposals for high tariffs*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/13/us/politics/biden-tariffs-chinese-goods-clothing.html). It is an issue that resonates strongly with [*voters in Northern swing states*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/13/us/politics/biden-tariffs-chinese-goods-clothing.html) like Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin, where manufacturing employment fell steeply in recent decades as factories moved abroad.

Biden officials have been trying to persuade more trade-skeptical voters that their policies to encourage manufacturing in the United States are working, pointing to a recent [*surge*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/13/us/politics/biden-tariffs-chinese-goods-clothing.html) in U.S. factory construction.

Investment in American factory construction doubled between late 2021 and mid-2023, hitting its highest level in decades. That is largely the result of legislation, signed by President Biden, that provides federal subsidies to semiconductor and clean energy investments in the United States.

Heather Boushey, a White House economist, said the efforts of past administrations to spur investment through tax cuts and tariffs alone had not worked. “Whereas here we’ve seen a doubling,” she said at a recent event celebrating U.S. apparel manufacturing.

Katherine Tai, the U.S. trade representative, said at the same event that the government needed to look beyond the interests of multinational corporations to the broader social costs and benefits of trade.

Ms. Tai said that past trade policies had imposed “significant costs to the fabric of American life” and that the feeling of economic opportunity and security in many communities was “very, very thin and brittle right now.”

The Biden administration’s shift to a “worker-centered trade policy” has won the support of progressive Democrats, unions and trade groups that advocate U.S. manufacturing. But it has been criticized by the broader business community, which says the United States is not doing enough to promote trade with other countries.

Jake Colvin, the president of the National Foreign Trade Council, a business group that supports international trade, said the lack of U.S. leadership on promoting trade “threatens to create a vacuum that our economic competitors and adversaries, including China, are all too happy to fill.”

“If the United States is not at the table making new deals with our allies, American businesses are going to be on the menu,” Mr. Colvin said.

Mr. Biden appears set to leave office having overseen the least active administration in negotiating new trade deals in roughly 50 years. The White House [*announced agreements*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/13/us/politics/biden-tariffs-chinese-goods-clothing.html) with Indo-Pacific countries last year to strengthen supply chains, protect workers and fight corruption. But it [*did not complete*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/13/us/politics/biden-tariffs-chinese-goods-clothing.html) more traditional trade talks with those countries after some Democrats opposed them.

A spokeswoman for Ms. Tai said the administration had secured more than [*$26.7 billion in agricultural market access*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/13/us/politics/biden-tariffs-chinese-goods-clothing.html) for American farmers and had [*a long list of wins*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/13/us/politics/biden-tariffs-chinese-goods-clothing.html) that showed it was doing a lot to promote trade.

Todd Tucker, the director of the industrial policy and trade program at the Roosevelt Institute, a progressive think tank, [*has defended*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/13/us/politics/biden-tariffs-chinese-goods-clothing.html) the administration’s record, saying it made important changes like requiring firms to produce more in the United States to benefit from climate legislation, or cracking down on labor violations in Mexican factories.

“The U.S. actually did do a lot in the trade space,” Mr. Tucker said. “It just wasn’t in the form of a traditional trade agreement.”

Trade policy has not been a major focus for Ms. Harris, and her positions on the subject are somewhat unclear. She has [*described herself*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/13/us/politics/biden-tariffs-chinese-goods-clothing.html) as “not a protectionist Democrat” and criticized Mr. Trump’s plans to impose broad-based tariffs as a tax on consumers. But she also has a history of opposing trade agreements, including the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement, a pact that replaced the North American Free Trade Agreement and was supported by many congressional Democrats.

In appearances this month, Ms. Harris visited a chip manufacturing plant and spoke to autoworkers in Michigan, where she [*called Mr. Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/13/us/politics/biden-tariffs-chinese-goods-clothing.html) “one of the biggest losers of manufacturing jobs in American history,” pointing to auto plants closing on his watch.

Mr. Trump has lodged his own criticisms. In a podcast last Friday, he [*said that*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/13/us/politics/biden-tariffs-chinese-goods-clothing.html) the Biden administration had “put up billions of dollars for rich companies” in the semiconductor industry, and that a big tariff would have sufficed.

“You didn’t have to put up 10 cents,” Mr. Trump said. “You tariff it so high that they will come and build their chip companies for nothing.”

It’s unclear how the Biden administration’s arguments about promoting investment will compare for voters with Mr. Trump’s tariff-heavy proposals, which include [*hitting all imports*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/13/us/politics/biden-tariffs-chinese-goods-clothing.html) with tariffs of 10 to 20 percent, plus tariffs of 60 percent or more on China. Many economists have argued that these tariffs [*would raise costs*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/13/us/politics/biden-tariffs-chinese-goods-clothing.html) for the very voters that supported them.

[*But a September poll*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/13/us/politics/biden-tariffs-chinese-goods-clothing.html) by Bloomberg News and Morning Consult found that the majority of likely voters in swing states either strongly or somewhat strongly supported Mr. Trump’s proposal to impose a 10 percent tariff on all imports.

A separate poll in August by Morning Consult that was not confined to swing states found that those who intended to vote for Trump were more supportive of increasing tariffs than those who said they would vote for Ms. Harris — though on net, Ms. Harris’s voters also expressed support for increasing tariffs. Among undecided voters, slightly more opposed than supported tariffs, the poll showed.

Michael Beeman, a former U.S. trade official and the author of a recent book on trade policy, said trade was an issue that tended to motivate voters who felt they had been hurt by it, not those who had been helped.

Mr. Beeman, a longtime trade negotiator, said the trajectory of trade policy had first shifted with the rise of the Tea Party, which opposed free trade agreements. “That formed the backbone of the new Republican Party, and was the platform on which Donald Trump was successful,” he said.

Among Democrats, progressive voices also gradually gained influence, he said. Democrats hit a turning point with Hillary Clinton’s loss to Mr. Trump in 2016, when the party was seen by many as having been too soft on trade.

“A lot of really important things were going on at the time that people weren’t paying attention to, until it hit them in the face,” Mr. Beeman said.

Some economists argue that the backlash has swung too far, and that trade has become a scapegoat. They say that, while trade agreements bear some of the blame for moving U.S. factories offshore, forces like globalization, automation and the decline of labor unions are also important.

Inu Manak, a fellow for trade policy at the Council on Foreign Relations, said many current voters were responding not to the effects of trade but to broader demographic shifts that had left ***working-class*** white Americans with [*fewer relative gains*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/13/us/politics/biden-tariffs-chinese-goods-clothing.html) than other groups.

This feeling of being left behind in small-town America is more related to other policies, like the lack of a U.S. social safety net, job retraining programs or adequate educational systems, she said.

“What Trump did on the campaign trail when he won election the first time was to really pull at those anxieties, those grievances, and to say somebody else is to blame,” Ms. Manak said. “It’s just a very easy piñata to hit for politicians.”

Dani Rodrik, a Harvard University economist who has written about the downsides of globalization, said that automation had played a role in deindustrialization across the entire country, but that there wasn’t any question that trade policies had caused job losses in certain regions.

“You can see their effects to this day,” he said. “Many regions did well, some very poorly.”

PHOTO: Vice President Kamala Harris at a semiconductor facility in Thomas Township, Mich., on Monday. Trade policy has not been a major focus for Ms. Harris. (PHOTOGRAPH BY BRITTANY GREESON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page B5.

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[***President Trump, Again***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DBY-CYR1-JBG3-64MS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1766 words

**Byline:** David LeonhardtDavid Leonhardt runs , The Times&amp;#8217;s flagship daily newsletter. Since joining The Times in 1999, he has been an economics columnist, opinion columnist, head of the Washington bureau and founding editor of the Upshot section.

**Highlight:** America has shifted rightward, giving Donald Trump a stunning comeback and a Republican Senate.

**Body**

America has shifted rightward, giving Donald Trump a stunning comeback and a Republican Senate.

Donald Trump has completed a stunning political comeback, and the United States has entered an uncertain new era.

Trump won a clear victory in the presidential election over Vice President Kamala Harris, likely including in all seven battleground states. After a defiant campaign filled with grim portrayals of the country’s condition, he is on course to become the first Republican to win the national popular vote in 20 years. The New York Times [*called the race for Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/06/us/trump-election-harris-news) shortly before 6 a.m. Eastern.

The result showed a country that had shifted to the political right, with voters unhappy about President Biden’s performance, especially on the economy and immigration.

Four years after being impeached for his role in a violent attack on Congress, five months after being convicted of a felony in New York and three months after surviving an assassination attempt, Trump will begin preparing his return to the White House.

“We’ve achieved the most incredible political thing,” Trump said at a celebration overnight in West Palm Beach, Fla. “This will forever be remembered as the day the American people regained control of their country.” He promised to close the border, “help our country heal” and “fix everything.”

Another sign of the breadth of Trump’s victory came in the races for the Senate. Republicans regained control by recapturing seats in Ohio, West Virginia and perhaps Montana. Races in Arizona, Michigan, Nevada, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin remain close. It is unclear which party will control the House.

The Republican Party appeared to expand its electorate in meaningful ways, especially among Latino voters.

Trump ran on [*an ambitious — and in many ways radical — agenda*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/06/us/trump-election-harris-news) of across-the-board tariffs, mass deportations, oil drilling, regulatory rollbacks, tax cuts, foreign policy changes and more. He has also signaled that he will [*violate democratic traditions*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/06/us/trump-election-harris-news) to accomplish his goals.

It remains unclear how far he will go, but he is in a stronger position now than he was eight years ago. His aides have spent months planning for a second term and vetting potential appointees to ensure that his administration is staffed with loyalists rather than the establishment Republicans who often stymied him in his first term. In Congress, few of the Trump-skeptical Republicans from 2017 will remain.

All of which leaves Democrats and Trump’s other critics in a weaker position than they were in eight years ago. Starting on Jan. 20, Democrats may control no branch of the federal government. If Democrats hope to slow Trump’s agenda, they will often need to persuade other Republicans to oppose him.

Harris’s defeat was a rejection of both Biden’s performance as president and her own brief campaign. She became the nominee after the primaries were over, and many voters said they didn’t know enough about her or worried she was too liberal.

But the outcome also fits a pattern in high-income countries: The U.S. has joined Australia, Britain, Germany, Italy and Japan as a country where the ruling party has recently lost power. In the U.S., the presidency is on the verge of changing hands for the third time in eight years, the biggest period of White House instability since the 1970s.

In the rest of today’s newsletter, we’ll have more on the election results. We encourage you to check back with The Times’s app or [*home page*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/06/us/trump-election-harris-news) later today. There is sure to be more news.

[*Read 10 takeaways from the election*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/06/us/trump-election-harris-news).

More on the presidency

* Trump, claiming victory, stood onstage with his family and promised economic prosperity in America. Even his supporters seemed [*shocked by his comeback*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/06/us/trump-election-harris-news).

1. [*The mood was somber*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/06/us/trump-election-harris-news)at Harris’s election watch party at her alma mater, Howard University in Washington, D.C. Harris did not address the crowd.
2. [*Trump’s arc back to power is complete*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/06/us/trump-election-harris-news), an extraordinary reversal for a man who never especially changed, Matt Flegenheimer, Maggie Haberman and Jonathan Swan write.
3. “America stands on the precipice of an authoritarian style of governance never before seen in its 248-year history,” [*Lisa Lerer writes*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/06/us/trump-election-harris-news).
4. Stocks rose and [*the dollar improved against major currencies*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/06/us/trump-election-harris-news).

A Republican Senate

* Democratic Senate candidates received more support than Harris in the battleground states, but some still seemed likely to lose.
* Republicans flipped at least two formerly Democratic seats: Bernie Moreno beat Senator Sherrod Brown in Ohio, and Gov. Jim Justice won a seat in West Virginia that is being vacated by Joe Manchin.

1. In Montana, Tim Sheehy led Senator Jon Tester, the Democratic incumbent, by 10 percentage points with three quarters of the vote counted.
2. Races in Arizona, Michigan, Nevada, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin — all seats Democrats previously held — have not yet been called.
3. Republicans held onto their Senate seats. Deb Fischer survived a challenge from an independent in Nebraska. Rick Scott of Florida and Ted Cruz of Texas easily won re-election.
4. For the first time, the Senate will have [*two Black women*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/06/us/trump-election-harris-news), both Democrats, serving simultaneously: Angela Alsobrooks of Maryland and Lisa Blunt Rochester of Delaware.
5. Andy Kim, a Democrat, won in New Jersey. He is the [*first Korean American*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/06/us/trump-election-harris-news) elected to the Senate.
6. [*See the latest Senate results*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/06/us/trump-election-harris-news).

House of Representatives

* Control of the House remains uncertain. It may come down to races in California, which could take days to call.

1. Tom Barrett flipped a Michigan seat for the Republicans.
2. Democrats flipped two neighboring districts in New York: Josh Riley unseated Marc Molinaro, and John Mannion unseated Brandon Williams.
3. Sarah McBride, a Delaware Democrat, will become the House’s first openly transgender member.
4. [*See the latest House results*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/06/us/trump-election-harris-news).

Ballot measures

* Abortion rights fared well in most places, but their post-Roe undefeated streak ended. In Florida, Nebraska and South Dakota, measures to protect abortion rights failed. (The Florida measure received 57 percent support but needed 60 percent to win.) Measures succeeded in Arizona, Colorado, Maryland, Missouri, Montana and New York.

1. Nebraska approved medical marijuana, while a measure to legalize recreational marijuana in Florida failed.
2. Missouri voted to raise its minimum wage to $15 an hour. Two states voted to keep their tipped minimum wages — which apply to many restaurant workers — the same: Massachusetts rejected an increase, and Arizona rejected a decrease.
3. Idaho, Nevada, Oregon and South Dakota rejected measures to establish ranked choice voting, and Missouri voted to ban the practice. Washington, D.C., approved it.
4. Nebraska and Kentucky voted against allowing public funds to go to students in private or charter schools.
5. California voters passed a measure that would charge some shoplifting and drug possession offenses as felonies instead of misdemeanors.
6. Ohio rejected a measure to replace its legislature’s partisan redistricting system with an independent commission.

Governors’ races

* Josh Stein, a Democrat, beat Mark Robinson, a Republican, to become North Carolina’s next governor.

1. Kelly Ayotte, a former Republican senator, won the New Hampshire governor’s race.
2. Mike Braun, a Republican senator, won the Indiana governor’s race.

Voting

* Most votes were cast without any issue.

1. Bomb threats against polling places in several swing states, including Georgia and Michigan, led to [*minor disruptions*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/06/us/trump-election-harris-news). Officials said the threats, some of which appear to have come from Russia, were not credible.
2. Despite a statewide shift to the right in North Carolina, several counties shifted to the left. Many were in areas that qualified for emergency assistance after Hurricane Helene ravaged the state in September.

Commentary

* Nicholas Kristof, Times Opinion: “Democrats often have a knack for coming across as remarkably condescending to ***working-class*** voters. We liberals tend to come across too often as finger-wagging elites disdainful of the religious faith that is really important to millions of people.”

1. [*Ezekiel Kweku*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/06/us/trump-election-harris-news), Times Opinion: “‘We’re not going back’ is pithy and sounds powerful, but it kind of backfires if the voters, in fact, do want to go back.”
2. [*Tyler Austin Harper*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/06/us/trump-election-harris-news), Times Opinion: “Biden and his enablers disregarded the public’s belief that he was too old to serve another term. When he finally did step aside — only after a televised disaster that set his floundering campaign on fire — the Democratic Party circumvented democracy by simply crowning his replacement.”
3. [*Mollie Hemingway*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/06/us/trump-election-harris-news), The Federalist: “This is the absolute end of the old Republican Party. New G.O.P. is more durable, more ***working class***, with a brighter future.”
4. [*S.E. Cupp*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/06/us/trump-election-harris-news), CNN: “Maybe telling voters the economy is ‘strong as hell’ when they tell you in every swing state that they couldn’t afford groceries and gas was a fatal strategy.”
5. [*Ian Bremmer*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/06/us/trump-election-harris-news), The Eurasia Group: “Almost every major election in the world this year was a change election. Incumbents lost because voters believed their country was heading in the wrong direction.”

THE LATEST NEWS

* Benjamin Netanyahu [*fired his defense minister, Yoav Gallant*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/06/us/trump-election-harris-news), after disagreements over the war in Gaza. [*See a timeline of their clashes*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/06/us/trump-election-harris-news).

1. [*North Korean troops*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/06/us/trump-election-harris-news)have begun fighting Ukrainian forces in the Kursk region of Russia, U.S. officials said.
2. Russia plotted to place incendiary devices [*on cargo planes in Europe*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/06/us/trump-election-harris-news) and performed tests this summer that caused fires in Britain and Germany, Western officials said.
3. Flooding in Missouri [*killed at least four people*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/06/us/trump-election-harris-news), including two poll workers.
4. Nvidia, whose chips power A.I. systems and Bitcoin mining, surpassed Apple to become [*world’s most valuable company*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/06/us/trump-election-harris-news), The Washington Post reports.
5. Bernie Marcus, who co-founded Home Depot in 1978, [*died at 95*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/06/us/trump-election-harris-news).

THE MORNING RECIPE

If you stayed up late watching the results and you need a good breakfast, we have [*a guide to a perfectly boiled egg*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/06/us/trump-election-harris-news).

GAMES

Here is [*today’s Spelling Bee*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/06/us/trump-election-harris-news). Yesterday’s pangrams were diatomic and idiomatic.

And here are [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/06/us/trump-election-harris-news), [*Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/06/us/trump-election-harris-news), [*Sudoku*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/06/us/trump-election-harris-news), [*Connections*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/06/us/trump-election-harris-news) and [*Strands*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/06/us/trump-election-harris-news).

Thanks for spending part of your morning with The Times. See you tomorrow. —David

Correction: This article misattributed the location of Trump’s victory speech. It was in West Palm Beach, Fla., not at Mar-a-Lago.

[*Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/06/us/trump-election-harris-news). Reach our team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/live/2024/11/06/us/trump-election-harris-news).

Writing by Desiree Ibekwe, Ian Prasad Philbrick, Lauren Jackson, Lyna Bentahar and Tom Wright-Piersanti.

Writing by Desiree Ibekwe, Ian Prasad Philbrick, Lauren Jackson, Lyna Bentahar and Tom Wright-Piersanti.

PHOTO: In West Palm Beach, Fla. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Doug Mills/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 6, 2024

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[***Trump's Plan to End Taxes On Overtime Could Be Costly***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CYW-0J11-JBG3-63DH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 15, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 26

**Length:** 940 words

**Byline:** By Andrew Duehren

**Body**

The former president left many key details about the overtime plan unaddressed, including whether the exception would apply to the payroll taxes that fund Social Security and Medicare.

Former President Donald J. Trump is calling for exempting overtime pay from taxes, the latest in a string of vague tax proposals that have befuddled tax experts, worried fiscal hawks and seemingly charmed voters.

Mr. Trump floated the idea this past week during a campaign rally in Tucson, Ariz., telling the crowd that it would supercharge incentives to work more and put money back in the pockets of many Americans.

''It's time for the working man and woman to finally catch a break, and that's what we're doing because this is a good one,'' he said.

The pitch is part of what has become Mr. Trump's playbook during the presidential race: tossing out potentially huge tax cuts, defined in just a few words, to try and win over middle- and ***working-class*** voters. He has also vowed to exempt tips from taxes and end taxes on Social Security benefits, two ideas that have proven popular. At the same time, he has said he would further cut the corporate tax rate.

As with his promise to end taxes on tips, though, Mr. Trump left many key details about the overtime plan unaddressed, making it hard to estimate its costs. Among the open questions is whether overtime pay would be exempt from just the income tax or if the exception would also apply to the payroll taxes that fund Social Security and Medicare.

There is also the issue of how many Americans could benefit from Mr. Trump's idea. More than 34 million Americans worked over 40 hours a week in 2023, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, but only a subset of that group are owed time-and-a-half pay for overtime under federal law. The rules are complex, but in general Americans earning a salary of more than $43,888 a year may not be owed overtime, depending on their job. Americans paid by the hour, currently about 55 percent of the work force, are broadly eligible for overtime pay.

''The vast majority of hourly workers are automatically overtime eligible, regardless of how much money they make,'' said Heidi Shierholz, who was the chief economist at the Department of Labor under the Obama administration.

The relative ease with which hourly employees can earn overtime could create a huge tax incentive for more Americans to reclassify themselves as hourly workers. The cost of the tax cut would depend on whether such legislation limited the ability of corporate executives or high-paid lawyers to modify their own compensation and make a chunk of it tax free.

Arthur Laffer, a father of supply-side economics who at times advises Mr. Trump on tax policy, said in an interview that any final plan would need to include guard rails. Overall, it should encourage Americans to work more, he said. Alabama earlier this year began excluding overtime pay from its state income tax.

''It should not be a serious problem to be able to devise a system that works well,'' he said. ''This is a good first shot.''

The Tax Foundation, a think tank that generally favors lower taxes, produced a range of estimates for the cost of Mr. Trump's idea. Assuming the exemption only covers pay currently considered overtime, the think tank said the plan would cost roughly $227 billion over 10 years if applied to the income tax -- and an additional $145 billion if Americans also did not owe payroll taxes on overtime earnings.

The cost could be far higher if all pay earned after working 40 hours a week were not taxed. The Tax Foundation analysis estimated that cost at $1.1 trillion over 10 years.

Michael Strain, the director of economic policy studies at the American Enterprise Institute, a right-leaning think tank, said the potential fiscal cost of the plan was not justified.

''The outlook for the U.S.'s fiscal situation is dire and therefore any additional tax cuts should have a very strong economic argument to support them,'' Mr. Strain said, listing benchmarks for boosting economic growth.

''And I don't see any reason to think that eliminating taxes on overtime, or eliminating taxes on tips, serve any of those goals,'' he said.

Much of Mr. Trump's tax agenda could be budget busting. He is also seeking to extend tax cuts he signed into law in 2017, a move that could cost roughly $4 trillion over a decade, according to the Congressional Budget Office. Ending taxes on Social Security benefits could cost roughly $1.6 trillion over a decade, according to the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget, and plans to cut the corporate tax rate and end taxes on tips would cost hundreds of billions more.

Mr. Trump's main proposal to bring money into federal coffers is a dramatic expansion of tariffs on imports into the United States. The tariffs could raise substantial revenue, but probably not enough to plug the fiscal hole created by his proposed tax cuts, according to budget analysts.

Vice President Kamala Harris's campaign attacked Mr. Trump's idea on overtime pay as cynical, pointing to a move by the Trump administration in 2019 to roll back an expansion of overtime eligibility.

''He is desperate and scrambling and saying whatever it takes to try to trick people into voting for him,'' Joseph Costello, a Harris spokesman, said.

While the Harris campaign attacked Mr. Trump, it did not criticize the merits of the proposed tax cut. Both candidates are trying to convince ***working-class*** Americans that they will cut their taxes. Mr. Trump's previous proposal to not tax tips, also widely criticized by economists, was eventually endorsed by Ms. Harris.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/14/business/trump-tax-overtime-pay-cost.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/14/business/trump-tax-overtime-pay-cost.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A26.

**Load-Date:** September 15, 2024

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[***A Comedian’s Path From Small-Town Tennessee to Breakout Fame; Nonfiction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DM0-5CG1-JBG3-63JG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 9, 2024 Monday 13:25 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 1056 words

**Byline:** Dwight GarnerDwight Garner has been a book critic for The Times since 2008, and before that was an editor at the Book Review for a decade.

**Highlight:** Leanne Morgan went from helping her husband sell mobile homes to sudden success in her 50s.

**Body**

Leanne Morgan went from helping her husband sell mobile homes to sudden success in her 50s.

WHAT IN THE WORLD?!: A Southern Woman’s Guide to Laughing at Life’s Unexpected Curveballs and Beautiful Blessings, by Leanne Morgan

On many insomniac nights, when I’m trying to quiet the voices in my head, I listen to stand-up comics. I’ve been back and forth through Netflix’s roster: the blue-collar and the big city, the clean and the crude, the capital-W woke and the close-to-canceled, the ironists and the oafs, the oldies and the mere pups.

Greil Marcus, the rock critic, has said he plays comedy albums while he writes. I have no idea how that might work. But perhaps we’re not so far apart. I use congenial stand-up routines — especially after I know them a bit, when they’re worn in — to settle my mind down.

For months my favorite has been Leanne Morgan, a Tennessee-born comic, whose special is called “[*I’m Every Woman*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81636889).” Morgan has a regal, self-deprecating, ex-beauty queen, seen-it-all manner onstage, one that reminds me of certain Southern and Appalachian women I’ve been lucky to know.

Morgan comes on like the family member you hope to be seated next to at dinner: the one for whom life is fundamentally a comedy and not a tragedy, the one who doesn’t need liquor on her breath to be anybody’s fun aunt, the one who makes any conversation seem like a little conspiracy between the two of you.

She’s a red-state comic who doesn’t touch politics. Instead, she unloads in public about private and sometimes squeamish things: perimenopause and its discontents, hemorrhoids, breastfeeding, the size of her undergarments (“you could use them to fight a bull”), Jell-O salads, weight gain and the “nasty” things men still want in bed when their wives are long over it. She’s working in the tradition of Phyllis Diller, Joan Rivers and Roseanne Barr, among others, but she’s got a spark that’s her own.

Morgan has a memoir out, titled “What in the World?!: A Southern Woman’s Guide to Laughing at Life’s Unexpected Curveballs and Beautiful Blessings.” As soon as I saw it, I knew I was going to read it.

At this point you may have questions. For example:

Is this one of those top-tier comic’s memoirs, like those from Tina Fey, Trevor Noah and Steve Martin, where you sense the author might have taught at Brown if the whole comedy thing didn’t work out?

No, but it’s got a frazzled charm, and it works.

Is it as funny as Morgan’s stand-up?

Not quite. The hard thing about trying to be funny on the page, as opposed to in front of an audience, is that you lose your delivery, as Calvin Trillin has said. Morgan’s sweet-toned Southern accent has bestowed on her a world-class delivery system.

But “What in the World?!” has a lot going for it. It’s the twisting, up-from-nowhere story of a ***working-class*** woman who went from helping her husband sell mobile homes to sudden success relatively late in life. I devoured it in two sittings.

Morgan grew up in small-town Adams, Tenn., about 45 minutes north of Nashville. Her parents ran the only grocery store. Her mother presided at the counter, Winston Light in one hand, can of Tab in the other, while her father cut meat in the back. He got so good at it that he sold the grocery store and opened a meat-processing plant behind the family’s house.

Leanne didn’t mind that, except for the smell, which she describes as “sage-infused death.” It clung to her clothes. I wish I had space here to print her mother’s method of quickly skinning a deer, which involved a rope tied around a golf ball.

Morgan was an extrovert, pretty and boy crazy. After high school she wanted to marry a cute young tobacco farmer and commence having children. But her father gave her two options: the military or college. She attended the University of Tennessee. With her teased hair she looked like a member of the band Bananarama, she writes, while other girls seemed to have stepped out of “The Official Preppy Handbook.”

She married the wrong guy and divorced at 23. She worked a lot of dead-end jobs in malls, including at a Lancôme counter. (“I loved it, but those French words were really hard.”) She waited tables at Applebee’s.

She met her husband, Chuck, while they were working together at another restaurant. He’s the strong, silent type. (“Chuck believes in suffering.”) She deplores his habit of grabbing one of her breasts, out of the blue, and holding onto it. Chuck is the good-natured butt of many of her jokes, though she prefers the word “butthole” — it’s her go-to putdown.

Chuck refurbished mobile homes, and later began to sell them. They lived in one for a while. Slowly he became successful, traveling for a major national retailer.

Leanne knew she was good at getting people to laugh. She had few chances to demonstrate this until she began to host parties to sell high-end costume jewelry, as if it were Tupperware. Was this part of a pyramid scheme? It didn’t seem that way to her.

She was good at it. She began to get “bookings” to appear at other women’s houses. This led to performances at Rotary and Kiwanis clubs. She did her first professional set at a comedy club in Knoxville in her mid-30s, but for two decades she mostly put away comedy to raise her three children.

She emerged again in 2020, when she was 55, after some clips of her material began to go viral on social media, including one called “[*When you go to concerts with old people*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81636889),” about staring at the Def Leppard lead singer’s hernia. She did a 100-city tour and is at work on a Netflix [*sitcom series*](https://www.netflix.com/title/81636889) with the producer Chuck Lorre.

“It’s hard to describe the feeling of killing onstage,” she writes. “It’s like you’re plugged into the sun.” In this memoir, her sunny side is usually up. The best thing about the book, though, may be its darker aspects. There’s a moving and well-made chapter about being dumped by her best friend.

That friend had grown up sheltered, Morgan writes, “so I had to teach her about secular things, like camel toe.”

Comedy on the edge of pain is Morgan’s specialty. She’s Appalachian, and over the elegy.

WHAT IN THE WORLD?!: A Southern Woman’s Guide to Laughing at Life’s Unexpected Curveballs and Beautiful Blessings | By Leanne Morgan | Convergent Books | 222 pp. | $27

PHOTOS: Leanne Morgan has a self-deprecating, ex-beauty queen, seen-it-all manner. (C4) This article appeared in print on page C1, C4.

**Load-Date:** December 16, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Tech Titans Recognize Trump Reality, and Rush to Curry Favor***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DNF-K551-JBG3-62BP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 16, 2024 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section B; Column 0; Business/Financial Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1287 words

**Byline:** By Theodore Schleifer and David Yaffe-Bellany

**Body**

It was a week of frenzied activity, as Silicon Valley billionaires and their companies brandished checks and compliments for the President-elect.

The $1 million donations came gradually -- and then all at once.

Meta. Amazon. OpenAI's Sam Altman. Each of these Silicon Valley companies or their leaders promised to support President-elect Donald J. Trump's inaugural committee with seven-figure checks over the past week, often accompanied by a pilgrimage to Mar-a-Lago to bend the knee.

The procession of tech leaders who traveled to hobnob with Mr. Trump face-to-face included Sundar Pichai, Google's chief executive, and Sergey Brin, a Google founder, who together dined with Mr. Trump on Thursday. Tim Cook, Apple's chief executive, shared a meal with Mr. Trump on Friday. And Jeff Bezos, the founder of Amazon, planned to meet with Mr. Trump in the next few days.

This was the week when many tech companies and their top executives, as reluctant as they may have been, acknowledged the reality of getting business done in Mr. Trump's Washington. With their donations, visits and comments, they joined a party that has already raged for a month, as a cohort of influential Silicon Valley billionaires, led by Elon Musk, began running parts of Mr. Trump's transition after endorsing him in the campaign.

While businesses frequently try to get on an incoming president's good side, the frenzy of tech activity stood out from other industries. Until President Obama's administration, the tech industry had largely stayed aloof from politics. Some wrote just small checks for Mr. Trump's first inauguration.

Now the bread-breaking with Mr. Trump has become highly public. Meta and Amazon, whose founders had previously been criticized by Mr. Trump, said they would donate $1 million to Mr. Trump's inaugural fund this week. Sam Altman, the chief executive of OpenAI, the high-profile artificial intelligence start-up, said on Friday that a $1 million donation to Mr. Trump's inaugural fund would come from him personally.

''President Trump will lead our country into the age of A.I., and I am eager to support his efforts to ensure America stays ahead,'' Mr. Altman said in a statement.

Nonprofit contributions to inaugural committees, which host patriotic-themed events around Jan. 20, are low-stakes, timeworn ways for companies to seek favor under the guise of patriotism without being pegged as overly partisan actors.

Other tech leaders have also praised Mr. Trump. Marc Benioff, the chief executive of Salesforce and the owner of Time Magazine, posted on X on Thursday that it was ''a time of great promise for our nation,'' after Time awarded Mr. Trump its coveted ''Person of the Year'' designation.

''We look forward to working together to advance American success and prosperity for everyone,'' Mr. Benioff wrote, alongside a picture of the Time cover of Mr. Trump.

The turnabout has been especially stark as some tech executives who made donation pledges or met with Mr. Trump this week had appeared to be avowed liberals. That included Mr. Benioff and Mr. Altman, who were among the most politically active Democratic tech donors during Mr. Trump's first term. Mr. Brin publicly protested an immigration order from Mr. Trump in 2017.

In a statement, Karoline Leavitt, a spokeswoman for Mr. Trump, said, ''President Trump has built the broadest political movement in history fueled by ***working-class*** Americans who are being joined by leaders from Silicon Valley to Wall Street. He's not even in the White House yet and President Trump is already uniting all Americans through success.''

(The New York Times has sued OpenAI, saying the start-up infringed on its copyright in training A.I. systems.)

The latest moves brought the tech industry's backing of Mr. Trump to an even greater critical mass, as his early tech supporters spoke out about their giddiness for the incoming administration.

Marc Andreessen, an influential Silicon Valley venture capitalist who endorsed Mr. Trump during the campaign, said in a podcast interview this week that he had spent about half of his time since Election Day working on the presidential transition. He framed Mr. Trump's win as a cultural moment for a ''techno-optimist'' ideology.

''It's morning in America, so I'm very happy,'' Mr. Andreessen said. ''People are finally poking their heads out of the frozen tundra of the culture and realizing that it's actually OK to build things, hire on merit, celebrate success, and fundamentally be proud of the country and be patriotic.''

Mr. Andreessen has joined tech executives such as Mark Pincus, who founded the gaming company Zynga, and David Marcus, a former Meta executive, at Mar-a-Lago to help staff the new administration and to work on reducing regulations in industries like A.I. and cryptocurrencies.

Peter Thiel, a tech investor who was involved in Mr. Trump's 2016 transition but has been less involved this time, said in an interview that aired this week that his expectations were ''properly intermediate'' for Mr. Trump's performance. Even so, Mr. Thiel said, it was an epochal moment.

The ''ancien régime that is liberalism is really exhausted,'' Mr. Thiel told Piers Morgan in the interview, in a reference to the political and social system in France before the French Revolution.

Exactly eight years ago, Mr. Thiel organized the parallel to the latest tech pilgrimages -- a selective get-together at Trump Tower of tech titans and Mr. Trump. At the time, attendees expressed a similar optimism, which evaporated when Mr. Trump pushed policies on climate and immigration early in his term that repelled tech leaders.

Some signs of tension between Mr. Trump and the tech industry have already surfaced this time. Mr. Trump has named tech hawks to senior administration roles, as well as tech executives such as David Sacks, an investor and podcaster who has been appointed ''czar'' of crypto and A.I.

Part of Mr. Sacks's job is to assemble a council to advise Mr. Trump, who has pronounced himself a crypto believer, on crypto and A.I. But Mr. Trump's circle of advisers and his tech friends have disagreed over whether there should be two separate advisory bodies or just one, people involved in the conversations said.

Those in the cryptocurrency and A.I. fields have largely pushed for two different councils, one person said, adding that there had also been some dispute over who would choose those who serve on the councils. People who donated to support Mr. Trump are likely to gain preference in receiving positions on the councils, the people said.

Many cryptocurrency and A.I. executives have also visited Mar-a-Lago or talked with Mr. Trump or those close to him. Among them is Daniel Gross, an A.I. executive, who recently visited Mar-a-Lago, according to a social-media post from him.

Michael Saylor, the executive chairman of MicroStrategy, a publicly traded software firm that owns tens of billions of dollars of Bitcoin, said in an interview this week that he would be ''happy to volunteer my services'' to the crypto advisory council. And Brian Armstrong, the chief executive of Coinbase, the largest U.S. crypto exchange, spoke privately with Mr. Trump last month, two people with knowledge of the matter said. (Coinbase said in a statement that it planned to work with Republicans and Democrats.)

Brad Garlinghouse, the chief executive of the crypto company Ripple, said he also visited Mar-a-Lago recently to talk about crypto. Not to be outdone, Ripple plans to donate $5 million in XRP, its own digital currency, to Mr. Trump's inaugural fund, he said.

Cecilia Kang and Nico Grant contributed reporting.Cecilia Kang and Nico Grant contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/14/technology/trump-tech-amazon-meta-openai.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/14/technology/trump-tech-amazon-meta-openai.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Sam Altman, top left, chief executive of OpenAI, personally donated $1 million to the presidential inaugural fund. Marc Andreessen, top right with his wife, supported Donald Trump. Tim Cook, Apple C.E.O., lower left, dined with Mr. Trump on Friday, while Sundar Pichai, Google's chief, did so on Thursday. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JEENAH MOON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

TAYFUN COSKUN/ANADOLU, VIA GETTY IMAGES

JEFF CHIU/ASSOCIATED PRESS) (B4) This article appeared in print on page B1, B4.

**Load-Date:** December 16, 2024

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[***Lessons From a Democrat Who Keeps Winning in Trump Country***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DGJ-J551-JBG3-63HC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 23, 2024 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 25; MICHELLE GOLDBERG

**Length:** 2070 words

**Byline:** By Michelle Goldberg

**Body**

I first met Marie Gluesenkamp Perez in 2022, when she was running what was widely seen as a long-shot Democratic campaign for Congress in a solidly Republican, heavily rural part of Washington State. Shortly before the election, the polling aggregator FiveThirtyEight estimated her chance of victory at a mere 2 percent. But she won, defeating a burgeoning star of the MAGA movement named Joe Kent.

Gluesenkamp Perez, whose father immigrated from Mexico, ran an auto shop with her husband and lived in a house they'd built themselves. Her campaign emphasized both her blue-collar bona fides and her support for abortion rights, and she was frank in her denunciations of Donald Trump's authoritarianism. After her victory, many Democrats hoped she'd found the secret to connecting with the sort of ***working-class***, small-town voters the party has been hemorrhaging.

But if many on the left were delighted by her victory, they were disappointed by how often she broke with her party once she was in office. Gluesenkamp Perez voted to scrap Joe Biden's plan for student debt relief. She supported a Republican bill to bar the use of public lands to house migrants and a resolution censuring her colleague Rashida Tlaib for her anti-Israel rhetoric. Anger at her got so intense that Politico wondered if ''flak from progressives'' could ''eat into her razor-thin margin'' in this year's election.

It didn't. In a largely brutal year for Democrats, Gluesenkamp Perez, again facing Kent, won re-election even as Trump once again carried her district. Her defiant moderation and intensely local focus paid off, leading to another round of glowing press.

Now, Gluesenkamp Perez is using some of her political capital in an unexpected way, teaming up with Maine's Jared Golden, another Democrat who triumphed in a Trump district, to propose a task force to consider far-reaching electoral reforms. Among their ideas are several previously championed by progressives, including expanding the House of Representatives and adopting ranked-choice voting, which lets voters list candidates in order of preference, so that multiple candidates can run for the same seat without acting as spoilers. I spoke to her about what Democrats can do to win more districts like hers, and why she thinks Congress needs radical change. Our conversation has been edited for length and clarity.

What do you think Democrats can learn from your re-election?

I think people like me, people in rural communities, we don't want people to talk for us. We want to speak for ourselves. We want to have our values and priorities reflected in D.C. We don't want to see D.C. keep inflicting and replacing our culture and priorities.

What does that mean specifically? What values are we talking about?

Well, we believe in making and fixing things. We feel pride in knowing how to make things and making things that last, having a relationship with our woods and our rivers and oceans, that's not just a terrarium or a recreational asset, but one of dependence and love and stewardship.

Wildfire is one of the largest emitters of COâ‚‚ in my state. That's a lot of timber that should have been harvested and built into houses to create abundance in the housing market and fund our schools. An entire county went down to a four-day school week in large part because of falling revenue from timber, and a school that my son would maybe hypothetically go to is talking about doing the same thing. Meanwhile, we've seen actual timber products being replaced with petroleum-based products.

Is the problem you're talking about one of competition or overregulation?

It's both. Every time a timber sale is held up in litigation for, you know, seven years, it means that the mom-and-pop operator can't make their truck payment and they go bankrupt.

Having been in D.C. for two years, where do you see the disconnect between the people making the rules and the people in your community?

Without a very local perspective and a very diverse set of experiences at the legislative table, staffers who have not worked in the trades cannot anticipate the way these regulations will be implemented by a licenser or a regulator.

You know, I convened a meeting about the I-5 bridge replacement, and I was thinking that I would not have even been invited to this two years ago, or even likely read that it happened. If you're working a couple of jobs and trying to make it to pick up your kid after day care, you don't have time to attend a lot of these and be heard. It points to the urgency of having a different set of experiences baked into the process.

I've heard you say that there's no ''one weird trick'' that will end the Democratic Party's woes. But it seems like maybe the closest thing to one weird trick would just be recruiting more working- and middle-class people to run for office.

Yes. I don't think more lawyers running for office is the solution here.

Given that you won in a Trump district, you must have won some percentage of Trump voters. When you talk to people who voted for both you and Donald Trump, what do they tell you? Where is the center of that Venn diagram?

Probably cost of living and border security.

Was it just that they felt like you both cared about those issues? Or did they feel like you both had solutions?

It has been a priority for me. The world I'm living in, I'm going to the grocery store and seeing people take stuff out of their cart. Fentanyl is just running rampant. A lot of us felt like Joe Biden's administration did not take it seriously, and there was a very, very late pivot on the border.

I think there are voters who see Trump and I as real people who are candid. They don't agree with us about everything, but they have a sense that I'm telling them what I actually think and am listening to them with curiosity and honesty.

I hear what you're saying about Biden's late pivot on the border. But what should he have been doing differently in terms of inflation, given that it spiked globally in response to the pandemic?

A lot of people were trying to talk people out of their lived experience. Like, there's no spreadsheet that's going to talk somebody out of watching the cost of eggs go up. And I had people asking me, ''How do we explain to these people that the economy is great?'' I'm like, why would they do that?

So what do you say to people? Obviously listening and empathy is the first part. But is that enough?

Well, you need to have the votes to back it up that you're responding to them. I've heard people say, but Kamala Harris did try to talk about border security more than Biden did. But I think the two didn't have the track record on these issues in the eyes of most Americans. People did not believe the late pivot. They weren't seen as eager to solve these problems or prioritizing them, which I was asking them to do repeatedly, early on, as soon as I was sworn in. That left a real vulnerability that their opponents hammered them on to very real effect.

When I saw you on the campaign trail in 2022, I heard you speak about bread-and-butter issues like the cost of day care, the right-to-repair and support for trade schools. But I also remember you talking about two issues that were at the center of Harris's campaign: abortion and democracy. You spoke about Trump's ''march toward fascism.'' Why do you think that message resonated for you in your district when you were first elected, and then seems to have fallen so flat on the national scale in 2024?

It was picked up, and that's why we saw Trump pivot.

What do you mean?

He told everybody abortion was a states' rights issue. He saw weakness and responded to it.

OK, you mean he pivoted on abortion. Do you still think he's marching us toward fascism?

I think one of the dangerous things about that line of questioning is that democracy is not based on a binary vote for president. It is a muscle in normal, ordinary Americans who are showing up to volunteer at school, who are helping their neighbors out, who have a relationship with their community. It is all of these ways that we live our lives. And so when you say it's just about one person, I think you damage the long-term muscle to resist a drift.

You've been forthright in support of the rights of trans people, which Joe Kent tried to use against you, especially when it came to things like trans women in sports. How did you navigate an issue that proved so difficult for Democrats nationally?

I do not think that is why Democrats lost the presidential race. He tried to come for me on it and it did not work.

Because it wasn't a priority for your voters?

That's right. In town halls and things like that, people are talking about, like, Spirit Lake and flooding in the Chehalis River Valley. I think views are nuanced on this, and there is some electoral liability for Democrats, but it's not an Achilles' heel.

I'm very intrigued by this new select committee that you and Jared Golden are proposing, which would explore ideas like expanding the House, ranked-choice voting, multimember districts and open primaries. If enacted, some of them, like ranked-choice voting, would probably allow for the emergence of third parties, since candidates could run without acting as spoilers. Multimember districts, in which each district gets several representatives who are elected proportionally, would give a voice to Democrats in solidly red districts and Republicans in solidly blue ones. What is it about your experience in Congress that has convinced you to take on these reforms?

I think 90 percent of Americans really do agree about 90 percent of the issues, and instead we are allowing 10 things to push us into camps that are not going to build a coalition that could actually pass laws. So power continues to accrue to the most senior members and the least representative districts.

The framework here is that it is a bipartisan, equally divided commission that is thinking in large terms about what will deliver the most utility, not something just for a particular area. If we want more normal, ***working-class*** people here, we need electoral systems that open the door to more people participating.

I think rural America has not been well served by single-party control, and I also think our current system means that the most bipartisan members in the middle are also the ones who have to fight for their lives every election. That's a lot of energy, right? It's exhausting. It's hard on your family, and it eliminates the deal makers.

You live in a community where Trump won. How many people in your district do you think voted for him because they want him to do the things he promised, like set up immigrant detention camps and use the Justice Department to take revenge on his enemies? And how many do you think voted for him because they don't believe he'll do those things?

When you're fixing a car, right, I would much rather have it make the same noise predictably. Like, it always clunks when I turn left. Whatever it is, a predictable problem is much better than an unpredictable one. And so that confidence that this person is not trying to make themselves acceptable to you. They're not putting out celebrity surrogates. They're just showing up, and you can take it or leave it.

It sounds like you're saying that people felt like Trump offered voters a strange sort of stability. How do you think Democrats could do the same?

A veteran from the younger generation could do a lot to change the image of the Democratic Party. Someone that doesn't mind upsetting people in the party, that doesn't mind the elite professionals being mad at them, that knows and respects working people in rural communities. Someone who all the Americans who voted for Trump don't feel like looks down on them. There are people who voted for Trump who would absolutely vote for Democrats in the future. I don't know that we know who those people are yet, who those candidates are. But I can speak to the type of person who I think would be more popular in my district, who could maybe even win it. I know it's not going to be a lawyer.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/22/opinion/marie-gluesenkamp-perez-democrats-trump.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/22/opinion/marie-gluesenkamp-perez-democrats-trump.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY M. SCOTT BRAUER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A25.

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**End of Document**



[***Trump’s Proposal to End Taxes on Overtime Pay Could Cost Billions***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CYP-14H1-DXY4-X006-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 938 words

**Highlight:** The former president left many key details about the overtime plan unaddressed, including whether the exception would apply to the payroll taxes that fund Social Security and Medicare.

**Body**

The former president left many key details about the overtime plan unaddressed, including whether the exception would apply to the payroll taxes that fund Social Security and Medicare.

Former President Donald J. Trump is calling for exempting overtime pay from taxes, the latest in a string of vague tax proposals that have befuddled tax experts, worried fiscal hawks and seemingly charmed voters.

Mr. Trump [*floated the idea*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/us/politics/trump-debate-tucson-rally-arizona.html) this past week during a campaign rally in Tucson, Ariz., telling the crowd that it would supercharge incentives to work more and put money back in the pockets of many Americans.

“It’s time for the working man and woman to finally catch a break, and that’s what we’re doing because this is a good one,” he said.

The pitch is part of what has become Mr. Trump’s playbook during the presidential race: [*tossing out potentially huge tax cuts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/us/politics/trump-debate-tucson-rally-arizona.html), defined in just a few words, to try and win over middle- and ***working-class*** voters. He has also vowed to exempt tips from taxes and end taxes on Social Security benefits, two ideas that have proven popular. At the same time, he has said he would further cut the corporate tax rate.

As with his promise to end taxes on tips, though, Mr. Trump left many key details about the overtime plan unaddressed, making it hard to estimate its costs. Among the open questions is whether overtime pay would be exempt from just the income tax or if the exception would also apply to the payroll taxes that fund Social Security and Medicare.

There is also the issue of how many Americans could benefit from Mr. Trump’s idea. More than 34 million Americans worked over 40 hours a week in 2023, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, but only a subset of that group are owed time-and-a-half pay for overtime under federal law. The rules are complex, but in general Americans earning a salary of more than $43,888 a year may not be owed overtime, depending on their job. Americans paid by the hour, currently about 55 percent of the work force, are broadly eligible for overtime pay.

“The vast majority of hourly workers are automatically overtime eligible, regardless of how much money they make,” said Heidi Shierholz, who was the chief economist at the Department of Labor under the Obama administration.

The relative ease with which hourly employees can earn overtime could create a huge tax incentive for more Americans to reclassify themselves as hourly workers. The cost of the tax cut would depend on whether such legislation limited the ability of corporate executives or high-paid lawyers to modify their own compensation and make a chunk of it tax free.

Arthur Laffer, a father of supply-side economics who at times advises Mr. Trump on tax policy, said in an interview that any final plan would need to include guard rails. Overall, it should encourage Americans to work more, he said. Alabama earlier this year [*began excluding*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/us/politics/trump-debate-tucson-rally-arizona.html) overtime pay from its state income tax.

“It should not be a serious problem to be able to devise a system that works well,” he said. “This is a good first shot.”

The Tax Foundation, a think tank that generally favors lower taxes, produced a range of estimates for the cost of Mr. Trump’s idea. Assuming the exemption only covers pay currently considered overtime, the think tank said the plan would cost roughly $227 billion over 10 years if applied to the income tax — and an additional $145 billion if Americans also did not owe payroll taxes on overtime earnings.

The cost could be far higher if all pay earned after working 40 hours a week were not taxed. The Tax Foundation analysis estimated that cost at $1.1 trillion over 10 years.

Michael Strain, the director of economic policy studies at the American Enterprise Institute, a right-leaning think tank, said the potential fiscal cost of the plan was not justified.

“The outlook for the U.S.’s fiscal situation is dire and therefore any additional tax cuts should have a very strong economic argument to support them,” Mr. Strain said, listing benchmarks for boosting economic growth.

“And I don’t see any reason to think that eliminating taxes on overtime, or eliminating taxes on tips, serve any of those goals,” he said.

Much of Mr. Trump’s [*tax agenda could be budget busting*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/us/politics/trump-debate-tucson-rally-arizona.html). He is also seeking to extend tax cuts he signed into law in 2017, a move that could cost roughly $4 trillion over a decade, according to the Congressional Budget Office. Ending taxes on Social Security benefits could cost roughly $1.6 trillion over a decade, according to the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget, and plans to cut the corporate tax rate and end taxes on tips would cost hundreds of billions more.

Mr. Trump’s main proposal to bring money into federal coffers is a [*dramatic expansion of tariffs*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/us/politics/trump-debate-tucson-rally-arizona.html) on imports into the United States. The tariffs could raise substantial revenue, but probably [*not enough to plug the fiscal hole*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/us/politics/trump-debate-tucson-rally-arizona.html) created by his proposed tax cuts, according to budget analysts.

Vice President Kamala Harris’s campaign attacked Mr. Trump’s idea on overtime pay as cynical, pointing to a move by the Trump administration in 2019 to [*roll back an expansion of overtime eligibility*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/us/politics/trump-debate-tucson-rally-arizona.html).

“He is desperate and scrambling and saying whatever it takes to try to trick people into voting for him,” Joseph Costello, a Harris spokesman, said.

While the Harris campaign attacked Mr. Trump, it did not criticize the merits of the proposed tax cut. Both candidates are trying to convince ***working-class*** Americans that they will cut their taxes. Mr. Trump’s previous proposal to not tax tips, also widely criticized by economists, was eventually [*endorsed by Ms. Harris*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/us/politics/trump-debate-tucson-rally-arizona.html).

This article appeared in print on page A26.

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**End of Document**



[***A V.P. Nominee Who Puts the Con in Conservatism***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CHF-VR41-DXY4-X0C2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 25; PAUL KRUGMAN

**Length:** 885 words

**Byline:** By Paul Krugman

**Body**

J.D. Vance once feared that Donald Trump might become ''America's Hitler.'' Now he's Trump's running mate. But never mind that history. Trump and Vance have a lot of things, including this, in common: They're both con men who despise their most avid supporters.

Indeed, Vance, despite stiff competition, may be the most cynical major figure in modern American politics. You never know whether Trump believes the false things he says; Vance is smart enough to know that he has pulled off a monumental political bait-and-switch.

And if the Trump-Vance ticket wins, there's a fairly good chance that, given Trump's evident lack of interest in the details of policy and -- yes -- his age, Vance will, one way or another, end up running the country.

So, about that con: Vance, now the junior senator from Ohio, talks a lot about his hardscrabble roots. But people should read what he wrote in ''Hillbilly Elegy,'' which shows startling contempt for the people he grew up with but who, unlike him, didn't escape small-town poverty. And people should also be aware that while his convention speech on Wednesday denounced ''Wall Street barons,'' his rise has to a large extent been orchestrated by a group of tech billionaires; he's a protégé of Peter Thiel.

''Hillbilly Elegy'' was part personal memoir, part social commentary and, to be fair, it responded to a real issue. Over the past couple of generations, something has gone very wrong in much of rural and small-town America. There has been a sharp rise in the fraction of men in their prime working years without jobs, notably in the eastern part of the American heartland. Social problems have proliferated; as the economists Anne Case and Angus Deaton documented, there has been a surge in ''deaths of despair,'' which they defined as deaths from drugs, alcohol and suicide.

What happened? I'd focus on changes in the economy that undermined many small towns' reason for being, a process that began during the Reagan years and isn't unique to our country. This loss of economic opportunity led, in turn, to social dysfunction -- echoing the earlier rise in social dysfunction in America's cities when blue-collar urban jobs disappeared.

These issues are real, and we should be making a national effort to ameliorate the problems of left-behind regions. Actually, the Biden administration has been doing just that, with much of its industrial policy aimed at helping depressed areas. Among other things, a Biden administration grant of up to $575 million -- partly financed by legislation Republicans unanimously opposed -- will help upgrade a steel plant in Vance's hometown, Middletown, Ohio.

And let's not forget that many rural Americans have health insurance only thanks to policies Republicans fiercely opposed.

But in ''Hillbilly Elegy,'' Vance rejected the ''cultural movement in the white ***working class*** to blame problems on society or the government.'' Instead, he argued, there are lots of small-town white Americans who have nobody to blame but themselves. They're lazy: ''You can walk through a town where 30 percent of the young men work fewer than 20 hours a week and find not a single person aware of his own laziness.'' They're poorly educated, not because of a lack of opportunity, but because they aren't motivated: ''We don't study as children, and we don't make our kids study when we're parents.''

Imagine the reaction if a liberal Democrat were to say any of that.

After entering politics, however, Vance suddenly decided that the white ***working class*** isn't lazy, it's a victim of external forces. He became vehement about accusing immigrants of taking jobs that should be going to the native born.

One passage in his convention speech appeared to suggest that illegal immigrants are responsible for inflation. Of course, he didn't acknowledge that inflation has fallen by two-thirds since mid-2022, and that nonsupervisory workers -- especially low-wage workers -- have seen their earnings, on average, rise more than prices.

In fact, immigrants aren't taking our jobs. Unemployment among the native-born remains near a historic low. To the extent that native-born Americans are leaving the work force, it's largely because baby boomers are retiring.

And it's especially strange to blame immigrants for the problems of small-town and rural America, which began long before the recent surge in immigration, and where even now there are relatively few immigrants to be seen. In Vance's home state, only 5 percent of the population is foreign-born, compared with around 40 percent in New York City.

Anyway, there's no reason to believe anything Vance says about supporting the ***working class***. His book makes it clear that, at least to a degree, he looks down on those who haven't managed some measure of his professional trajectory. He may have grown up poor, but these days he's just a smart, unscrupulous politician using his background to hide the extent to which he represents the values and interests of plutocrats.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/opinion/jd-vance-hillbilly-elegy.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/opinion/jd-vance-hillbilly-elegy.html)

**Graphic**

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[***The Price We Pay for Having Upper-Class Legislators; Jamelle Bouie***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BXD-GJ91-JBG3-6126-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 970 words

**Byline:** Jamelle Bouie Jamelle Bouie became a New York Times Opinion columnist in 2019. Before that he was the chief political correspondent for Slate magazine. He is based in Charlottesville, Va., and Washington.

**Highlight:** What explains the almost total absence of ***working-class*** people from elected positions in state government?

**Body**

There is a coordinated, nationwide effort to roll back child labor laws, part of a broader campaign to concentrate even more power into the hands of employers.

“Since 2021,” the left-leaning Economic Policy Institute [*notes*](https://www.epi.org/blog/child-labor-remains-a-key-state-legislative-issue-in-2024-state-lawmakers-must-seize-opportunities-to-strengthen-standards-resist-ongoing-attacks-on-child-labor-laws/), “28 states have introduced bills to weaken child labor laws, and 12 states have enacted them.” In 2024 alone, eight states have either introduced or taken new action on bills that would, for example, allow employers to schedule 16- and 17-year-olds for unlimited hours, allow nonprofits to hire 12- and 13-year-olds and eliminate work permits for young people.

One way to understand this fight to roll back labor laws is as a function of conservative ideology and a reflection of the views of the social base of Republican politics. It’s almost axiomatic that a party [*dominated by reactionary business owners*](https://www.epi.org/blog/child-labor-remains-a-key-state-legislative-issue-in-2024-state-lawmakers-must-seize-opportunities-to-strengthen-standards-resist-ongoing-attacks-on-child-labor-laws/) is going to support, as much as possible, the interests of reactionary business owners.

But this analysis can take us only so far. We also have to explain why it is, on a practical level, that this agenda has advanced so far and so fast. There is partisan control, of course — Republicans are leading the assault on labor laws — but there is also the class composition of our state legislatures.

Out of more than 7,300 state legislators in the country, 116 — or 1.6 percent of the total — currently work or last worked in manual labor, the service industry or clerical or union jobs, according to [*a recent study*](https://www.epi.org/blog/child-labor-remains-a-key-state-legislative-issue-in-2024-state-lawmakers-must-seize-opportunities-to-strengthen-standards-resist-ongoing-attacks-on-child-labor-laws/) conducted by Nicholas Carnes and Eric Hansen, political scientists at Duke University and Loyola University Chicago. By contrast, about 50 percent of U.S. workers hold jobs in one of those fields.

This problem afflicts both parties. In the last legislative session, the study found, 1 percent of Republican lawmakers and 2 percent of Democratic lawmakers had ***working-class*** backgrounds. In 10 states — Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oregon, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Utah and Virginia — not a single state lawmaker works or has recently worked in an occupation that researchers would define as ***working class***. Three of those states, incidentally, are ones in which lawmakers recently loosened rules on child labor.

What explains the almost total absence of ***working-class*** people from elected positions in state government? It may have something to do with how we structure our legislatures. Let’s look at Congress as a base line. The House and Senate are full-time legislatures with considerable staffs and resources at their disposal. Members work through the year and are paid accordingly: $174,000 per annum, with pay increases for those in leadership positions.

Now, there is a case to make that Congress needs more staff and higher pay — that to attract the best candidates for federal office, compensation should be competitive with salaries in private-sector fields of similar power, prestige and responsibility. The main point, however, is that Congress is at least structured in a way that would make it possible for a ***working-class*** person to do the job without jeopardizing his or her financial security (although this still leaves us with the problem of actually winning a seat).

You cannot say the same for most of our state legislatures. [*According to the*](https://www.epi.org/blog/child-labor-remains-a-key-state-legislative-issue-in-2024-state-lawmakers-must-seize-opportunities-to-strengthen-standards-resist-ongoing-attacks-on-child-labor-laws/) National Conference of State Legislatures, only 10 states have full-time legislatures, in which lawmakers spend at least 84 percent of their time engaged in the position, including on the legislative floor, in hearings and in committee meetings and doing constituent service. They are paid full-time salaries as well, with average annual compensation of about $82,000. On the other end, there are 14 states where the job is essentially part-time and lawmakers are paid accordingly, earning an average salary of just over $18,000 a year. The remaining states are classified as hybrid legislatures, in which lawmakers devote about 74 percent of their time to legislative duties, with an average annual salary around $41,000.

Setting aside the difficulty of getting elected — the necessity of raising money from wealthy friends, family and acquaintances that most Americans simply do not have — if ***working-class*** people of modest means somehow won state legislative positions, they would almost certainly have to sacrifice a large part of their incomes to do so. Our legislatures are not built to allow working people to participate as members. Neither, for that matter, is our political system writ large.

It is not too difficult to imagine the changes that might make our elected institutions, including Congress, more inclusive of working people. We would need, for example, a stronger and more robust system of campaign finance. We would need resources to move more legislatures to full-time status, including funds for more staff and higher salaries. And we would need the kinds of accommodations that, frankly, all Americans deserve: child care, housing and good health insurance.

The problem is that all of this runs counter to our ingrained hostility to politics and politicians — our cynical distrust of, even contempt for, people who choose to make a career of elected office. We don’t want to raise their pay or give them more of what they need to do their jobs well; we want to cut as much as we can and impose term limits while we’re at it.

In this way, we get the legislatures — and legislators — that we pay for: a whole lot of wealthy people interested in pursuing their own goals and not much else.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.epi.org/blog/child-labor-remains-a-key-state-legislative-issue-in-2024-state-lawmakers-must-seize-opportunities-to-strengthen-standards-resist-ongoing-attacks-on-child-labor-laws/) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.epi.org/blog/child-labor-remains-a-key-state-legislative-issue-in-2024-state-lawmakers-must-seize-opportunities-to-strengthen-standards-resist-ongoing-attacks-on-child-labor-laws/). And here&#39;s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.epi.org/blog/child-labor-remains-a-key-state-legislative-issue-in-2024-state-lawmakers-must-seize-opportunities-to-strengthen-standards-resist-ongoing-attacks-on-child-labor-laws/).

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY LEWIS W. HINE) This article appeared in print on page SR3.

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[***Trump's Lamenting Appeal to Nonwhite Voters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D5C-BDV1-DXY4-X2NV-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1341 words

**Byline:** By Lisa Lerer and Michael Gold

**Body**

Eight years ago, he won over many white voters, who were often called the forgotten Americans. Now, he hopes to make inroads with Black and Latino voters by stoking resentments and pointing to scapegoats.

For more than a decade, former President Donald J. Trump fueled his political rise with dark appeals to white Christian voters, warning of immigrants coming for their jobs and nefarious efforts to undermine what he describes as the country's true heritage.

Now, facing a neck-and-neck race against the first Black woman to win her party's nomination, Mr. Trump is branching out.

He has repeatedly accused migrants of poaching ''Black jobs'' and ''Hispanic jobs,'' which is inaccurate, according to labor statistics. He told Latino voters in Las Vegas that illegal immigrants were ''totally destroying our Hispanic population.'' He promised women in Pennsylvania he would ''be their protector'' and that they would no longer be ''abandoned, lonely or scared'' -- a vow based on the hyperbolic premise that criminals who also happen to be immigrants are lurking around every corner.

For all the frequent laments about how left-leaning politicians divide the country through ''identity politics,'' it appears to be Mr. Trump in this race who is making the most explicit identity-based arguments for voters to support his policies.

''He's way more explicit than most prior candidates with these explicit appeals to Black voters and Latino voters that pit their various identity groups against each other,'' said Michael Tesler, a professor of political science at the University of California, Irvine, who cowrote a book about how Mr. Trump wields white identity politics. ''There's a unified grievance in terms of 'I'm not getting my fair share.'''

Many of Mr. Trump's blunt and dire entreaties have been greeted with condemnation, even mockery, for their clumsy invocation of race, gender and religion. Yet, in this final, frenetic stretch of the contest, they also represent a striking effort to expand the tent of economic, racial and cultural grievances that propelled him to the White House eight years ago.

Mr. Trump is seeking to win over Black and Latino voters by pitting them against undocumented immigrants, whom he has long blamed for a litany of economic, public safety, national security and social problems. He's blaming an influx of undocumented immigrants -- he says they were allowed into the country by the Biden administration -- for voters' economic frustrations.

Appeals to subsets of the American electorate have been part of presidential races for decades, often entwined with shifting racial and gender politics. In 1960, John F. Kennedy campaigned in Harlem, promising to advance civil rights. Nearly a half-century later, George W. Bush sprinkled some Texas-twanged Spanish in campaign speeches from Iowa to California.

But Mr. Trump's foray into such targeted campaigning has gone far beyond the traditional political stops at Black churches and taco stands.

In 2016, Mr. Trump focused on hard-working ''forgotten'' Americans, a phrase historically used to refer to white ***working-class*** voters. Four years later, he embraced white nationalist touchstones, defending Confederate monuments and warning of violent Black Lives Matter protesters invading white suburbs.

But in a race expected to be decided by the slimmest of margins, his campaign aides believe shaving off even a percentage point or two of Ms. Harris's advantage with groups that tend to overwhelmingly favor Democrats could be decisive.

''This is a game of inches,'' said James Blair, the Trump campaign's political director. ''It's about marginal gain with different populations in different states.''

The result is a message that can, at times, feel discordant.

When speaking to Black voters, Mr. Trump will highlight his signature criminal justice reform law, the First Step Act. At other events, he'll call for a return to the stop-and-frisk policing strategy that has been found to disproportionately target Black and Latino men. At an event at a Black church in Detroit, intended to signal his outreach, a sizable share of the crowd was white.

He has also brought Black and Hispanic musicians onstage at rallies, part of an effort to court new surrogates, an effort that is at times awkward. In Las Vegas last month, Mr. Trump, clearly reading from scripted remarks, gave a shout-out to Nicky Jam, a male reggaeton star in attendance. ''Do you know Nicky?'' He asked the crowd. ''She's hot. Where is Nicky?'' When Nicky Jam came to take the stage, Mr. Trump looked a bit befuddled.

In Johnstown, Pa., the Puerto Rican rapper Anuel AA endorsed Mr. Trump in front of a sizable white audience, an incongruity that Mr. Trump acknowledged. ''I don't know if these people know who the hell you are, but it's good for the Puerto Rican vote,'' he said. ''Every Puerto Rican is going to vote for Trump right now. We'll take it.''

In his efforts to win Jewish voters from Democrats, he has insisted that Israel will cease to exist if he is not elected. And even as he tries to win Jews, a group of about 700,000 voters across the battleground states, he has said they ''would have a lot to do'' with a loss, pre-emptively blaming them.

Those who have watched Mr. Trump for decades say such overtures are rooted in an effort to pit various groups against one another.

''Donald always appeals to your dark side,'' said Alan Marcus, a consultant who worked for the Trump Organization in the 1990s and opposes the former president. ''He deals in hate. If he can make you hate something, he gains.''

Trump campaign aides say they've been targeting Black and Latino voters across battleground states, hosting community events from offering free haircuts at a campaign office in Pennsylvania to small business round-tables in Georgia and Nevada.

Vianca Rodriguez, director of Hispanic communications for the Trump campaign, described their effort as sharing ''President Trump's vision for improving the quality of life for Hispanic Americans, many of whom are struggling under'' the Biden-Harris administration.

The Harris campaign says it has conducted far more extensive and prolonged outreach in those communities through a field operation that began nearly a year ago. On Wednesday, it began ''Hombres con Harris,'' an initiative targeted at Latino men in battleground states.

They dismiss Mr. Trump's overtures as divisive, even hateful.

''I think people are exhausted, and they're exhausted with the lies, they're exhausted with the selfishness, they're exhausted with the attempt to divide us as Americans, and they're ready to turn the page and chart a new way forward,'' Ms. Harris said in an interview with ''The View'' on Tuesday.

At other moments, they've worked to transform Mr. Trump's own words into potent attacks against him.

''Who's going to tell him that the job he's currently seeking might just be one of those 'Black jobs'?'' said Michelle Obama, the former first lady, said to thunderous applause at the Democratic National Convention in August.

There are early indications that Mr. Trump may be finding some success. Polling shows that he has expanded his support among Latino and Black voters from 2020, a shift that threatens to undermine the multiracial coalition that has long been the foundation of Democratic victories.

The precise level of his support is hard to measure. Mr. Trump is explicitly targeting what campaign strategists call ''low propensity'' voters, particularly a group of Black and Latino men who are less likely to regularly show up and vote.

But it is the small movements of those difficult-to-track voters, say strategists, that could decide the race.

''The most important voters are the ones we know the least about,'' said Carlos Odio, a founder of Equis, a Democratic-leaning research group that focuses on Latino voters. ''The remaining question that we have at this point is: Can Trump pull out some these Trumpian Latino irregular votes as he has with white ***working-class*** men?''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/10/us/politics/trump-voters-black-latino.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/10/us/politics/trump-voters-black-latino.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Former President Donald J. Trump is aiming to expand the tent of grievances that propelled him to the White House eight years ago. During his June visit to a Black church in Detroit, at left, a sizable share of the crowd was white. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JAMIE KELTER DAVIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

BRITTANY GREESON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A11) This article appeared in print on page A1, A11.

**Load-Date:** October 11, 2024

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[***This Sapphic Monster Novel Flips the Script on Queerness in Horror; Fiction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D9N-49S1-DXY4-X30G-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 31, 2024 Thursday 23:34 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 733 words

**Byline:** Hugh Ryan

**Highlight:** In “Feast While You Can,” two women who have long been nemeses rely on each other to face an ancient terror that has re-emerged.

**Body**

In “Feast While You Can,” two women who have long been nemeses rely on each other to face an ancient terror that has re-emerged.

FEAST WHILE YOU CAN, by Mikaella Clements and Onjuli Datta

For queer women, horror and hunger have stuck cheek by jowl since at least the time of “Carmilla,” the ur-Sapphic vampire novel from 1872. The figure of the devouring lesbian is both a symbolic inversion of the good, sacrificing mother and a tantalizing embodiment of the male terror of cunnilingus. But this familiar paradigm is queerly inverted in “Feast While You Can,” Mikaella Clements and Onjuli Datta’s exciting new hybrid horror-romance novel. Angelina and Jagvi, the novel’s monster-crossed lovers, race to escape an ancient entity that wants to devour more than just their bodies.

As the novel begins, Angelina is living with her brother, Patrick, in Cadenze, the rural Italian mountain town where they grew up. Patrick and Angelina’s sprawling family is a pillar of the ***working-class*** community, and Angelina is particularly favored. Jagvi grew up alongside them but as an outsider (she’s brown and butch and vocally dissatisfied with their provincial hometown), and she left as soon as it was possible. When Jagvi returns to Cadenze to sell her father’s home, the painful tangle of their relationships reignites.

Years earlier, when they were in high school, Jagvi broke Patrick’s heart, and though they are close friends now, Patrick’s family never forgave her (Angelina included). For their part, Angelina and Jagvi have always sniped at each other, using sarcasm to maintain a distance rather than acknowledge an attraction that could shatter Patrick all over again. But when a mysterious spirit begins to possess Angelina during Jagvi’s visit, the three accidentally discover that the only thing that can break the monster’s hold over Angelina is Jagvi’s touch, forcing them together.

“Feast While You Can” is lightly set in the 1990s, which mostly just means there are no cellphones in the story, but there are occasional references to the riot grrrl folk singer Ani DiFranco. The central monster is a clever enfleshing of the homophobia of the era and the way it limited opportunities for queer people. “Its attention felt like Cadenze itself,” Angelina notes. Early in the novel, Jagvi says that provincial Cadenze “swallows up options,” which is what the monster does as well, rooting through the minds of its victims to devour their memories, and spiraling forward to experience and erase all their possible futures until no one remembers its victims ever existed.

Like many creative works set in the queer ’90s, the book doesn’t grapple with the pervasiveness of the period’s xenophobia. Although the monster as metaphor for homophobia is strong, the representation of actual homophobia and racism is rather weak: noted on a surface level, but for the most part, vaporous and indistinct. Perhaps Clements and Datta rightly intuit that more explicit references would swamp the lighter, more adventurous, exciting, fantastical and erotic parts of the novel. But readers familiar with the era may feel ungrounded.

Where the novel sings, however, is in its representations of queer life and desire. Jagvi’s hands are continually eroticized through Angelina’s gaze. “And those hands,” she waxes early on, “hanging open at her sides, square fingers beckoning.” Later, readers are drawn again to cast our eyes on Jagvi’s fingers, particularly the “capable crook to her knuckles.” There are also several discussions of packers, strap-ons and vibrators. Jagvi’s butchness is handled with great nuance, inviting the questions of gender identity that readers of today might hold, but never pushing the dialogue or descriptions to an anachronistic place.

Queer women have always been part of the horror genre. But in the capable, beckoning hands of Clements and Datta, we get to see the story from their perspective, with monsters made not from them, but for them. In “Feast While You Can,” queer desire is the cure, not the curse, and it will satiate readers who have subsisted for too long on the crumbs of representation.

FEAST WHILE YOU CAN | By Mikaella Clements and Onjuli Datta | Grand Central Publishing | 296 pp. | $30

Hugh Ryan is the author of “When Brooklyn Was Queer,” “The Women’s House of Detention” and, forthcoming in 2026, “Becoming History.”

PHOTO This article appeared in print on page BR26.

**Load-Date:** November 6, 2024

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[***First-Term Representative From Oregon Is Trump's Pick to Lead Labor Department***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DGT-40V1-JBG3-64CY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 24, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 24

**Length:** 988 words

**Byline:** By Michael M. Grynbaum and Danielle Kaye

**Body**

A moderate from a swing district, she received endorsements from several unions but narrowly lost her bid for a second House term.

Lori Chavez-DeRemer, a first-term Republican representative from Oregon who narrowly lost her House seat this month, was chosen on Friday to serve as labor secretary in the coming Trump administration.

''Lori has worked tirelessly with both business and labor to build America's work force, and support the hardworking men and women of America,'' President-elect Donald J. Trump said in a statement.

A moderate from a swing district that includes parts of Portland, Ms. Chavez-DeRemer, 56, is not a major figure in American labor politics. But she was one of only a few House Republicans to support major pro-union legislation, and she split her district's union endorsements with her Democratic opponent, Janelle Bynum, earning nods from ironworkers, firefighters and local Teamsters.

When the House speaker, Mike Johnson, spoke at a Chavez-DeRemer rally in October, he said, ''She's got more labor union endorsements than any Republican I've ever seen in my life.''

Labor leaders criticized Mr. Trump's policies during his first term as president, and at one point in the race this year, he praised Elon Musk for a willingness to fire workers who go on strike. But Mr. Trump also proposed ending taxes on tips and overtime, and many rank-and-file union members embraced his pro-tariffs economic agenda.

After Ms. Chavez-DeRemer's defeat this month, the president of the Teamsters, Sean O'Brien, urged Mr. Trump to consider her for the labor secretary role, Politico reported. On Friday, Mr. O'Brien praised her selection, posting a photograph on X of himself standing with Mr. Trump and Ms. Chavez-DeRemer.

''North America's strongest union is ready to work with you every step of the way to expand good union jobs,'' he wrote.

Mr. O'Brien courted Mr. Trump throughout the presidential race -- to the consternation of some of his membership -- even speaking at the Republican National Convention; ultimately, the Teamsters did not endorse a candidate.

Ms. Chavez-DeRemer, who has said her father belonged to the Teamsters, faced one of the toughest re-election battles of any House member this year.

She endorsed Mr. Trump, but she rarely praised him on the campaign trail in her district, where many voters are unaffiliated. Instead, she focused on a law-and-order message and her legislative work on the fentanyl crisis.

In the run-up to Election Day, Ms. Chavez-DeRemer toured a training facility for a local plumbers and steamfitters union, where apprentices practiced their welding skills. The group later endorsed her.

Ms. Chavez-DeRemer began her political rise in Happy Valley, Ore., a Portland suburb where she served as mayor for eight years. On social media on Friday, she thanked Mr. Trump for putting her on the threshold of a cabinet position.

''***Working-class*** Americans finally have a lifeline with you in the White House,'' she wrote.

During the Biden administration, the Labor Department -- led first by Martin J. Walsh, then by Julie Su -- ramped up its enforcement of minimum-wage, overtime and worker-safety rules. Much of that could be reversed after Mr. Trump takes office. In his first four years in the White House, the Labor Department rolled back various worker protections and benefits, from paid leave to worker classifications.

Among the Labor Department's most far-reaching policies under President Biden was an expansion of overtime eligibility to millions of workers by raising the income cutoff to about $59,000 next year from the $35,500 threshold set by the department under Mr. Trump. A federal judge in Texas struck down the Biden administration's overtime rule on Nov. 15, and Mr. Trump's Labor Department could reinforce limitations on how many people would qualify for overtime pay.

Worker classification was another Biden administration priority. Mr. Biden's Labor Department issued a rule making it more likely that gig workers would be classified as employees rather than independent contractors, entitling them to the federal minimum wage and overtime pay. Mr. Trump's department could undo that rule, which has faced several lawsuits from businesses seeking to block it. During his first term, Mr. Trump issued a rule that some labor experts argued made it easier for employers to classify workers as independent contractors.

The Labor Department is also responsible for enforcing child labor violations, a mandate that Mr. Biden stepped up. Last year, the department's wage and hour division instructed officials to seek large monetary penalties from violators. But the Trump administration is likely to tamp down enforcement of child labor rules.

Mr. Trump's department could walk back or delay Biden-era safety rules, including a proposal by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration requiring employers to protect workers from the health risks of heat. During Mr. Trump's first term, the Labor Department took aim at safety regulations less directly, too, by instructing the heads of the department's enforcement agencies to generally refrain from issuing news releases about citations or other enforcement actions against companies.

The Trump administration's crackdown on immigration during his first term had a chilling effect on immigrant workers, discouraging them from coming forward to discuss workplace issues, said Janice Fine, a professor of labor studies at Rutgers University. That, she said, could play out again and affect the Labor Department's work, beyond the likely reversal of specific Biden-era measures.

''When immigrant workers don't come forward, they don't complain about wage theft and health and safety threats and violations,'' Dr. Fine said. ''It gets in the way of the government's ability to protect all workers.''

Maya C. Miller contributed reporting.Maya C. Miller contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/22/business/economy/labor-secretary-lori-chavez-deremer-trump.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/22/business/economy/labor-secretary-lori-chavez-deremer-trump.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Representative Lori Chavez-DeRemer, a moderate, is one of only a few House Republicans to support major pro-union legislation. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL BROCHSTEIN/SOPA IMAGES, VIA REUTERS) This article appeared in print on page A24.

**Load-Date:** November 24, 2024

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[***Ocasio-Cortez Seeks Congressional Post Where She Would Be a Top Foil to Trump***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DKH-VC21-JBG3-61NF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 7, 2024 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 15

**Length:** 1235 words

**Byline:** By Nicholas Fandos

**Body**

After years of challenging her party from the left, Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, a New York Democrat, announced a bid to join its leadership ranks in Congress.

Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez of New York built her reputation clashing with House Democratic leaders. Now, for the first time, she will take a shot at joining their ranks.

Ms. Ocasio-Cortez announced on Friday that she would seek the coveted position of top Democrat on the House Committee on Oversight and Accountability, challenging a more senior colleague to fill the vacancy.

If she succeeds and is chosen as the panel's ranking member, the 35-year-old congresswoman would be by far the youngest Democrat to help lead a House committee. She would gain a platform not only to investigate President-elect Donald J. Trump's administration but also to help her party chart a path back from electoral defeat.

''Democrats will face an important task: We must balance our focus on the incoming president's corrosive actions and corruption with a tangible fight to make life easier for America's ***working class***,'' Ms. Ocasio-Cortez wrote in a letter to colleagues. ''I will lead by example by always keeping the lives of everyday Americans at the center of our work.''

But first she must contend with Representative Gerald E. Connolly, 74, a pugnacious, well-liked eight-term incumbent from Virginia who has pitched himself as a more seasoned investigator.

The contest promises to be a significant test of just how far one of the brightest Democratic stars has moved toward the mainstream since crashing into Congress six years ago as a left-wing insurgent.

There is little doubt that Ms. Ocasio-Cortez, who joined a sit-in protest in the speaker's suite before she had even been sworn in, has grown more comfortable working within her party's power structure. She won a prime-time speaking slot at this year's Democratic National Convention and served as a prominent surrogate for Vice President Kamala Harris's presidential campaign, breaking with some fellow leftists along the way.

The question now is whether her colleagues are ready to return the embrace and elevate a sometimes confrontational leader of the left-wing ''squad'' to be one of Mr. Trump's most visible foils.

''When you have a secret ballot vote, there are a lot of mixed motives,'' said Henry A. Waxman, a retired California congressman known for his own leadership of the Oversight Committee and for challenging the House's seniority system.

''She is so much in the minds of American voters as an example of the left wing of the Democratic Party," he added. ''Members of the caucus have to decide if it helps or hurts the party's future if she becomes leader of that committee, especially since she would have absolute control over what agenda she wants to pursue.''

Mr. Connolly is likely to win support not just from proponents of Democrats' seniority system, but also from members who fear that elevating Ms. Ocasio-Cortez, an outspoken democratic socialist and ardent critic of Israel's war in Gaza, would delight Republicans and further alienate moderate voters.

''Hard work can and should be rewarded in the House of Representatives,'' he wrote in a letter outlining his own bid this week. ''Right now we need an expert who can parry the worst Republican attacks on our institutions and deliver reform where it is necessary and needed.''

Mr. Connolly faces his own challenges. He recently announced that he has esophageal cancer and he will have to reassure colleagues that he can lead the committee while undergoing treatment.

A third Democrat who had been considering a run, Representative Ro Khanna of California, said he would support Ms. Ocasio-Cortez instead.

In calls to colleagues, Ms. Ocasio-Cortez has highlighted her own experience. As the committee's vice ranking member, she has worked closely with its current Democratic leader, Representative Jamie Raskin of Maryland. Videos of her sparring with witnesses and committee Republicans have often gone viral.

Allies said they believed she had a path to victory, although an uphill one, at a time when many Democrats are clamoring for generational change. The race will be decided in a private caucus vote later this month.

The Oversight Committee position became available after Mr. Raskin, 61, successfully challenged Representative Jerrold Nadler, 77, of New York for the top Democratic slot on the Judiciary Committee. Younger Democrats have also challenged the aging leaders of the Agriculture and Natural Resources committees.

Representative Hakeem Jeffries of New York, the top House Democrat, has indicated he intends to stay neutral. So has Mr. Raskin, who said in an interview that both candidates were ''excellent members of the committee.''

The Oversight Committee is among the most storied, and partisan, bodies in Congress. Republicans and Democrats alike have long used it to antagonize the White House, while occasionally working together to pressure large corporations and even Major League Baseball to change their practices.

Republicans will control the committee gavel and subpoena power in the coming Congress, but the ranking member still oversees a large staff and had the power to initiate investigations and minority hearings to spotlight issues of their choice. The ranking member would also be in a position to lead the committee if Democrats retake the House majority in 2026.

Ms. Ocasio-Cortez's competitiveness for the seat would scarcely have been plausible not that long ago.

She was elected to the House in 2018 after defeating one of the party's leaders in a primary. Many of her new colleagues either derided her or feared her attacks on party orthodoxy. Representative Nancy Pelosi, the House speaker at the time, publicly belittled the influence of Ms. Ocasio-Cortez and her allies outside ''their Twitter world.'' (Their clash was dramatized this year in a play at Lincoln Center.)

Ms. Ocasio-Cortez remains divisive in certain circles. Republicans and some pro-Israel Democrats view her criticism of Israel as antisemitic. Others blame her and fellow progressives for alienating key blocs of voters by pushing for more lenient immigration policies and protections for transgender people.

But her supporters say she has an unusual talent for communicating and a populist streak that allows her to reach voters drifting away from the party. In recent years, she has slowly adopted a more pragmatic approach, winning over allies on Capitol Hill and in the Biden administration.

Her decision to run for a House leadership position, further entrenching herself in the chamber, may also help temporarily quiet speculation that has persisted for years about whether she was angling for a path out of the House to higher office.

In her pitch to colleagues on Friday, she called the responsibility of leading Democrats' oversight of the incoming administration ''profound and consequential.'' She emphasized the need for the committee to work on multiple tracks, checking Mr. Trump's attempts to remake the government, working across the aisle where possible and laying out an alternative policy vision to reach struggling Americans.

''We must focus on the committee's strong history of both holding administrations accountable and taking on the economic precarity and inequality that is challenging the American way of life,'' she wrote.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/06/nyregion/aoc-house-oversight-committee.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/06/nyregion/aoc-house-oversight-committee.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Representative Alexandria OcasioCortez wants a lead role on the Oversight Committee. This article appeared in print on page A15.

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[***Ms. Fix-It***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CDY-1NS1-DXY4-X287-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 7, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Length:** 3815 words

**Byline:** By Jason Zengerle

**Body**

Late last year, Representative Marie Gluesenkamp Perez, a first-term Democrat from a rural district in Washington State, began receiving a deluge of alarmed texts from her friends. Before she was elected to Congress, in 2022, Gluesenkamp Perez ran an auto-repair shop with her husband; her professional and personal acquaintances still largely consist of people who work in the trades -- construction, carpentry, woodworking. Now a number of those friends were venting about, of all things, the U.S. Consumer Product Safety Commission.

The C.P.S.C. had recently proposed a rule effectively requiring that all new table saws sold in the United States come equipped with a high-tech safety feature that stops and retracts the saw's spinning blade within milliseconds of its making contact with flesh. The finger-saving technology has been likened to airbags in cars -- a straightforward but ingenious safety solution -- but many of Gluesenkamp Perez's friends didn't see it that way. They were worried that a government mandate would increase the cost of a new table saw by hundreds of dollars, while also giving SawStop, the company that developed the technology, an effective monopoly.

What may seem like a minor regulatory hiccup is to Gluesenkamp Perez emblematic of the disconnect between government and the governed that she has dedicated her short time in office to addressing. Too often, she believes, policymakers are not only disrespectful to people who work with their hands, but also ignorant of the reality of their day-to-day lives. ''If the commission had had somebody who has worked in construction in the body, they would know that if you raise the cost of a table saw by $400, people are just going to put a circ saw on a sheet of plywood -- and more people are going to lose their fingers,'' she says. In April, she introduced legislation that would prohibit the commission from implementing the rule until five years after SawStop's patent expires. (SawStop's chief executive, Matt Howard, said that the company has promised not to enforce its patent once the rule is implemented.)

Sworn into Congress at age 34, with no previous experience as an elected official, Gluesenkamp Perez operates very differently from most of her fellow politicians. Interviewing prospective staff members, she's as likely to ask them about what kind of car they own as about what kind of political experience they have. She hired her legislative director, in part, because the woman drove a Toyota Camry with 200,000 miles on it. ''That says a lot,'' Gluesenkamp Perez explains. But what really sets her apart is the way she thinks about the federal government itself -- which she believes is woefully out of touch with the needs of ***working-class*** Americans.

Earlier this year, at a private dinner for Democratic representatives with Lina Khan, the chair of the Federal Trade Commission, Gluesenkamp Perez asked one question: ''How many of your employees at the F.T.C. don't have a college degree?'' Khan couldn't produce a number. Gluesenkamp Perez suspected that was because the answer is zero. (Through a spokesman, the F.T.C. said the actual figure is 8 percent.) To Gluesenkamp Perez, this served as further evidence of an overly academic, wonky approach to governance that produces bad, alienating policy. ''I feel like in D.C., people have this idea that 'equity' is translating the lawyerly gobbledygook on government websites into Spanish,'' she says. ''That is not equity. Equity is being able to navigate the website with an eighth-grade reading level'' -- in English -- ''and without having to hire a compliance firm.''

When I met with Gluesenkamp Perez in her House office, it was the day after she introduced the table-saw legislation. She was still angry. Indeed, Gluesenkamp Perez was angry about a lot of things -- that college graduates were getting their student loans forgiven but kindergartners in her district were stuck in classrooms without modern air-conditioning; that auto shops like hers could no longer source replacement parts from American manufacturers; that there was ''a slow march toward everything being disposable, and not repairable.'' Worst of all, she believed that these problems were largely attributable to her fellow Democrats, who, she said, ''don't respect people that work for a living.''

Gluesenkamp Perez has inserted herself into a debate that is convulsing the Democratic Party. Today the greatest fault line in American politics is not race, gender or geography -- it is educational attainment. In 1960, John F. Kennedy won 52 percent of voters with only high-school diplomas, but lost college-educated voters with only 39 percent. By the time Joe Biden ran for president 60 years later, that trend had reversed: Biden won 56 percent of voters with college degrees, and lost voters with only high-school educations with just 41 percent. ''There's a point at which that inversion becomes so great that Democrats can no longer win national majorities,'' says Jonathan Cowan, the president of Third Way, a center-left policy institute. (In 2020, Americans without college degrees made up three out of five voters.) ''So that means that Democrats as a whole need to be constantly on the lookout for people who can break the faculty-lounge stranglehold.''

Democrats have been working through the stages of grief about their loss of ***working-class*** voters for the past two decades. When George W. Bush was in the White House and Thomas Frank's ''What's the Matter With Kansas'' sat on every Georgetown bookshelf, the Democrats were in denial, complaining that right-wing Svengalis had hoodwinked the ***working class*** into voting against their own interests by plying them with contrived cultural grievances. Next came anger, the purest form of which was Hillary Clinton's 2016 presidential campaign and her ''basket of deplorables'' label for Donald Trump supporters. After Clinton's defeat came Democrats' bargaining phase, as they tried to accommodate the rise of Senator Bernie Sanders and the belief that he, and politicians like Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, signified a latent interest in socialism among ***working-class*** voters. But in trying to defang Sanders and his fellow insurgents, the Democratic establishment tended to adopt only the most performative socially liberal policies while rejecting ones that might actually threaten or change the neoliberal economic regime. In the process, Democrats seem to have only alienated ***working-class*** voters even more, and not just white ones. Black and Latino ***working-class*** voters are beginning to move to the Republican Party as well.

Which has now brought us to the current phase: depression. Democrats, despondent about their prospects, seem open to accepting a new approach to winning back the ***working class***. And Gluesenkamp Perez offers one compelling vision for how to do it -- if she can stay in Congress long enough to realize it.

It's more than a little amusing that the person offering this vision is a graduate of Reed College, the famously liberal liberal-arts school in Portland, Ore. Gluesenkamp Perez went to college as an act of rebellion against her Mexican immigrant father and white mother, who raised her in an evangelical household outside Houston. She initially embraced Reed's crunchy ethos, running the campus bike co-op. But in her senior year she began dating a mobile mechanic, Dean Gluesenkamp, who volunteered at the co-op but was not a Reed student, and noticed a new side of her supposedly inclusive college. ''Boys at Reed would say rude [expletive] about him, like he wasn't good enough to be there,'' she says, ''and that was very alienating.''

After finishing school in 2012, she and Dean married and opened their own auto shop in Portland, Dean's Car Care, which developed a reputation for doing work on older cars; the Delica, a model of Mitsubishi minivan beloved by car-camping hipsters, became one of their specialties. They lived in a school bus that Gluesenkamp Perez bought off Craigslist, vagabonding around Portland until they found a rural piece of land on the Washington side of the Columbia River Gorge, where they built a house for themselves and, eventually, their son.

In 2022, sensing an opportunity, Gluesenkamp Perez decided to run for Congress. Jaime Herrera Beutler, who had represented Washington's Third Congressional District for six terms and was one of only 10 House Republicans to vote to impeach Donald Trump after the Jan. 6 assault on the Capitol, had drawn a tough primary challenge from Joe Kent, a far-right former Green Beret who had Trump's endorsement. The district, which includes Portland's northern suburbs and exurbs but is more than 7,000 square miles and largely rural, was considered solidly Republican; Trump won it by seven points in 2016 and by four points in 2020. But Gluesenkamp Perez thought she would have a shot, as long as she could run against Kent, who ended up beating Herrera Beutler by fewer than a thousand votes.

Like most Democrats in that year's midterms, Gluesenkamp Perez sought to capitalize on the backlash to the Supreme Court decision overturning Roe v. Wade, often telling the story of having a miscarriage and walking through a gantlet of protesters outside a Planned Parenthood to receive urgent care. Unlike most Democrats, she pledged not to vote for Nancy Pelosi to be Speaker of the House, and spoke openly about the guns she owns.

What made Gluesenkamp Perez truly different, though, were the other issues she raised. While her opponent asserted that the 2020 election was stolen and that Dr. Anthony Fauci belonged in prison, she focused on the concerns of the community she knew, like catalytic-converter theft and supply-chain problems. Her biggest issue was pushing for ''right to repair'' laws, which mandate that consumers have access to repair tools for everything from their smartphones and home medical devices to their cars and tractors. ''We're more and more surrounded by these black boxes that we have no influence over,'' she said. ''I think it's the American ethos that we know how to fix [expletive].''

On the day before the election, FiveThirtyEight's forecast gave Gluesenkamp Perez a 2 percent chance of winning. She ended up beating Kent by about 2,600 votes. ''Kent's extremism opened the door, and Marie was a person who could walk through and flip that seat,'' says Aaron Ostrom, the executive director of the progressive advocacy group Fuse Washington, which supported Gluesenkamp Perez. One Democratic pollster, Cornell Belcher, called it the biggest upset of the 2022 midterms.

When Gluesenkamp Perez arrived on Capitol Hill, she tried to find commonalities with her new colleagues. She didn't have much success. ''I'm like: 'Oh, your bio says you're a small-business owner. What's your business?''' she told Politico at the time. ''They're like, 'Oh, we have a family real estate brokerage firm.''' One of the few friendships she did strike up was with Jared Golden, a third-term Democratic representative from Maine. Golden was first elected in 2018 -- part of the anti-Trump wave in which 31 Democrats won in districts that Trump carried just two years earlier. But by 2023, Golden was one of only five Democrats still in Congress who represented Trump districts. He had a little more company in the moderate Blue Dog Coalition, but just barely. At its peak in 2010, the Blue Dogs had 54 members, but after the 2022 elections, only 14 remained. Then half of them left in a dispute over the group's direction. With the coalition having dwindled to seven members, Golden was asked to lead it.

In his short time in Congress, Golden, a millennial Marine veteran who served in Iraq and Afghanistan, had established himself as one of its most independent-minded members. Representing Maine's almost entirely rural Second Congressional District, he was one of only four Democrats who deviated from the party during the vote on Trump's first impeachment (two of them subsequently became Republicans) and the only Democrat to vote against President Biden's $1.9 trillion Build Back Better Act (over a tax break for the wealthy); at the same time, he voted for a $15-an-hour minimum wage and Biden's $700 billion Inflation Reduction Act. ''The Republican Party spends millions of dollars telling people I'm a progressive,'' Golden told me. ''The Progressive Caucus spends time telling people I'm a conservative. A lot of people, especially the media, like to call me a moderate. I would say I'm none of these things and I'm all of these things. And my constituents are too.''

For his first two terms, Golden steered clear of Capitol Hill reporters and had few allies in Washington. But at the start of his third term, he says he experienced a change of heart. ''Eventually, if you're going to be here and you feel like the party is moving in the wrong direction,'' he says, ''then at some point you just have to say I'm going to try and make it and change it.'' As the head of the Blue Dogs, he recruited Gluesenkamp Perez and Mary Peltola, who represents Alaska's lone House district (which, like Golden's and Gluesenkamp Perez's, was carried by Trump), to be his co-chairs.

Stylistically, the group's three new co-chairs couldn't have been more different from the Blue Dogs' original members, who were mostly older white men from the South. The photo the Blue Dogs released announcing its new leadership -- Golden in a plaid short-sleeve shirt revealing his tattoos, Gluesenkamp Perez sporting bangs, jeans and a denim shirt and Peltola wearing a riotous floral blouse -- was jokingly referred to by some of their staff members as ''the album cover.''

The differences were substantive, as well. The old Blue Dogs had come to be seen as the most conservative and big-business-friendly wing of the party. Gluesenkamp Perez and Golden wanted to drag the Blue Dogs into the Democratic Party's modern era, refashioning them as a more populist group -- one that pushes for a production economy rather than a financialized one, and one willing to take on big government and big business.

Most important, the new Blue Dogs wanted to make it possible for more people like themselves (''normal people,'' Gluesenkamp Perez calls them), from more districts like theirs, to get elected to Congress. ''For so long it's been this narrative of to be a good candidate or a good representative, you should be a straight white male, no kids, J.D. and a trust fund,'' Gluesenkamp Perez says. The twin realities of partisan gerrymandering and political polarization mean there aren't too many places where the Blue Dogs think they can pick up seats. But the coalition's chairs believe that in a handful of races, the combination of a red-but-not-too-red district and an extremist Republican candidate creates an opportunity for the right kind of Democrat. This cycle, the Blue Dogs have so far endorsed six candidates.

The most intriguing is Rebecca Cooke, who's running to unseat the Republican firebrand Derrick Van Orden in a rural Wisconsin district. Cooke, age 36, operates a small hospitality business and works as a waitress. On the campaign trail, she is attacking Van Orden on abortion, Jan. 6 and a well-reported incident last year in which he cursed out a group of teenage Senate pages in the Capitol; she touts her parents' dairy farm and her own employment history as crucial touchstones. ''You don't see a lot of people my age or with my type of background running for Congress,'' she says. ''And it's because we're all busy working.''

Gluesenkamp Perez sees a lot of herself in Cooke, and the two have become friends. But Cooke's backstory also resembles that of another young Democratic congresswoman: Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez. Indeed, Ocasio-Cortez's ***working-class*** bona fides would seem to be even stronger than Gluesenkamp Perez's; after all, Ocasio-Cortez didn't own the restaurant where she worked as a waitress and bartender.

But when I asked Gluesenkamp Perez if she thought Ocasio-Cortez possessed the type of ***working-class*** perspective that she contends Congress is so sorely lacking, she demurred. ''It's not just your personal experience,'' Gluesenkamp Perez said. ''It's who you view as your constituency. Like, who are you there for? Are you there working for ideas? Or are you there working for people?'' Because Ocasio-Cortez represents such a solidly blue district -- where Democratic presidential candidates regularly receive 70 percent or more of the vote -- Gluesenkamp Perez believes that Ocasio-Cortez is working for the former. ''If you're working for ideas, you are much more vulnerable to sort of activist capture than if you have the nuance of individual people,'' she continued. ''And people that work for a living are very diverse, and most of them are not socialists.''

After her upset victory two years ago, Gluesenkamp Perez was celebrated not just by moderate Democrats but even progressives. A picture of her wearing denim coveralls embroidered with the Dean's Car Care logo -- two overlapping red lug nuts made to look like a rose -- led some to believe that she was a member of the Democratic Socialists of America, whose symbol is a red rose; in fact, the shop's logo is a play on Portland's nickname, Rose City. ''Some people thought I'd be like a ***working-class*** pet and just like a useful mascot, like I was an undercover A.O.C.,'' she says. ''But that's not who I am. Some people are like, 'She doesn't really think that, does she?' And I'm like, 'I do actually think that.'''

Gluesenkamp Perez has voted in favor of Republican bills that sought to prohibit the federal government from banning gas stoves, reverse the District of Columbia's elimination of mandatory-minimum-sentencing requirements and condemn the use of elementary schools as shelters for undocumented immigrants. She was also one of only four Democrats to vote for the House's version of the National Defense Authorization Act, which contained amendments that limited gender-affirming care for transgender troops and rescinded the Pentagon's program for reimbursing service members who must travel to obtain reproductive health care. In each instance, she cast these votes secure in the knowledge that the Democratic-led Senate would not let them become law. Her votes were essentially defensive -- meant to deprive Republicans of an easy line of attack against her back in her district, and not a way to wage culture war herself. ''If I'm talking about culture-war issues, I'm not relevant; I'm not doing my job,'' she said a few months into her term. ''It's not the things that make people's lives better.''

The vote that has defined her first term, and brought her the largest amount of abuse from Democrats, was one last year against a Biden-administration priority: student-debt relief. She and Golden were the only two House Democrats to vote for legislation repealing Biden's $400 billion loan-forgiveness plan. For one, Gluesenkamp Perez didn't believe that Biden's plan benefited her constituents, nearly three-quarters of whom don't have bachelor's degrees. ''When you ranked all the states that would have benefited, Washington, D.C., was first, and Washington State was 46th,'' she told me. If Biden's debt-forgiveness plan had included investments in technical education, she might have supported it. But it didn't. ''This was not a hard decision for me,'' she said.

The reaction to her vote was fierce. Slate, which shortly after her victory praised her as ''a darling of the Democratic Party,'' now ran an article headlined ''With Democrats Like Marie Gluesenkamp Perez, Who Needs Republicans?'' Old Reed classmates besieged her with angry texts. And progressive activists bombarded Dean's Car Care with negative online reviews. ''This place is horrible,'' one wrote on Yelp. ''They charge interest that compounds daily. Ohh wait, that's student loans.''

But some other progressives, even those who disagreed with Gluesenkamp Perez, saw a consistency in her position. ''It wasn't that some powerful people or powerful interests were the ones who persuaded her and she had to move to that position,'' says Faiz Shakir, Bernie Sanders's chief political adviser. ''Or that the Republicans had a very good argument and she needed to make sure that she works with Republicans, which used to be the classic arguments of a centrist. It was on the level, because she had a ***working-class*** argument for why she was doing this.''

The problem for Gluesenkamp Perez is that, so far, her ***working-class*** agenda hasn't resulted in much legislative action. The signature bills she has introduced or supported -- table saws, right to repair, one to expand Pell grants to cover skills training at community colleges -- are stuck in legislative purgatory. When I pressed her on what she was doing substantively -- and not just rhetorically -- to, as she puts it, ''get the voice of normal people at the table,'' she became defensive. ''We are super-thorough and kind of traditional in how we draft bills -- meeting with stakeholders, doing outreach,'' she said. ''It is the priorities and ideas that are untraditional and different. That is what makes things take more time. I'm not running a Spirit Halloween store over here.''

Gluesenkamp Perez's biggest problem at the moment is Joe Kent, who is running again. This time, of course, Trump will also be on the ballot, which means Gluesenkamp Perez will need a good number of ticket-splitting voters to stay in office. (Her first TV ad, released in late June, stressed her differences with Biden on border policy.) One rainy Saturday in May, she was in Longview, Wash., a timber town along the Columbia River, to rally about two dozen locals to her cause. Standing at the front of an old banquet hall, she implored them to think of the larger implications of the race and what their votes would say about them and their community. ''I'm trying to get the political machine to understand that rural people aren't going to put up with Joe Kent's [expletive],'' she said. ''People think that we're just ignorant, that we are small-minded, that we are uneducated in rural communities. And we know that's [expletive].''

And, she went on, the implications of her re-election would be felt beyond southern Washington. ''The reason that I am on the top of the R.N.C.'s hit list is not because of my bangs,'' she said. ''It's because if Democrats figure out how to hold and represent seats where people work for a living in rural communities and in small towns, places like here, we will break the map on what it means to have a governing majority.'' They had already done it once, she reminded them. ''All of the eggheads and all of the economists and all of the statisticians said we couldn't do what we did,'' she told them. ''But you all showed up, and you believed it. Nobody saved us but us.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/01/magazine/marie-gluesenkamp-perez.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/01/magazine/marie-gluesenkamp-perez.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: PHOTO: Marie Gluesenkamp Perez flipped a rural red district to get to Congress. Now she wants to help her party do more of the same. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HOLLY ANDRES) (MM20-MM21)

Gluesenkamp Perez in the Cannon House Office Building in 2022. (PHOTOGRAPH BY BILL CLARK/CQ ROLL CALL, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS) (MM23)

Gluesenkamp Perez at a campaign fund-raising meeting with constituents at Heathen Brewing in Vancouver, Wash. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HOLLY ANDRES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (MM24-MM25) This article appeared in print on page MM20, MM21, MM22, MM23, MM24, MM25.

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[***We Don’t Yet Understand What Warehouse Work Is Doing to Communities; Farah Stockman***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D73-G3W1-DXY4-X0CF-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1352 words

**Byline:** Farah StockmanFarah Stockman joined in 2020. For four years, she was a reporter for The Times, covering politics, social movements and race. She previously worked at The Boston Globe, where she won a Pulitzer Prize for commentary in 2016.

**Highlight:** Warehouses in Lehigh Valley, Pa. have been an economic boon for blue collar workers. But they have been a political bust.

**Body**

No place symbolizes the profound shifts that have taken place in the U.S. economy like Bethlehem, Pa., a city that lost its [*mighty steel mill*](https://www.nytimes.com/1995/11/19/us/town-built-on-steel-industry-resigns-itself-to-end-of-an-era.html) but has been reborn with the help of a casino, a hotel and a couple of Walmart distribution centers. Thanks to the rise of online shopping and the proximity to so many American doorsteps, warehouses have become a [*major source of blue-collar employment*](https://www.nytimes.com/1995/11/19/us/town-built-on-steel-industry-resigns-itself-to-end-of-an-era.html) in Bethlehem and beyond. In Pennsylvania’s Lehigh Valley, more than 19,000 people work in the warehouses that prepare our packages. Thousands more drive the trucks that deliver them. The total number of workers in this industry almost replaces [*the number*](https://www.nytimes.com/1995/11/19/us/town-built-on-steel-industry-resigns-itself-to-end-of-an-era.html) that Bethlehem Steel employed in the city during its heyday.

But the political power that blue-collar workers once wielded has not been replaced.

Despite their large numbers, their importance to the economy, and their presence in Northampton — a swing county in a crucial battleground state — warehouse workers don’t form an influential voting bloc in the way that steelworkers did. During an election year, when [*voters in this county and in the broader Lehigh Valley*](https://www.nytimes.com/1995/11/19/us/town-built-on-steel-industry-resigns-itself-to-end-of-an-era.html) could well determine who sits in the White House, elected officials are scratching their heads about how to engage them.

“It’s really hard to reach out to these folks,” Lamont McClure, the county executive in Northampton County, told me.

It turns out that making stuff isn’t the same as distributing it. Working in a steel mill is a communal act that lends itself to the pursuit of political power in a way that warehouse jobs do not. Steelworkers toiled alongside one another, forming lifelong bonds, bowling leagues and unions that delivered a reliable voting bloc. Back when thousands of workers streamed out of the gates of Bethlehem Steel at quitting time, “politicians would come out to shake our hands,” Jerry Green, retired president of United Steelworkers Local 2599, told me.

Factories were so good at political mobilization, in fact, that some credit them for democracy itself. Women and ***working-class*** men won the right to vote in the United States, Western Europe and much of East Asia after about a quarter of those populations were employed in factories, according to recent [*research*](https://www.nytimes.com/1995/11/19/us/town-built-on-steel-industry-resigns-itself-to-end-of-an-era.html) by Sam van Noort, a lecturer at Princeton.

Warehouses, by contrast, have no such mystique. Nobody campaigns outside the Walmart distribution centers here. Workers tend to be hired by staffing agencies and many stay for only a few months. They work on their own and rarely socialize. They are notoriously difficult to organize. Alec MacGillis, author of “Fulfillment: America in the Shadow of Amazon,” told me that the biggest challenge for labor organizers at Amazon warehouses was getting workers to stay on the job long enough to feel a sense of solidarity.

Malenie Tapia, who moved to Bethlehem from Queens, N.Y., five years ago and took a job as a “picker” in a Zara warehouse, explained why. For eight hours a day, she grabbed items off numbered shelves and delivered them to packers who packed them into boxes. Talking to co-workers was forbidden, she said, except during a brief lunch break. “Sometimes I would go to the section in the back, where there would be less eyes on you, and sneak in a little moment of conversation,” she said.

Her three supervisors, all of whom were Spanish-speaking Latinos like her, used to write down how fast she worked on a whiteboard. If she worked fast enough, they told her, she might one day become a “lead” like them. But she didn’t want that. Older people — those who were undocumented or had spotty employment histories — clung to those jobs, she said. But young people saw that work as temporary, nothing to base a life on.

She left the warehouse and eventually got her dream job, teaching English as a second language at Northampton Community College. About half of her students work in warehouses. So does her mother, a Mexican immigrant who walked across the border at age 15 and now works in a warehouse by day and manages her own small restaurant by night. While they are constantly bombarded by ads on the radio at the restaurant, no one from the Donald Trump or Kamala Harris campaign has reached out to ask for her vote, Ms. Tapia told me. She remains undecided.

“In terms of being a woman, the most obvious choice would be Kamala,” she said. “But in terms of how I feel politically, a lot of my friends and people my age feel like they can’t trust anybody.” She went on: “Young people don’t even want to vote because they feel like their vote doesn’t matter.”

It’s ironic. Northampton County is one of the few places in America where every vote absolutely matters.

But no one seems to have cracked the code of how to talk to warehouse workers as workers. Republicans try to engage them as Christians. Conservative pastors who support Mr. Trump have begun to preach at Latino-majority evangelical churches, according to Guillermo Lopez Jr., a former millwright at Bethlehem Steel who is now a civic leader. A lifelong resident whose father was recruited from Puerto Rico in the 1950s to work in the steel mill, Mr. Lopez said that many Latino workers today don’t take their political cues from union halls but rather from God. “For almost every 100 Latinos, there is an evangelical pastor and church,” he said. He’s a Democrat who supports Ms. Harris, but he thinks Republicans are getting traction among Pennsylvania’s Latinos through churches.

Democrats, on the other hand, reach out to these voters as Latinos. Roughly [*a third*](https://www.nytimes.com/1995/11/19/us/town-built-on-steel-industry-resigns-itself-to-end-of-an-era.html) of all warehouse workers in the area are of Hispanic descent. The Harris campaign opened an office in Allentown, a majority-Latino city near Bethlehem, and hired a Spanish-speaking press secretary for the state. It’s doing bilingual canvassing and has “invested more in paid Hispanic media in the state than any previous campaign,” according to Lauren Hitt, a Harris campaign spokeswoman.

Is it working?

At the Santiago Cigar Lounge near downtown Bethlehem, Jose Vargas, a Dominican-born truck driver who stacked boxes in a Ryder warehouse for many years, told me that in 2020, he “voted against Trump because his campaign seemed racist.” Since then, the high cost of living changed his mind. “I used to throw barbecues,” he lamented. “Now you cannot even see a steak.” He decided that Mr. Trump wasn’t bad-mouthing legal immigrants like himself but those who entered illegally. Others feel similarly, a recent New York Times/Siena College [*poll shows*](https://www.nytimes.com/1995/11/19/us/town-built-on-steel-industry-resigns-itself-to-end-of-an-era.html). Mr. Vargas supports Mr. Trump.

So does his friend Marty Hosey, who was smoking cigars with Mr. Vargas. A fourth-generation ironworker who moved here from Long Island, Mr. Hosey builds skyscrapers during the summer and loads packages at an Amazon warehouse in the winter. He identifies as a libertarian: “Left wing, right wing, it’s the same bird.”

They complained about [*the high cost of housing*](https://www.nytimes.com/1995/11/19/us/town-built-on-steel-industry-resigns-itself-to-end-of-an-era.html) and the new immigrants who, they say, seem to want free stuff rather than work. Most of all, they fretted about being replaced by machines. They spoke with dread about a fully automated McDonald’s and a robot that unloads container ships. They didn’t seem to see themselves as part of a ***working class*** that could band together to demand protections for their jobs.

The hot political issue around warehouses isn’t the workers at all; it’s the traffic and loss of green space associated with them. Both the [*Democratic*](https://www.nytimes.com/1995/11/19/us/town-built-on-steel-industry-resigns-itself-to-end-of-an-era.html) and [*Republican*](https://www.nytimes.com/1995/11/19/us/town-built-on-steel-industry-resigns-itself-to-end-of-an-era.html) candidates in the race for a state representative seat in Northampton have [*vowed*](https://www.nytimes.com/1995/11/19/us/town-built-on-steel-industry-resigns-itself-to-end-of-an-era.html) [*to stop the proliferation of warehouses*](https://www.nytimes.com/1995/11/19/us/town-built-on-steel-industry-resigns-itself-to-end-of-an-era.html), which some citizens’ groups say destroys their rural way of life. If warehouse workers had a political voice, they might push back. But they don’t, so they won’t. Warehouses have been an economic boon. But politically, for workers, they are a loss.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/1995/11/19/us/town-built-on-steel-industry-resigns-itself-to-end-of-an-era.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.nytimes.com/1995/11/19/us/town-built-on-steel-industry-resigns-itself-to-end-of-an-era.html). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/1995/11/19/us/town-built-on-steel-industry-resigns-itself-to-end-of-an-era.html).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Ian Kline for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; Travel Desk; Pg. 8

**Length:** 1297 words

**Byline:** By Mansi Choksi

**Body**

Friday

4 p.m. | Ride an elevator to the future

In Dubai's skyscraper-filled financial district, life in the year 2071 is imagined inside the interactive Museum of the Future. The seven-story structure, which was designed with the help of an algorithm, is shaped like a human eye and engraved in Arabic calligraphy. Lift off to an imagined space station in an elevator simulating commercial space travel, press a button to watch nature come to life in a digital recreation of the Amazonian rainforest, browse a DNA library of thousands of species and check out a flying school bus. If you come across a resident robot (like a penguin ''flying'' above, or a roving dog), wave to start an interaction. Entry, 149 dirhams, or about $40.50.

7 p.m. | Grab a drink and shisha to taste a world gone by

Walk a short distance to the Jumeirah Emirates Tower to relax among vines and palm trees at Ninive, an alfresco cocktail lounge that is an urban reimagination of the Hanging Gardens of Babylon. In alcoves made from brass and wood, under dancing lantern lights, settle into cushions woven in geometric Al Sadu fabric and sip a cocktail infused with tamarind (80 dirhams) while sharing a plate of za'atar chickpea dip (60 dirhams) and shisha (flavored tobacco smoked through a water pipe; 160 dirhams). The experience is something of a mix between a majlis (Arabian sitting room) and a caravanserai (the style of inns dotting land routes along the ancient Silk Road). Note that it is illegal to drink alcohol in public, but permitted in licensed restaurants, hotels and bars.

9 p.m. | Eat at a hidden Japanese-style listening bar

A 15-minute drive south in downtown Dubai, at the Pullman Hotel, hidden behind a record store and past a dark vestibule narrower than a pair of shoulders, is Honeycomb Hi-Fi. In the dimly lit dining room, inspired by Japanese listening bars, enjoy izakaya-style dishes like seaweed salad (46 dirhams) or chicken yakitori skewers (55 dirhams) with cocktails made with Roku gin and sake (65 to 80 dirhams) to a soundtrack of sets by D.J.s from Lebanon, Egypt and Sudan. In an anteroom is an art gallery currently showing photographs documenting the sound systems of the cumbia music scene in Latin America.

Saturday

10 a.m. | Walk around the historic heart of the city

Learn about traditional Emirati life in Al Fahidi Historical Neighborhood, an oasis of old-world charm. Wander along winding stone pathways, push open heavy teak doors into homes originally occupied by pearl merchants, climb up to wind towers with small windows that open into the canopies of trees. Stop by Bayt Al Khanyar Museum (admission, 5 dirhams), which showcases a collection of ceremonial Emirati daggers. Next door, at the Coffee Museum (10 dirhams), sample Arabic coffee and browse ancient roasting and brewing tools. Explore the adjoining Al Fahidi Souk, where vendors sell shawls, herbs, saffron, and knockoff designer bags and watches, and take in views of Dubai Creek, which is dotted with charming dhows, or sailboat taxis.

2 p.m. | Tuck into a vegetarian thali

Take a taxi 10 minutes west to Karama, a ***working-class*** neighborhood of low-rise buildings with saris and pajamas hung to dry, and follow the aroma of ghee into Maharaja Bhog, a multicourse, all-you-can-eat restaurant with the ambience of an Indian wedding party that specializes in vegetarian thali, a platter featuring many small dishes (59 dirhams per adult). Wash your hands in a copper bowl that is brought to your table and take in the cheerful chaos of clinking spoons, the hiss of frying oil and laughter over the hum of classical Indian music. A rotating cast of waiters appears, swinging serving bowls over your head and doling out shallow pools of chutney alongside a selection of curries, dals, roti and rice from the western Indian states of Rajasthan and Gujarat.

4 p.m. | Explore contemporary art

Head south to Alserkal Avenue, a cultural district where you can browse art in a cluster of warehouses that were part of a former marble factory. Look for the public art installation of makeshift shelters by the Palestinian artist Dima Srouji, which is spread along the avenue (through Feb. 26). Stop by the Leila Heller gallery to see abstract paintings by the Lebanese artist Marwan Sahmarani (through Jan. 15), and explore the tantric symbolism of paintings by the Indian artist Sohan Qadri at 1X1 Art Gallery (through Jan. 9). At Cinema Akil, a retro art-house cinema with mismatched couches and vintage posters, catch a screening of an international short (56 dirhams). Afterward, shop a collection of prints, film cameras and books at Gulf Photo Plus and stop by Nappa Dori for gorgeous Indian leather goods.

8 p.m. | Eat seafood by the harbor

Choose your dinner adventure. Dig into salmon carpaccio, yellowtail sushi and Indomie instant noodles mixed with beef chorizo at 3Fils, a diner by the Jumeirah Fishing Harbor, while taking in the breeze and the view of fishing boats and Jet Skis on the water. No alcohol, no reservations (the line moves quickly); dinner for two, around 200 dirhams. Or join a river of traffic turning into Antar or Al Ijaza Cafeteria, both near Jumeirah Beach Road, two beloved, neon-lit fast-food storefronts serving shawarma, porotta flatbreads rolled around kebabs and milky chai since the 1990s, before the homogenizing bulldozer of global food chains arrived. Try the hassan mathar (9 dirhams), a pocket sandwich with spit-roasted chicken, cheese, fries and hot sauce.

Sunday

7 a.m. | Bike through the desert

Watch the sun come up over the vast Al Marmoom Desert as you bike along Al Qudra Cycle Track, a 30-minute drive or Uber ride east from the city center. Rent a bike at Trek Bicycle Store (166 dirhams for two hours) at the start of the dedicated cycling path, which has loops suitable for various levels of riders and groups, and is equipped with rest stops and water stations. The thrill of riding past undulating dunes, ghaf trees and date palms, glimpsing Arabian oryxes (native long-horned antelopes) and camels in the wild will make waking early worth it. Stop for rest roughly four miles in at Al Qudra Lakes, an oasis that attracts migratory birds including flocks of flamingos. Take in the sounds of families stretching out on picnic mats, peeling fruit with pocket knives and humming songs.

11 a.m. | Have a Palestinian brunch

Wipe off the dust and head west to Mama'esh, a Palestinian restaurant in the Al Manara neighborhood that feels like a family's living room, with walls covered in photographs, artifacts and mementos of daily life in the West Bank, East Jerusalem and Gaza. There is a ticker announcing prayer times and a shelf crowded with herbs and recipe books. Mama'esh specializes in manakish, the traditional flatbread baked in stone ovens with olive oil sourced from Palestinian villages and topped with za'atar, cheese or meat. Try the foul medammas (spiced fava beans), cheese manakish with hummus, and a stew of spiced eggplant, lentils and pomegranates. Brunch for two, around 100 dirhams.

Noon | Take a boat out

Hire a yacht, staffed with a crew, which costs surprisingly less of an arm and a leg than it sounds (450 dirhams an hour for up to 10 adults and children with Everest Yacht Charter; minimum rental is two hours). You'll leave behind the hustle of the city, drawn toward the lull of the sea as you taste the salt in the air and take in the skyline from a different perspective, cruising past the sail-shaped Burj Al Arab hotel; the palm-shaped, artificial islands of Palm Jumeirah; and the Arabian archway of the Atlantis hotel. Bring along a portable speaker to play your own music, as well as your brunch leftovers and swimwear and a change of clothes so you can anchor midsea and jump into the water.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/10/travel/14hours-dubai-print.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/10/travel/14hours-dubai-print.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Aboard a boat at the Dubai Marina. Top and center left, the Museum of the Future. Center right, the Coffee Museum. Above left, a traditional lunch served at the Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum Center for Cultural Understanding. Above, riding past sand dunes and date palms on the Al Qudra bicycle track. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY KATARINA PREMFORS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page C8.

**Load-Date:** December 14, 2024

**End of Document**



[***51 Men Convicted Of Rape at Trial***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DP9-H883-RRR2-R0JY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 20, 2024 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1398 words

**Byline:** By Catherine Porter and Ségolène Le Stradic

**Body**

Dozens of men who abused Gisèle Pelicot were convicted, including the man who invited them to do so: her husband of 50 years. She wanted the public trial to show rape victims they were not alone.

In a packed courtroom on Thursday in Avignon, France, the head judge asked each of the dozens of men accused of raping Gisèle Pelicot -- while she was near-comatose and at the invitation of her husband of 50 years -- to stand briefly. Then he pronounced their convictions swiftly, one after the other: all guilty.

By the time it was over, every one of the 51 accused men had been convicted, most of them for raping Ms. Pelicot in her own bedroom. Her husband, Dominique Pelicot, 72, who had admitted to drugging her over nearly a decade to abuse her, was the only one to get the maximum sentence: 20 years.

The rest were given sentences mostly ranging from six to nine years.

And with that, the trial that had both horrified and captivated France for almost four months ended with a victory for the woman at its center, Ms. Pelicot. She became a feminist icon for her bravery in allowing the case to be tried publicly, to more fully expose the horrors of rape in a country where #MeToo hardly gained traction.

After it was over, she stepped into a swarm of French and international reporters and hundreds of supporters eagerly awaiting her, who held up signs of appreciation and cheered when she emerged. There were so many of them that they stopped traffic on the road outside the courthouse.

''Justice for Gisèle, justice for all,'' one sign read. Another proclaimed: ''All the women on Earth support you. Thank you Gisèle.''

As she has throughout the trial, Ms. Pelicot retained her trademark poise, giving a simple statement about her decision to allow the world to witness the painful details of her rapes rather than keep them private as is allowed by French law. Her goal was to force discussions of rape, including those facilitated through the use of drugs.

''I wanted, by opening the doors of this trial on Sept. 2, that society would take up the debates that have been launched,'' she said on Thursday. ''I never regretted my decision.''

She said she had drawn strength from the backing she had received from people around the world, adding that the support had allowed her to return to the courthouse ''over long days of this trial'' -- even when videos of some of the rapes were shown in court at her insistence.

Though all the men were convicted, many feminist activists who have lined up daily to watch the proceedings in an overflow room were upset by the sentences. That was because in all cases, except for Mr. Pelicot's, the sentences were lower than the prosecutor had recommended. Six of the convicted men were freed, having already served most or all of their time in jail.

''It means you can rape a woman who was drugged in her own home and walk out free,'' said Pascale Plattard, a member of the feminist collective the Amazons of Avignon, who was perched on a fence in front of the courthouse. ''I am very angry.''

Lorraine Questiaux, a lawyer whose Paris practice focuses on violence against women, called the sentences ''relatively lenient, given the gravity of the acts.''

Many of the lawyers of the accused said they were satisfied with the sentences, though it was unclear if some would appeal.

The trial has rattled the country because of its many sordid elements.

A grandmother and retired manager at a big public company, Ms. Pelicot had built what she and her children thought was a happy life with her husband.

But that gauzy vision was torn apart one day in late 2020, when the police arrested him and told her of the abuse she had been suffering. Only then did she understand why she was losing hair and weight, and suffering repeated memory losses so severe that she thought she had Alzheimer's or a brain tumor.

Mr. Pelicot quickly admitted to crushing sleeping pills into her food and drink for years to rape her when she was near-comatose. Then, he invited dozens of men he met online to join him, charging them nothing but regularly filming the encounters. (Ms. Pelicot has since divorced him.)

The case drew so much attention in part because of the sheer numbers of men who had participated and because of their varied and ordinary profiles. The French news media called them ''Monsieur Tout-le-monde'' -- ''Mr. Every Man'' -- and experts said they destroyed the myth of the ''monster rapist,'' replacing it with the image of the man next door.

Aged 26 to 74, they appeared to be a cross-section of middle- and ***working-class*** men -- tradesmen, firefighters, truck drivers, a journalist, a nurse.

About 15 of the defendants pleaded guilty. The rest admitted that they had had sex with Ms. Pelicot but argued that they had never intended to rape her. Instead, most said that they had been lured by Mr. Pelicot to join the couple for a consensual threesome and had been told that Ms. Pelicot was pretending to sleep or had taken sleeping pills herself. Most painted Mr. Pelicot as a master manipulator; some argued that he had drugged them, as well, a charge he denied.

Many offered stunning explanations to the court, qualifying their acts as ''involuntary rape,'' ''nonconsenting rape,'' ''accidental rape'' or ''rape by body but not mind.''

But the videos -- which Ms. Pelicot insisted be played in court as evidence and as a wake-up call to the country -- showed the men penetrating her nonresponsive body.

Earlier this week, the accused were given a last chance to offer final words in their defense. Few took it.

Many of those who had been free on bail for the trial arrived at the courtroom on Thursday morning carrying small bags with their belongings in preparation for what the day might hold. Shortly after the verdict, they were whisked away by police and taken directly to prison. Their wives, mothers and daughters who had watched the verdict in an overflow room wept.

As in other important moments during the trial, on Thursday Ms. Pelicot was flanked by her and Mr. Pelicot's three children. The trial, and the horrific crimes it documented, had shattered not just her life and identity, but theirs, as well.

The children had considered their father a loving pillar of the family who had hosted fabulous birthday parties and was there for them, whether it was attending sports events together or making sure his daughter got home from parties safely. The revelation of his crimes and double life destroyed their perceptions of their childhoods.

The couple's eldest son, David, told the court recently that he feared his own son, who remains in psychological treatment, had also been abused by Mr. Pelicot -- a charge Mr. Pelicot denied. The couple's second son, Florian, said he had lost his marriage because of the tragedy.

And the couple's daughter, who goes by the pen name Caroline Darian, is convinced she was also drugged and sexually abused by her father since the police recovered deleted photos of her from his electronics that showed her in underwear she did not recognize, asleep with the lights on.

She was briefly hospitalized in a psychiatric ward soon after the police took her father into custody and checked herself back into a clinic during the trial, she said on Instagram, ''to recover all my energy, to be able to sleep again.''

Her memoir about the horrific discovery has been translated into English and will be released soon: ''I'll Never Call Him Dad Again.''

Mr. Pelicot was convicted on Thursday of taking and publishing sexual photos of her, as well as of his two daughters-in-law. He had repeatedly denied abusing his daughter or grandchildren.

As she left the courtroom, Ms. Pelicot thanked her children, their partners and her grandchildren, including one grandson standing nearby, ''because they are the future, and it's also for them that I waged this battle.''

Then, she shared some thoughts for the crowds.

''I think of the victims, unrecognized, whose stories often remain hidden,'' she said. ''I want you to know that we share the same struggle.''

She added, ''I have confidence in our ability to collectively seize a future in which everyone, women and men, can live in harmony, with respect and mutual understanding.''

With that, she was escorted by a knot of police officers through the throngs of reporters and into the giant cheering mass of her supporters.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/19/world/europe/pelicot-rape-trial-guilty-verdict.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/19/world/europe/pelicot-rape-trial-guilty-verdict.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Gisèle Pelicot talking to the news media after the verdict. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MANON CRUZ/REUTERS) (A1)

Gisèle Pelicot leaving the courthouse in Avignon, France, on Thursday after judges sentenced her former husband and 50 other men. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MIGUEL MEDINA/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE -- GETTY IMAGES) (A10) This article appeared in print on page A1, A10.

**Load-Date:** December 20, 2024

**End of Document**



[***At 23, Surviving Scandal to Take a Green Seat in the E.U. Parliament; The Global Profile***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DP9-V743-S4RN-J3KG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 20, 2024 Friday 10:18 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1442 words

**Byline:** Valeriya Safronova

**Highlight:** Lena Schilling, the youngest lawmaker in Brussels, faced a harsh questioning of her character and credibility before winning a chance to fight against climate change in the halls of power.

**Body**

Lena Schilling, the youngest lawmaker in Brussels, faced a harsh questioning of her character and credibility before winning a chance to fight against climate change in the halls of power.

Campaigning for a seat in the European Parliament this spring, Lena Schilling was already facing an uphill battle, with her Green Party expected to fare poorly in the election across the continent.

Then came a devastating takedown by a major news media outlet attacking not her policies but her character, with the ensuing controversy possibly making an already difficult situation for the Greens even worse.

On May 7, Der Standard, one of Austria’s leading newspapers, [*published an article*](https://www.derstandard.at/story/3000000219202/lena-schillings-eu-kandidatur-geraet-in-turbulenzen) stating that Ms. Schilling, a 23-year-old whose climate activism had already given her a prominent national profile, “has a problematic relationship with the truth, plays people off each other and leaves a scorched earth in her wake.”

The next morning, Ms. Schilling defended herself at [*a news conference*](https://www.derstandard.at/story/3000000219202/lena-schillings-eu-kandidatur-geraet-in-turbulenzen), saying the accusations had nothing to do “with politics or Europe or the upcoming elections.”

The article, which accused Ms. Schilling of spreading damaging rumors about colleagues and friends and manipulating fellow climate activists, generated significant attention in Austria, and powerful defenders and detractors of Ms. Schilling lined up on opposing sides.

Werner Kogler, Austria’s vice chancellor and the country’s Green Party spokesman, called the article “anonymous murmurs.” Austria’s president, Alexander Van der Bellen, offered his support.

But the country’s tabloids took to calling Ms. Schilling “Lying Lena,” and the controversy crossed international borders, with Der Spiegel in Germany giving her the mocking title of “Gossip Girl.”

“I wanted to enter politics because I wanted to change how we dealt with climate issues because it’s harming millions,” Ms. Schilling said in a recent interview. “And instead, we talked a lot about my private life and things that shouldn’t be in public.”

Ms. Schilling publicly [*apologized*](https://www.derstandard.at/story/3000000219202/lena-schillings-eu-kandidatur-geraet-in-turbulenzen) for some of the accusations that Der Standard published in a series of articles but denied others, like that she had ever considered abandoning the Greens.

The revelations were personally painful and politically damaging.

“After the scandal, what was left was a real question about the sincerity and trustworthiness of Lena Schilling as a candidate,” said Jakob-Moritz Eberl, an election researcher at the University of Vienna.

But by June, after withstanding weeks of withering scrutiny, Ms. Schilling enjoyed some good news.

The Austrian Press Council [*determined*](https://www.derstandard.at/story/3000000219202/lena-schillings-eu-kandidatur-geraet-in-turbulenzen) that Der Standard had violated “the code of honor” with its overuse of anonymous quotes.

And Ms. Schilling was one of the two Green Party members in Austria to secure a seat in the election, and she was sworn in as the youngest member of the current European Parliament.

The media uproar was her first major challenge as a politician, but as a young female lawmaker, she expects more to come.

“I find that even in 2024, many people won’t take you seriously because of your gender or age,” Ms. Schilling said. “I want to show people they’re wrong.”

To some observers, her youth and gender played a significant role in the attacks from the tabloids.

“This intersection of her being a woman and being very young, it’s kind of new for people in Austria,” said Sophie Lecheler, a communications professor at the University of Vienna, who added that there “wasn’t a clear playbook” for such a candidate. She described the news coverage overall as “chaotic, impulsive and quite emotional.”

Ms. Schilling’s parents took her to her first protest when she was a toddler. They were in their early 20s when she was born and raised her in a “very loose” way, she said. “They were always like, ‘You can do it, just try it.’ Sometimes it went well and sometimes it didn’t.”

In the ***working-class*** district in Vienna where she grew up, people had other concerns besides the climate, Ms. Schilling said, and her “political thoughts were not that welcome.” Eventually, as a teenager, she found her place among the city’s climate activists.

In March 2019, months before she began studying toward a bachelor’s degree in political science at the University of Vienna, she had her coming out as a movement leader when she gave a speech during the first [*worldwide Fridays for Future strike*](https://www.derstandard.at/story/3000000219202/lena-schillings-eu-kandidatur-geraet-in-turbulenzen), in which students left classrooms to demand action on climate change.

The night before, the prospect of speaking before a large crowd in Vienna was making her feel ill. “I was sitting at home, shaking,” she said.

Before going to bed, she checked her phone and saw that student protesters were already on the streets in Australia. Her anxiety was replaced by inspiration.

“In 150 countries, there are a million young people who feel the same as me, and that was one of those lightning moments,” she said.

Two and a half years later, she and other young activists [*occupied*](https://www.derstandard.at/story/3000000219202/lena-schillings-eu-kandidatur-geraet-in-turbulenzen) a construction site on the edge of a nature reserve outside Vienna, where the government was planning to build a highway tunnel. Ms. Schilling became a spokeswoman.

A few months into the protest, Austria’s environment minister, Leonore Gewessler, a Green Party politician, [*called off the project*](https://www.derstandard.at/story/3000000219202/lena-schillings-eu-kandidatur-geraet-in-turbulenzen).

“I saw that strong women in politics can make a change,” Ms. Schilling said. “People like her who fight for climate justice do it for decades, and then, suddenly, she was in a position to make this decision.”

Last year, Ms. Schilling, who has paused her pursuit of a degree, began writing a column in a widely read Austrian newspaper, and this February the Green Party announced she would be their top candidate for the European Parliament, making her the face of their campaign.

Then came the exposé of her personal life.

Der Standard reported that Ms. Schilling had been sued by a former friend and her friend’s husband for supposedly telling people that he had physically abused his wife. The two sides reached an agreement in October, with Ms. Schilling promising to correct the record about the couple, and the suit was dropped.

The newspaper also contended that Ms. Schilling had invented a relationship with a TV journalist, who later demanded and got a [*notarized statement*](https://www.derstandard.at/story/3000000219202/lena-schillings-eu-kandidatur-geraet-in-turbulenzen) from Ms. Schilling that they did not know each other personally.

After the scandal, there were those who wondered if the Greens would have fared better with a less contentious, more experienced lead candidate, and one who had been better vetted.

“How could a scandal like that not have been on their radar?” said Mr. Eberl, the election researcher.

Mr. Eberl noted that Thomas Waitz, the secondary candidate for the Greens, had received nearly double the votes Ms. Schilling had secured.

Ms. Schilling concedes her behavior was far from flawless.

“I made mistakes in my personal life,” she said. “I totally did. I’m a young person. I apologized for those mistakes, and I took responsibility.”

Now that she has taken her parliamentary seat, Ms. Schilling sees her five-year term as a chance to prove she is a trustworthy politician for whom the climate crisis is an absolute priority.

On a cloudy September morning in Brussels, where the European Parliament meets, Ms. Schilling returned to her office after early meetings and, with obvious relief, sipped the day’s first coffee from a pink mug that read “Green Feminist.” Despite having moved to Brussels two months earlier, Ms. Schilling hadn’t yet found time to buy a coffee machine for her apartment — or a bed.

“I’m not here for my personal comfort,” she said.

As a member of the Greens, Ms. Schilling has her legislative work cut out for her. Compared with 2019, when [*the Green Party triumphed*](https://www.derstandard.at/story/3000000219202/lena-schillings-eu-kandidatur-geraet-in-turbulenzen) in the European parliamentary elections with its best showing ever, the atmosphere now is much less optimistic. After losing one-quarter of their seats this June, the Greens are leaning into a strategy of [*compromise and pragmatism*](https://www.derstandard.at/story/3000000219202/lena-schillings-eu-kandidatur-geraet-in-turbulenzen).

“In surveys, people care about the climate crisis, but other things in the moment are more important, and I get that,” Ms. Schilling said. “There are so many fears right now,” she added, listing not just the climate crisis, but Russia’s war with Ukraine and inflation.

With the campaign turbulence behind her, Ms. Schilling said she was now focused on stopping the world from burning.

“Politics isn’t about your personal feelings,” she said. “Politics is about fighting for the best livelihood for the most people. You’re the fighter, but your personal emotions shouldn’t be that relevant. The cause leads the way.”

PHOTO: Lena Schilling speaking at the European Parliament in September. At 23, she is the youngest lawmaker in the legislative body. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Hans Lucas, via Reuters FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** December 20, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Ocasio-Cortez Seeks House Post That Would Make Her a Top Foil to Trump***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DKC-S2W1-DXY4-X3X3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1245 words

**Byline:** Nicholas FandosNicholas Fandos is a Times reporter covering New York politics and government.

**Highlight:** After years of challenging her party from the left, Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, a New York Democrat, announced a bid to join its leadership ranks in Congress.

**Body**

After years of challenging her party from the left, Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, a New York Democrat, announced a bid to join its leadership ranks in Congress.

Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez of New York built her reputation clashing with House Democratic leaders. Now, for the first time, she will take a shot at joining their ranks.

Ms. Ocasio-Cortez announced on Friday that she would seek the coveted position of top Democrat on the House Committee on Oversight and Accountability, challenging a more senior colleague to fill the vacancy.

If she succeeds and is chosen as the panel’s ranking member, the 35-year-old congresswoman would be by far the youngest Democrat to help lead a House committee. She would gain a platform not only to investigate President-elect Donald J. Trump’s administration but also to help her party chart a path back from electoral defeat.

“Democrats will face an important task: We must balance our focus on the incoming president’s corrosive actions and corruption with a tangible fight to make life easier for America’s ***working class***,” Ms. Ocasio-Cortez wrote in [*a letter*](https://ocasio-cortez.house.gov/sites/evo-subsites/ocasio-cortez.house.gov/files/evo-media-document/Rep.%20Ocasio-Cortez%20Dear%20Colleague%20on%20Oversight%20Committee_0.pdf) to colleagues. “I will lead by example by always keeping the lives of everyday Americans at the center of our work.”

But first she must contend with Representative Gerald E. Connolly, 74, a pugnacious, well-liked eight-term incumbent from Virginia who has pitched himself as a more seasoned investigator.

The contest promises to be a significant test of just how far one of the brightest Democratic stars has moved toward the mainstream since crashing into Congress six years ago as a left-wing insurgent.

There is little doubt that Ms. Ocasio-Cortez, who [*joined a sit-in protest*](https://ocasio-cortez.house.gov/sites/evo-subsites/ocasio-cortez.house.gov/files/evo-media-document/Rep.%20Ocasio-Cortez%20Dear%20Colleague%20on%20Oversight%20Committee_0.pdf) in the speaker’s suite before she had even been sworn in, has grown more comfortable working within her party’s power structure. She [*won a prime-time speaking slot*](https://ocasio-cortez.house.gov/sites/evo-subsites/ocasio-cortez.house.gov/files/evo-media-document/Rep.%20Ocasio-Cortez%20Dear%20Colleague%20on%20Oversight%20Committee_0.pdf) at this year’s Democratic National Convention and [*served as a prominent surrogate for Vice President Kamala Harris’s*](https://ocasio-cortez.house.gov/sites/evo-subsites/ocasio-cortez.house.gov/files/evo-media-document/Rep.%20Ocasio-Cortez%20Dear%20Colleague%20on%20Oversight%20Committee_0.pdf) presidential campaign, breaking with [*some fellow leftists*](https://ocasio-cortez.house.gov/sites/evo-subsites/ocasio-cortez.house.gov/files/evo-media-document/Rep.%20Ocasio-Cortez%20Dear%20Colleague%20on%20Oversight%20Committee_0.pdf) along the way.

The question now is whether her colleagues are ready to return the embrace and elevate a sometimes confrontational leader of the left-wing “squad” to be one of Mr. Trump’s most visible foils.

“When you have a secret ballot vote, there are a lot of mixed motives,” said [*Henry A. Waxman*](https://ocasio-cortez.house.gov/sites/evo-subsites/ocasio-cortez.house.gov/files/evo-media-document/Rep.%20Ocasio-Cortez%20Dear%20Colleague%20on%20Oversight%20Committee_0.pdf), a retired California congressman known for his own leadership of the Oversight Committee and for challenging the House’s seniority system.

“She is so much in the minds of American voters as an example of the left wing of the Democratic Party," he added. “Members of the caucus have to decide if it helps or hurts the party’s future if she becomes leader of that committee, especially since she would have absolute control over what agenda she wants to pursue.”

Mr. Connolly is likely to win support not just from proponents of Democrats’ seniority system, but also from members who fear that elevating Ms. Ocasio-Cortez, an outspoken democratic socialist and [*ardent critic of Israel’s war in Gaza*](https://ocasio-cortez.house.gov/sites/evo-subsites/ocasio-cortez.house.gov/files/evo-media-document/Rep.%20Ocasio-Cortez%20Dear%20Colleague%20on%20Oversight%20Committee_0.pdf), would delight Republicans and further alienate moderate voters.

“Hard work can and should be rewarded in the House of Representatives,” he wrote in a letter outlining his own bid this week. “Right now we need an expert who can parry the worst Republican attacks on our institutions and deliver reform where it is necessary and needed.”

Mr. Connolly faces his own challenges. He recently announced that he has esophageal cancer and he will have to reassure colleagues that he can lead the committee while undergoing treatment.

A third Democrat who had been considering a run, Representative Ro Khanna of California, said he would support Ms. Ocasio-Cortez instead.

In calls to colleagues, Ms. Ocasio-Cortez has highlighted her own experience. As the committee’s vice ranking member, she has worked closely with its current Democratic leader, Representative Jamie Raskin of Maryland. Videos of her sparring with witnesses and committee Republicans have often gone viral.

Allies said they believed she had a path to victory, although an uphill one, at a time when many Democrats are clamoring for generational change. The race will be decided in a private caucus vote later this month.

The Oversight Committee position became available after Mr. Raskin, 61, [*successfully challenged Representative Jerrold Nadler, 77, of New York*](https://ocasio-cortez.house.gov/sites/evo-subsites/ocasio-cortez.house.gov/files/evo-media-document/Rep.%20Ocasio-Cortez%20Dear%20Colleague%20on%20Oversight%20Committee_0.pdf) for the top Democratic slot on the Judiciary Committee. Younger Democrats have also challenged the aging leaders of the Agriculture and Natural Resources committees.

Representative Hakeem Jeffries of New York, the top House Democrat, has indicated he intends to stay neutral. So has Mr. Raskin, who said in an interview that both candidates were “excellent members of the committee.”

The Oversight Committee is among the most storied, and partisan, bodies in Congress. Republicans and Democrats alike have long used it to antagonize the White House, while occasionally working together to pressure large corporations and even Major League Baseball to change their practices.

Republicans will control the committee gavel and subpoena power in the coming Congress, but the ranking member still oversees a large staff and had the power to initiate investigations and minority hearings to spotlight issues of their choice. The ranking member would also be in a position to lead the committee if Democrats retake the House majority in 2026.

Ms. Ocasio-Cortez’s competitiveness for the seat would scarcely have been plausible not that long ago.

She was elected to the House in 2018 after [*defeating one of the party’s leaders*](https://ocasio-cortez.house.gov/sites/evo-subsites/ocasio-cortez.house.gov/files/evo-media-document/Rep.%20Ocasio-Cortez%20Dear%20Colleague%20on%20Oversight%20Committee_0.pdf) in a primary. Many of her new colleagues either derided her or feared her attacks on party orthodoxy. Representative Nancy Pelosi, the House speaker at the time, [*publicly belittled*](https://ocasio-cortez.house.gov/sites/evo-subsites/ocasio-cortez.house.gov/files/evo-media-document/Rep.%20Ocasio-Cortez%20Dear%20Colleague%20on%20Oversight%20Committee_0.pdf) the influence of Ms. Ocasio-Cortez and her allies outside “their Twitter world.” (Their clash was [*dramatized*](https://ocasio-cortez.house.gov/sites/evo-subsites/ocasio-cortez.house.gov/files/evo-media-document/Rep.%20Ocasio-Cortez%20Dear%20Colleague%20on%20Oversight%20Committee_0.pdf) this year in a play at Lincoln Center.)

Ms. Ocasio-Cortez remains divisive in certain circles. Republicans and some pro-Israel Democrats view her criticism of Israel as antisemitic. Others blame her and fellow progressives for alienating key blocs of voters by pushing for more lenient immigration policies and protections for transgender people.

But her supporters say she has an unusual talent for communicating and a populist streak that allows her to reach voters drifting away from the party. In recent years, she has slowly adopted a more pragmatic approach, winning over allies on Capitol Hill and in the Biden administration.

Her decision to run for a House leadership position, further entrenching herself in the chamber, may also help temporarily quiet speculation that has persisted for years about whether she was angling for a path out of the House to higher office.

In her pitch to colleagues on Friday, she called the responsibility of leading Democrats’ oversight of the incoming administration “profound and consequential.” She emphasized the need for the committee to work on multiple tracks, checking Mr. Trump’s attempts to remake the government, working across the aisle where possible and laying out an alternative policy vision to reach struggling Americans.

“We must focus on the committee’s strong history of both holding administrations accountable and taking on the economic precarity and inequality that is challenging the American way of life,” she wrote.

PHOTO: Representative Alexandria OcasioCortez wants a lead role on the Oversight Committee. This article appeared in print on page A15.

**Load-Date:** December 7, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Biden Hopes Rail Project Defines Africa Legacy***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DK3-X101-JBG3-6398-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Length:** 1195 words

**Byline:** By Peter Baker and Zolan Kanno-Youngs

**Body**

In his last announced trip abroad as president, Mr. Biden relished touring a U.S.-financed train line in Angola intended to transport goods and critical minerals to port.

On the final day of perhaps his final trip overseas as commander in chief, President Biden celebrated his foreign policy agenda by turning to a piece of infrastructure at the heart of his identity: a train.

It was not the Amtrak train Mr. Biden rode frequently as a senator or chose as the setting for the kickoff of his first presidential campaign nearly four decades ago. Mr. Biden instead toured a section of an 800-mile railway project in Angola that his administration hopes will be the key to expanding U.S. economic influence in Africa, a continent rich with critical minerals.

''I'm coming back to ride on the train from end to end,'' Mr. Biden told President João Lourenço of Angola during a round table with African leaders in the port city of Lobito. ''We're not just laying tracks. We're laying the groundwork for a better future for our people.''

Mr. Biden was spotlighting what is known as the Lobito Corridor, a railway project that his aides say is the proof behind the president's commitment to be ''all in on Africa's future,'' amid growing concern the United States has neglected the continent over the years and allowed China to gain economic dominance in the region.

The project, funded in part by the United States, runs from Angola's border with the Democratic Republic of Congo to Lobito, which sits on the Atlantic Ocean. Mr. Biden has said it will help connect Angola's economy to nearby markets, including in Zambia. But it is also a means to expand U.S. access to a region rich with critical minerals, like copper and cobalt, used to make batteries for various products, including cellphones and electric vehicles.

Once the railway is complete, it would mean minerals could be more easily shipped to the United States, allowing the country to make progress on its goal of diversifying its supply chains.

But despite Mr. Biden's victory lap on Wednesday, the United States is still facing an uphill climb when it comes to competing with China for access to critical minerals in the continent, according to foreign policy analysts.

Beijing helped Angola rebuild after a devastating civil war that ended in 2002, and since then, Angola has accumulated more than $42 billion in Chinese debt, more than any other African nation. And while Mr. Biden hopes the new rail line expands access to critical minerals, China currently has firm control over critical minerals in Congo.

Chinese-based mining companies own or have a major stake in most cobalt-producing sites in Congo, which produced 76 percent of the world's supply of the metal last year. The last large American-owned mining company pulled out of Congo in 2020, just as the electric vehicle revolution was taking off.

''We have never leveraged our economic commercial power the way other nations have,'' said Tibor P. Nagy Jr., who was appointed by President Bill Clinton twice to serve as an ambassador in Africa and then by the Trump administration to serve as assistant secretary of state for African affairs. He said ''the Biden administration talked a really good game,'' but ''they have not delivered.''

Mr. Biden has said the railway project would not only diversify the economies of African nations, but also entice manufacturers to build factories along the railway because they can use it to transport goods. As the president traveled to Lobito on Wednesday, his administration announced $560 million in new funding for infrastructure projects along the railway, bringing total U.S. investments by the administration for the project to $4 billion.

The project will also encourage more investment into the region from the private sector, according to the White House. Mr. Biden's administration is helping to fund the project with federal grants and direct loans that his aides say do not have the kind of high interest rates offered by their Chinese counterparts, which have left African nations crippled with debt, according to the White House.

Edu Xiong, the spokesman for the Chinese Embassy in Luanda, the capital of Angola, has countered that few on the ground in Angola have yet to actually feel the economic benefits of the Lobito Corridor.

It is unclear when African nations will be able to reap the full benefits of the project. A senior U.S. official, speaking on the condition of anonymity to discuss specific details of the Lobito Corridor, said the rail line in Angola would not be complete until ''next year-ish.'' Construction of the rail line in Zambia will then begin.

Still, African leaders meeting with Mr. Biden on Wednesday praised the project as a means for benefiting their local economies.

''The political commitment of all engaged people in the materialization of this project is a milestone,'' Mr. Lourenço said at the round table inside a food processing factory after Mr. Biden finished touring the yellow shipping containers, giant cranes and railway cars at the Lobito Port Terminal.

Speaking to the leaders at the round table, President Hakainde Hichilema of Zambia said the project would help more than the countries along the route of the railway.

''Not just us -- it's good for Africa,'' he said. ''I must say, this project is a huge opportunity.''

But some Angolan officials were concerned that the investment into the railway would be siphoned off by corruption, and not make its way to the ***working class***.

''Lobito Corridor is a very big project. It's important. But we want transparency, accountability,'' said Olívio Nkilumbo, a parliamentarian with the opposition UNITA party in Angola. ''Where is the transparency and accountability? It's a big problem.''

Despite Mr. Biden's commitments, some foreign policy experts still questioned how enduring the White House's focus on Africa would be. Mr. Biden's trip to the continent, his last announced trip overseas, came with just weeks left in his presidency after multiple delays. The trip was also overshadowed by his decision to pardon his son, Hunter Biden, of tax and gun convictions.

The Trump campaign did not answer questions about what strategy President-elect Donald J. Trump would pursue on the continent. But J. Peter Pham, an Africa policy expert who worked in the first Trump administration, has said the Lobito project was likely to appeal to Mr. Trump.

In the final moments of perhaps his final round table with foreign leaders overseas, Mr. Biden appeared tired at times.

While some of the African leaders spoke in the hot room, the 82-year-old occasionally put his head down in his hand and closed his eyes before popping up to turn to his peers.

But he said his love for trains would bring him back to the continent in the future, even though he will no longer be president.

Mr. Biden recalled that when President Abraham Lincoln retired, he said he wanted to take a ride on the transcontinental railroad.

''I want to take a trip on this rail line, if I can,'' Mr. Biden said.

Eric Lipton contributed reporting from Washington.Eric Lipton contributed reporting from Washington.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/04/world/africa/biden-angola-africa-lobito-train-corridor.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/04/world/africa/biden-angola-africa-lobito-train-corridor.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: President Biden at the Lobito Port Terminal in Angola, on Wednesday, in what is likely his last announced trip abroad as president. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIC LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A7.

**Load-Date:** December 5, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Uruguay’s Presidential Election Is Headed to a November Runoff***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D90-S3H1-DXY4-X41X-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** WORLD; americas

**Length:** 698 words

**Byline:** The Associated Press

**Highlight:** Yamandú Orsi, a center-left former mayor, finished first on Sunday but fell short of the 50 percent threshold needed to avoid another round of voting.

**Body**

Yamandú Orsi, a center-left former mayor, finished first on Sunday but fell short of the 50 percent threshold needed to avoid another round of voting.

Uruguay’s presidential election was pushed into a second round of voting on Sunday, as a center-left former mayor finished ahead of the center-right governing coalition’s candidate.

With more than 80 percent of the votes counted, both leading candidates — Yamandú Orsi, a two-time mayor and former history teacher, and Álvaro Delgado, who was the current president’s chief of staff — told crowds of supporters that they expected to face each other in a runoff on Nov. 24.

Exit polls showed Mr. Orsi with 42 percent to 44 percent of the vote, well ahead of Mr. Delgado but short of the 50 percent threshold needed to win outright. Mr. Delgado had 27 percent to 28 percent of the vote, according to polls.

Mr. Orsi represents the center-left Broad Front alliance, which held the presidency from 2005 to 2019. He went into the election as the front-runner, reflecting a desire for a stronger social safety net in one of Latin America’s most expensive countries.

“We are going in for these 27 days,” he told thousands of supporters in Montevideo, the capital, referring to the final campaign push.

Mr. Delgado, a former chief of staff to President Luis Lacalle Pou, has promised to continue the policies of the president, who has an approval rating of about 50 percent, according to surveys. The Constitution bars Mr. Lacalle Pou from seeking a second consecutive term.

“People placed their trust in us,” Mr. Delgado told a gathering of his supporters shortly after midnight on Monday. “Tomorrow we will be meeting to plan the campaign for the runoff.”

Many see Uruguay as a model democracy and a bastion of stability in the region. It is not plagued by the bitter polarization seen in many democracies, and the race was essentially between two moderates whose talking points often overlapped.

Mr. Delgado was joined onstage by another candidate, Andrés Ojeda, who placed a distant third but exceeded many analysts’ expectations. A media-savvy lawyer, he tried to energize apathetic young voters with campaign videos that showed him lifting weights. “The government cannot be won without us,” Mr. Ojeda said.

Electoral officials reported a turnout of 89 percent of the county’s 2.7 million eligible voters. Voting in presidential and congressional elections is compulsory in Uruguay.

The campaign has largely focused on a rise in homicides and robberies, with the governing coalition pushing a tough-on-crime approach and the liberal coalition seeking to boost the state’s role in security matters.

During its 15 years in power, the Broad Front presided over robust economic growth and socially liberal laws that raised Uruguay’s global profile, legalizing abortion, same-sex marriage and marijuana for recreational use. Uruguay has also developed one of the world’s greenest grids, powered by 98 percent renewable energy.

With Mr. Orsi’s ***working-class*** roots, casual wear and promise to eschew many of the benefits enjoyed by heads of state, many voters seemed to endorse a candidate with the same folksy appeal as José “Pepe” Mujica, who was president from 2010 to 2015.

A former [*guerrilla who is now a chrysanthemum farmer,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/23/world/americas/pepe-mujica-uruguay-president.html) Mr. Mujica, 89, helped spearhead Uruguay’s transformation into the continent’s most socially liberal country. He is battling esophageal cancer, but he cast his ballot in Montevideo on Sunday.

“We need to support democracy, not because it is perfect, but because humans have not yet invented anything better,” he told journalists.

The campaign has played out without the vitriolic insults and personal attacks seen in many countries, including two of its neighbors, economically dysfunctional Argentina and politically polarized Brazil.

“In a way, Uruguay has been boring, but boring in this sense is very good,” said Juan Cruz Díaz, a political analyst who runs the Cefeidas Group, a consultancy in Buenos Aires. “We’ve seen so many dramatic changes in Argentina, Brazil, Ecuador, Colombia and suddenly we face elections in Uruguay in which there is a general consensus, there’s stability.”

This article appeared in print on page A12.

**Load-Date:** October 28, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Up Close / Fruits of Labor***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CTC-KP11-DXY4-X2DK-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 25, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 23

**Length:** 338 words

**Body**

With an austere frankness, the 62 photos by Joshua Lutz in ORANGE BLOSSOM TRAIL (Image Text Ithaca Press, $40) document the hard living, low-wage jobs and big-box landscapes along a single stretch of highway that runs 400 miles from Georgia to Miami, cutting right through Orlando, Fla.

High shutter speeds hide road workers' faces in shadow. Corporate storefronts and commercial vans appear without ceremony, as if snapped from a camera phone. Commuters wait for a bus, reduced and sad, while a sign for ''Mighty Wings'' floats mockingly above them.

Though not without dignity -- see Lutz's portraits of fruit inspectors, as they glance up from a conveyor belt of tumbling oranges -- his photos lack any social agenda. They find an unlikely manifesto in the three previously published texts by George Saunders, our Chekhov of suburban realism, threaded through the book.

Saunders's 2022 allegory of death and hope, ''My House,'' casts a certain entropy over Lutz's close-ups of oranges -- the region's alleged cash crop -- overtaken by rot and snails. In ''Exhortation'' (2013), a story told in the voice of an embarrassing middle manager trying to psych up his employees, Saunders expertly confuses the objects of our allegiances. In a sincerely Buddhist essay from 2007, he asks us to view misfortune ''with clarity, rather than judging.'' It's almost a caption for Lutz's images, as attuned to ironically pleasing harmonies of shades of orange -- across workers' safety vests, loan shark signs, a child's slightly tragic coloring book -- as they are to any drama of the ***working class***. Mindfulness, often prescribed for happiness, can be brutal.

Not quite an illustrated Saunders, nor an annotated Lutz, this bizarre almost-collaboration confronts the demoralizing American grind with an attitude between sympathy and resignation. An attitude that's rare in art because we seldom admit it to ourselves.Walker Mimms's writing on art and culture appears in The Times, The New York Review of Books, The Guardian and other places.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/06/books/review/25UpClose\_Mimms.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/06/books/review/25UpClose_Mimms.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS This article appeared in print on page BR23.

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**End of Document**



[***The Blue-Collar Democrat Who Wants to Fix the Party’s Other Big Problem***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CCM-NXB1-JBG3-600J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** MAGAZINE

**Length:** 3877 words

**Byline:** Jason Zengerle

**Highlight:** Marie Gluesenkamp Perez flipped a rural red district to get to Congress. Now she wants to help her party do more of the same.

**Body**

Late last year, Representative Marie Gluesenkamp Perez, a first-term Democrat from a rural district in Washington State, began receiving a deluge of alarmed texts from her friends. Before she was elected to Congress, in 2022, Gluesenkamp Perez ran an auto-repair shop with her husband; her professional and personal acquaintances still largely consist of people who work in the trades — construction, carpentry, woodworking. Now a number of those friends were venting about, of all things, the U.S. Consumer Product Safety Commission.

The [*C.P.S.C. had recently proposed a rule*](https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2023/11/01/2023-23898/safety-standard-addressing-blade-contact-injuries-on-table-saws) effectively requiring that all new table saws sold in the United States come equipped with a high-tech safety feature that stops and retracts the saw’s spinning blade within milliseconds of its making contact with flesh. The finger-saving technology has been likened to airbags in cars — a straightforward but ingenious safety solution — but many of Gluesenkamp Perez’s friends didn’t see it that way. They were worried that a government mandate would increase the cost of a new table saw by hundreds of dollars, while also giving SawStop, the company that developed the technology, an effective monopoly.

What may seem like a minor regulatory hiccup is to Gluesenkamp Perez emblematic of the disconnect between government and the governed that she has dedicated her short time in office to addressing. Too often, she believes, policymakers are not only disrespectful to people who work with their hands, but also ignorant of the reality of their day-to-day lives. “If the commission had had somebody who has worked in construction in the body, they would know that if you raise the cost of a table saw by $400, people are just going to put a circ saw on a sheet of plywood — and more people are going to lose their fingers,” she says. In April, she introduced legislation that would [*prohibit the commission from implementing the rule until five years after SawStop’s patent expires.*](https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2023/11/01/2023-23898/safety-standard-addressing-blade-contact-injuries-on-table-saws) (SawStop’s chief executive, Matt Howard, said that the company has promised not to enforce its patent once the rule is implemented.)

Sworn into Congress at age 34, with no previous experience as an elected official, Gluesenkamp Perez operates very differently from most of her fellow politicians. Interviewing prospective staff members, she’s as likely to ask them about what kind of car they own as about what kind of political experience they have. She hired her legislative director, in part, because the woman drove a Toyota Camry with 200,000 miles on it. “That says a lot,” Gluesenkamp Perez explains. But what really sets her apart is the way she thinks about the federal government itself — which she believes is woefully out of touch with the needs of ***working-class*** Americans.

Earlier this year, at a private dinner for Democratic representatives with Lina Khan, the chair of the Federal Trade Commission, Gluesenkamp Perez asked one question: “How many of your employees at the F.T.C. don’t have a college degree?” Khan couldn’t produce a number. Gluesenkamp Perez suspected that was because the answer is zero. (Through a spokesman, the F.T.C. said the actual figure is 8 percent.) To Gluesenkamp Perez, this served as further evidence of an overly academic, wonky approach to governance that produces bad, alienating policy. “I feel like in D.C., people have this idea that ‘equity’ is translating the lawyerly gobbledygook on government websites into Spanish,” she says. “That is not equity. Equity is being able to navigate the website with an eighth-grade reading level” — in English — “and without having to hire a compliance firm.”

When I met with Gluesenkamp Perez in her House office, it was the day after she introduced the table-saw legislation. She was still angry. Indeed, Gluesenkamp Perez was angry about a lot of things — that college graduates were getting their student loans forgiven but kindergartners in her district were stuck in classrooms without modern air-conditioning; that auto shops like hers could no longer source replacement parts from American manufacturers; that there was “a slow march toward everything being disposable, and not repairable.” Worst of all, she believed that these problems were largely attributable to her fellow Democrats, who, she said, “don’t respect people that work for a living.”

Gluesenkamp Perez has inserted herself into a debate that is convulsing the Democratic Party. Today the greatest fault line in American politics is not race, gender or geography — it is educational attainment. In 1960, John F. Kennedy won 52 percent of voters with only high-school diplomas, but lost college-educated voters with only 39 percent. By the time Joe Biden ran for president 60 years later, that trend had reversed: Biden won 56 percent of voters with college degrees, and lost voters with only high-school educations with just 41 percent. “There’s a point at which that inversion becomes so great that Democrats can no longer win national majorities,” says Jonathan Cowan, the president of Third Way, a center-left policy institute. (In 2020, Americans without college degrees made up three out of five voters.) “So that means that Democrats as a whole need to be constantly on the lookout for people who can break the faculty-lounge stranglehold.”

Democrats have been working through the stages of grief about their loss of ***working-class*** voters for the past two decades. When George W. Bush was in the White House and Thomas Frank’s [*“What’s the Matter With Kansas”*](https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2023/11/01/2023-23898/safety-standard-addressing-blade-contact-injuries-on-table-saws) sat on every Georgetown bookshelf, the Democrats were in denial, complaining that right-wing Svengalis had hoodwinked the ***working class*** into voting against their own interests by plying them with contrived cultural grievances. Next came anger, the purest form of which was Hillary Clinton’s 2016 presidential campaign and her “basket of deplorables” label for Donald Trump supporters. After Clinton’s defeat came Democrats’ bargaining phase, as they tried to accommodate the rise of Senator Bernie Sanders and the belief that he, and politicians like Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, signified a latent interest in socialism among ***working-class*** voters. But in trying to defang Sanders and his fellow insurgents, the Democratic establishment tended to adopt only the most performative socially liberal policies while rejecting ones that might actually threaten or change the neoliberal economic regime. In the process, Democrats seem to have only alienated ***working-class*** voters even more, and not just white ones. Black and Latino ***working-class*** voters are beginning to move to the Republican Party as well.

Which has now brought us to the current phase: depression. Democrats, despondent about their prospects, seem open to accepting a new approach to winning back the ***working class***. And Gluesenkamp Perez offers one compelling vision for how to do it — if she can stay in Congress long enough to realize it.

It’s more than a little amusing that the person offering this vision is a graduate of Reed College, the famously liberal liberal-arts school in Portland, Ore. Gluesenkamp Perez went to college as an act of rebellion against her Mexican immigrant father and white mother, who raised her in an evangelical household outside Houston. She initially embraced Reed’s crunchy ethos, running the campus bike co-op. But in her senior year she began dating a mobile mechanic, Dean Gluesenkamp, who volunteered at the co-op but was not a Reed student, and noticed a new side of her supposedly inclusive college. “Boys at Reed would say rude [expletive] about him, like he wasn’t good enough to be there,” she says, “and that was very alienating.”

After finishing school in 2012, she and Dean married and opened their own auto shop in Portland, Dean’s Car Care, which developed a reputation for doing work on older cars; the [*Delica, a model of Mitsubishi minivan beloved by car-camping hipsters,*](https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2023/11/01/2023-23898/safety-standard-addressing-blade-contact-injuries-on-table-saws) became one of their specialties. They lived in a school bus that Gluesenkamp Perez bought off Craigslist, vagabonding around Portland until they found a rural piece of land on the Washington side of the Columbia River Gorge, where they built a house for themselves and, eventually, their son.

In 2022, sensing an opportunity, Gluesenkamp Perez decided to run for Congress. Jaime Herrera Beutler, who had represented Washington’s Third Congressional District for six terms and was one of only 10 House Republicans to vote to impeach Donald Trump after the Jan. 6 assault on the Capitol, had drawn a tough primary challenge from Joe Kent, a far-right former Green Beret who had Trump’s endorsement. The district, which includes Portland’s northern suburbs and exurbs but is more than 7,000 square miles and largely rural, was considered solidly Republican; Trump won it by seven points in 2016 and by four points in 2020. But Gluesenkamp Perez thought she would have a shot, as long as she could run against Kent, who ended up beating Herrera Beutler by fewer than a thousand votes.

Like most Democrats in that year’s midterms, Gluesenkamp Perez sought to capitalize on the backlash to the Supreme Court decision overturning Roe v. Wade, often telling the story of having a [*miscarriage and walking through a gantlet of protesters outside a Planned Parenthood*](https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2023/11/01/2023-23898/safety-standard-addressing-blade-contact-injuries-on-table-saws) to receive urgent care. Unlike most Democrats, she pledged [*not to vote for Nancy Pelosi to be Speaker of the House,*](https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2023/11/01/2023-23898/safety-standard-addressing-blade-contact-injuries-on-table-saws) and spoke openly about the guns she owns.

What made Gluesenkamp Perez truly different, though, were the other issues she raised. While her opponent asserted that the 2020 election was stolen and that Dr. Anthony Fauci belonged in prison, she focused on the concerns of the community she knew, like catalytic-converter theft and supply-chain problems. Her biggest issue was pushing for “right to repair” laws, which mandate that consumers have access to repair tools for everything from their smartphones and home medical devices to their cars and tractors. “We’re more and more surrounded by these black boxes that we have no influence over,” she said. “I think it’s the American ethos that we know how to fix [expletive].”

On the day before the election, [*FiveThirtyEight’s forecast gave Gluesenkamp Perez a 2 percent chance of winning.*](https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2023/11/01/2023-23898/safety-standard-addressing-blade-contact-injuries-on-table-saws) She ended up beating Kent by about 2,600 votes. “Kent’s extremism opened the door, and Marie was a person who could walk through and flip that seat,” says Aaron Ostrom, the executive director of the progressive advocacy group Fuse Washington, which supported Gluesenkamp Perez. One Democratic pollster, Cornell Belcher, called it the [*biggest upset of the 2022 midterms.*](https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2023/11/01/2023-23898/safety-standard-addressing-blade-contact-injuries-on-table-saws)

When Gluesenkamp Perez arrived on Capitol Hill, she tried to find commonalities with her new colleagues. She didn’t have much success. “I’m like: ‘Oh, your bio says you’re a small-business owner. What’s your business?’” [*she told Politico at the time*](https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2023/11/01/2023-23898/safety-standard-addressing-blade-contact-injuries-on-table-saws). “They’re like, ‘Oh, we have a family real estate brokerage firm.’” One of the few friendships she did strike up was with Jared Golden, a third-term Democratic representative from Maine. Golden was first elected in 2018 — part of the anti-Trump wave in which 31 Democrats won in districts that Trump carried just two years earlier. But by 2023, Golden was one of only five Democrats still in Congress who represented Trump districts. He had a little more company in the moderate Blue Dog Coalition, but just barely. At its peak in 2010, the Blue Dogs had 54 members, but after the 2022 elections, only 14 remained. Then half of them left in a dispute over the group’s direction. With the coalition having dwindled to seven members, Golden was asked to lead it.

In his short time in Congress, Golden, a millennial Marine veteran who served in Iraq and Afghanistan, had established himself as one of its most independent-minded members. Representing Maine’s almost entirely rural Second Congressional District, he was one of only four Democrats who deviated from the party during the vote on Trump’s first impeachment (two of them subsequently became Republicans) and the only Democrat to vote against President Biden’s $1.9 trillion Build Back Better Act (over a tax break for the wealthy); at the same time, he voted for a $15-an-hour minimum wage and Biden’s $700 billion Inflation Reduction Act. “The Republican Party spends millions of dollars telling people I’m a progressive,” Golden told me. “The Progressive Caucus spends time telling people I’m a conservative. A lot of people, especially the media, like to call me a moderate. I would say I’m none of these things and I’m all of these things. And my constituents are too.”

For his first two terms, Golden steered clear of Capitol Hill reporters and had few allies in Washington. But at the start of his third term, he says he experienced a change of heart. “Eventually, if you’re going to be here and you feel like the party is moving in the wrong direction,” he says, “then at some point you just have to say I’m going to try and make it and change it.” As the head of the Blue Dogs, he recruited Gluesenkamp Perez and Mary Peltola, who represents Alaska’s lone House district (which, like Golden’s and Gluesenkamp Perez’s, was carried by Trump), to be his co-chairs.

Stylistically, the group’s three new co-chairs couldn’t have been more different from the Blue Dogs’ original members, who were mostly older white men from the South. The photo the [*Blue Dogs released announcing its new leadership*](https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2023/11/01/2023-23898/safety-standard-addressing-blade-contact-injuries-on-table-saws) — Golden in a plaid short-sleeve shirt revealing his tattoos, Gluesenkamp Perez sporting bangs, jeans and a denim shirt and Peltola wearing a riotous floral blouse — was jokingly referred to by some of their staff members as “the album cover.”

The differences were substantive, as well. The old Blue Dogs had come to be seen as the most conservative and big-business-friendly wing of the party. Gluesenkamp Perez and Golden wanted to drag the Blue Dogs into the Democratic Party’s modern era, refashioning them as a more populist group — one that pushes for a production economy rather than a financialized one, and one willing to take on big government and big business.

Most important, the new Blue Dogs wanted to make it possible for more people like themselves (“normal people,” Gluesenkamp Perez calls them), from more districts like theirs, to get elected to Congress. “For so long it’s been this narrative of to be a good candidate or a good representative, you should be a straight white male, no kids, J.D. and a trust fund,” Gluesenkamp Perez says. The twin realities of partisan gerrymandering and political polarization mean there aren’t too many places where the Blue Dogs think they can pick up seats. But the coalition’s chairs believe that in a handful of races, the combination of a red-but-not-too-red district and an extremist Republican candidate creates an opportunity for the right kind of Democrat. This cycle, the Blue Dogs have so far endorsed six candidates.

The most intriguing is Rebecca Cooke, who’s running to unseat the Republican firebrand Derrick Van Orden in a rural Wisconsin district. Cooke, age 36, operates a small hospitality business and works as a waitress. On the campaign trail, she is attacking Van Orden on abortion, Jan. 6 and a well-reported incident last year in which he [*cursed out a group of teenage Senate pages in the Capitol;*](https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2023/11/01/2023-23898/safety-standard-addressing-blade-contact-injuries-on-table-saws) she touts her parents’ dairy farm and her own employment history as crucial touchstones. “You don’t see a lot of people my age or with my type of background running for Congress,” she says. “And it’s because we’re all busy working.”

Gluesenkamp Perez sees a lot of herself in Cooke, and the two have become friends. But Cooke’s backstory also resembles that of another young Democratic congresswoman: Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez. Indeed, Ocasio-Cortez’s ***working-class*** bona fides would seem to be even stronger than Gluesenkamp Perez’s; after all, [*Ocasio-Cortez didn’t own the restaurant where she worked as a waitress and bartender.*](https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2023/11/01/2023-23898/safety-standard-addressing-blade-contact-injuries-on-table-saws)

But when I asked Gluesenkamp Perez if she thought Ocasio-Cortez possessed the type of ***working-class*** perspective that she contends Congress is so sorely lacking, she demurred. “It’s not just your personal experience,” Gluesenkamp Perez said. “It’s who you view as your constituency. Like, who are you there for? Are you there working for ideas? Or are you there working for people?” Because Ocasio-Cortez represents such a solidly blue district — where Democratic presidential candidates regularly receive 70 percent or more of the vote — Gluesenkamp Perez believes that Ocasio-Cortez is working for the former. “If you’re working for ideas, you are much more vulnerable to sort of activist capture than if you have the nuance of individual people,” she continued. “And people that work for a living are very diverse, and most of them are not socialists.”

After her upset victory two years ago, Gluesenkamp Perez was celebrated not just by moderate Democrats but even progressives. A picture of her [*wearing denim coveralls embroidered with the Dean’s Car Care logo*](https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2023/11/01/2023-23898/safety-standard-addressing-blade-contact-injuries-on-table-saws) — two overlapping red lug nuts made to look like a rose — led some to believe that she was a member of the Democratic Socialists of America, whose symbol is a red rose; in fact, the shop’s logo is a play on Portland’s nickname, Rose City. “Some people thought I’d be like a ***working-class*** pet and just like a useful mascot, like I was an undercover A.O.C.,” she says. “But that’s not who I am. Some people are like, ‘She doesn’t really think that, does she?’ And I’m like, ‘I do actually think that.’”

Gluesenkamp Perez has voted in favor of Republican bills that sought to prohibit the federal government from banning gas stoves, reverse the District of Columbia’s elimination of mandatory-minimum-sentencing requirements and condemn the use of elementary schools as shelters for undocumented immigrants. She was also one of only four Democrats to vote for the House’s version of the National Defense Authorization Act, which contained amendments that limited gender-affirming care for transgender troops and rescinded the Pentagon’s program for reimbursing service members who must travel to obtain reproductive health care. In each instance, she cast these votes secure in the knowledge that the Democratic-led Senate would not let them become law. Her votes were essentially defensive — meant to deprive Republicans of an easy line of attack against her back in her district, and not a way to wage culture war herself. “If I’m talking about culture-war issues, I’m not relevant; I’m not doing my job,” she said a few months into her term. “It’s not the things that make people’s lives better.”

The vote that has defined her first term, and brought her the largest amount of abuse from Democrats, was one last year against a Biden-administration priority: student-debt relief. She and Golden were the only two House Democrats to vote for legislation repealing Biden’s $400 billion loan-forgiveness plan. For one, Gluesenkamp Perez didn’t believe that Biden’s plan benefited her constituents, nearly three-quarters of whom don’t have bachelor’s degrees. “When you ranked all the states that would have benefited, Washington, D.C., was first, and Washington State was 46th,” she told me. If Biden’s debt-forgiveness plan had included investments in technical education, she might have supported it. But it didn’t. “This was not a hard decision for me,” she said.

The reaction to her vote was fierce. Slate, which shortly after her victory praised her as “a darling of the Democratic Party,” now ran an article headlined [*“With Democrats Like Marie Gluesenkamp Perez, Who Needs Republicans?”*](https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2023/11/01/2023-23898/safety-standard-addressing-blade-contact-injuries-on-table-saws) Old Reed classmates besieged her with angry texts. And progressive activists bombarded [*Dean’s Car Care with negative online reviews.*](https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2023/11/01/2023-23898/safety-standard-addressing-blade-contact-injuries-on-table-saws) “This place is horrible,” one wrote on Yelp. “They charge interest that compounds daily. Ohh wait, that’s student loans.”

But some other progressives, even those who disagreed with Gluesenkamp Perez, saw a consistency in her position. “It wasn’t that some powerful people or powerful interests were the ones who persuaded her and she had to move to that position,” says Faiz Shakir, Bernie Sanders’s chief political adviser. “Or that the Republicans had a very good argument and she needed to make sure that she works with Republicans, which used to be the classic arguments of a centrist. It was on the level, because she had a ***working-class*** argument for why she was doing this.”

The problem for Gluesenkamp Perez is that, so far, her ***working-class*** agenda hasn’t resulted in much legislative action. The signature bills she has introduced or supported — table saws, right to repair, one to expand Pell grants to cover skills training at community colleges — are stuck in legislative purgatory. When I pressed her on what she was doing substantively — and not just rhetorically — to, as she puts it, “get the voice of normal people at the table,” she became defensive. “We are super-thorough and kind of traditional in how we draft bills — meeting with stakeholders, doing outreach,” she said. “It is the priorities and ideas that are untraditional and different. That is what makes things take more time. I’m not running a Spirit Halloween store over here.”

Gluesenkamp Perez’s biggest problem at the moment is Joe Kent, who is running again. This time, of course, Trump will also be on the ballot, which means Gluesenkamp Perez will need a good number of ticket-splitting voters to stay in office. (Her first TV ad, released in late June, [*stressed her differences with Biden on border policy.*](https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2023/11/01/2023-23898/safety-standard-addressing-blade-contact-injuries-on-table-saws)) One rainy Saturday in May, she was in Longview, Wash., a timber town along the Columbia River, to rally about two dozen locals to her cause. Standing at the front of an old banquet hall, she implored them to think of the larger implications of the race and what their votes would say about them and their community. “I’m trying to get the political machine to understand that rural people aren’t going to put up with Joe Kent’s [expletive],” she said. “People think that we’re just ignorant, that we are small-minded, that we are uneducated in rural communities. And we know that’s [expletive].”

And, she went on, the implications of her re-election would be felt beyond southern Washington. “The reason that I am on the top of the R.N.C.’s hit list is not because of my bangs,” she said. “It’s because if Democrats figure out how to hold and represent seats where people work for a living in rural communities and in small towns, places like here, we will break the map on what it means to have a governing majority.” They had already done it once, she reminded them. “All of the eggheads and all of the economists and all of the statisticians said we couldn’t do what we did,” she told them. “But you all showed up, and you believed it. Nobody saved us but us.”

PHOTOS: PHOTO: Marie Gluesenkamp Perez flipped a rural red district to get to Congress. Now she wants to help her party do more of the same. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HOLLY ANDRES) (MM20-MM21); Gluesenkamp Perez in the Cannon House Office Building in 2022. (PHOTOGRAPH BY BILL CLARK/CQ ROLL CALL, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS) (MM23);Gluesenkamp Perez at a campaign fund-raising meeting with constituents at Heathen Brewing in Vancouver, Wash. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HOLLY ANDRES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (MM24-MM25) This article appeared in print on page MM20, MM21, MM22, MM23, MM24, MM25.

**Load-Date:** July 7, 2024

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[***Hope on Both Sides, But G.O.P. Is Buoyed As Democrats Stress***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DBP-SD01-DXY4-X2KX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 18

**Length:** 1743 words

**Byline:** By Jonathan Weisman and Campbell Robertson

**Body**

In a park in northern York County, Pa., where rural farmland bangs into new suburban construction, busloads of Democratic canvassers on Saturday were preparing to knock on doors in a region where not long ago, their voters scarcely existed.

Among the fired-up faithful, the watchword for Vice President Kamala Harris's presidential ambitions was hope.

''As tight as the race is, as ugly as it's gotten, I do have hope,'' Stephanie Cramer, a 53-year-old York County native and former teacher, said as she was heading out for another day of canvassing.

Thirty-four miles to the north, at a ''tailgate'' party in the back room of Arooga's Grille House near Hershey, Representative Scott Perry, a close ally of Donald J. Trump, was more than just hopeful about the former president's chances of winning, especially in the biggest, most important swing state of the 2024 campaign.

''The vice president's campaign is in free fall,'' he pronounced, as Penn State scored an early touchdown against Ohio State and the Republican crowd cheered, with one eye on the congressman, the other on the big screens.

''They're abandoning states like Arizona and Nevada,'' he continued, which is not true. ''They're trying to shore up whatever is left of this 'blue wall,' but it's going to crumble in Pennsylvania on Tuesday night.''

And so it goes in the state that long ago, both Ms. Harris and Mr. Trump identified as the must-win, and where more money and manpower have been directed than any other battleground. On election eve, both sides say they are cautiously optimistic. And in typical fashion, the Republicans are playing up the optimism, the Democrats the caution.

It is a measure of Pennsylvania's importance that both candidates will spend their last day of campaigning blitzing the state. Ms. Harris will begin a door-knocking effort in Scranton. Then, aiming at voters still smarting from a pro-Trump comedian calling Puerto Rico ''garbage,'' the vice president will hold a rally in Allentown featuring two Puerto Rican entertainers. She'll stop by Reading, then close out with rallies in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia. (Her running mate, Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, is campaigning in Wisconsin and Michigan.)

Mr. Trump will hold rallies in Reading and Pittsburgh, while his running mate, Senator JD Vance of Ohio, closes his campaign in the Philadelphia suburb of Newtown.

''This election, in your state, could turn on a few hundred votes,'' Senator Cory Booker, Democrat of New Jersey, practically shouted at a gathering of Black men on Friday in Harrisburg, at Crawdaddy's Restaurant, in the shadow of the State Capitol. ''We have the power.''

With the state tied according to polls, Republicans say the winner will be determined by enthusiasm, an edge they say Mr. Trump has. Democrats, who insist they are plenty motivated, say Ms. Harris will bring it home on grit and ground game.

''This is just sweat equity now,'' said Michelle Milan McFall, chairwoman of the Democratic Party of Westmoreland County, a redoubt of Trumpism in western Pennsylvania where, nonetheless, Democrats were mounting an all-out effort to cut into the former president's margins.

The final New York Times/Siena College poll published Sunday found Pennsylvania knotted at 48 percent of the vote for Ms. Harris and Mr. Trump. But beneath that tie were trends to buoy both sides. Just about 20 percent of Pennsylvania voters have already cast their ballots, far lower than other battleground states, where close to half have.

The vice president is winning those early votes by a vast margin, 65 percent to 31 percent. But Mr. Trump is narrowly ahead among the 56 percent of the state who say they are almost certain to vote but haven't, 50 percent to 47 percent. He is far ahead among the remaining quarter of voters who are less certain they will bother.

At the same time, late deciders -- a critical 6 percent -- seem to be heading Ms. Harris's way. Voters who said they made up their minds in the last few weeks are siding with her, 53 percent to 45 percent.

All of that sets up a 13-hour stretch in Pennsylvania on Tuesday that could well determine the next president.

Brendan McPhillips, a senior Harris campaign official in the state, said the effort in Pennsylvania was built for this moment: to persuade, to get out the early vote, and now, to make sure the vice president's last voters get to the polls on Tuesday. Canvassers for Ms. Harris knocked on 800,000 doors on Saturday alone, the campaign said, talking to 293,000 people.

On Friday afternoon in downtown Mercer, Pa., Judy Hines, 75, was handing out signs to people who stopped by the new Democratic satellite office, which recently opened in a former bank building. Mr. Trump won Mercer County, in rural western Pennsylvania, by more than 25 percentage points in 2020, and Ms. Hines said his supporters seemed as invigorated as ever.

But busloads of Democratic volunteers have been coming in from Ohio, New York and other parts of Pennsylvania to knock on doors. A man from Texas canvassed for hours. The Democratic campaign presence here in Mercer County, Ms. Hines said, was ''larger, much, much larger'' than any she had seen before.

Some Republicans allowed that they weren't keeping pace in their locales.

''The party is engaged,'' said Kermit Bell, secretary of the Lebanon County G.O.P. in south-central Pennsylvania. ''But I can tell you this -- sometimes we do drop the ball.''

Trump campaign officials dismissed the significance of the Democratic operation, because, they say, more Pennsylvanians want to elect Mr. Trump than Ms. Harris. The Republicans' get-out-the-vote effort is diffuse, spread among the Trump campaign, the conservative youth group Turning Point Action, and America PAC, a super PAC affiliated with Elon Musk. Republicans have had to take it on faith that in combination, the groups were having an impact, but the Trump campaign didn't seem bothered by that.

Four years ago, a senior Trump campaign aide said, Democrats had a 685,000-voter advantage in party registration. That is down to 280,000, with key counties like Luzerne and Bucks flipping from majority Democratic registrations to majority Republican.

And, he said, it's showing in the early vote, where Democrats have a 23-point lead, down from 44 points in the pandemic year of 2020 but also way down from the 49-point lead of 2022, when Democrats won the governor's race and a Senate contest.

''One thing that infrastructure can't do or manufacture is enthusiasm,'' said Sam DeMarco, a Republican and an at-large member of the County Council in Allegheny County, where Pittsburgh sits. Mr. DeMarco believed that the unhappiness over inflation runs too deep in Pennsylvania for the Democrats to overcome.

With the race so close, neither side is willing to concede that the other is more enthusiastic. Both believe they have the right message to win the day. Voters have identified the economy as their top concern, said Malcolm Kenyatta, a Democratic state representative running for the statewide office of auditor general, but in the closing days of the campaign, Mr. Trump has been focused on everything but those kitchen-table issues.

At a rally on Sunday in Lititz, outside Lancaster, Pa., the former president went on an extended tear accusing the ''demonic'' Democrats of plotting to rig Tuesday's vote and repeating the lie that he won in 2020, saying he ''shouldn't have left'' the White House.

''There's something wrong with him,'' Mr. Kenyatta said, contrasting Mr. Trump's message with assurances from Ms. Harris that her policies would bring down the cost of groceries, underwrite entrepreneurship and help Pennsylvanians buy homes.

Both parties pointed to Greater Philadelphia as the ultimate deciding ground on Tuesday. And this time, Republicans believe they are battling back in the suburbs, where the Democratic firewall is supposed to be at its strongest. At a rally at a sports center in an upscale part of Bucks County, party officials boasted of substantially narrowing the gap in mail-in ballot requests and registrations.

These gains, Lawrence Tabas, the chair of the state party, said to the crowd, were ''an indication that voters in Pennsylvania have lost faith in the Democrats.''

Democrats are quick to point out that an early Republican vote from the Main Line Philly suburbs isn't necessarily a vote for Mr. Trump. Ms. Harris has mobilized Republican surrogates like former Representative Liz Cheney in a pointed campaign to persuade Republicans to vote for Ms. Harris, making a plea for cross-party support at an event last month in Bucks County.

Even so, Democrats know they have to turn out voters at record levels in Philadelphia. Tuesday will see armies of canvassers, fleets of vans to drive people to the polls and a blizzard of phone calls in the city, Harris campaign officials said.

In a former beauty supply store on a street in ***working-class*** West Philadelphia, the canvassers of One Pennsylvania, a progressive nonprofit that focuses on organizing the Black ***working class***, were gathering on Saturday afternoon for yet another round of door knocking.

Steve Paul, the group's executive director, said people with his organization had knocked on nearly 630,000 doors in multiple counties, hosted at least half a dozen parties and made around 1.7 million phone calls.

This has meant putting in long days for several months, but Mr. Paul sounded the same note heard from Democrats across the commonwealth: cautious optimism.

''I cannot not be optimistic with as much work as we've put in,'' he said, laughing. ''Look, we've talked to every person we could talk to. We've talked to them multiple times. We've done everything we can.''

Back at Arooga's Grille House in central Pennsylvania, Mr. Perry, who faces a stiff challenge from Janelle Stelson, a newscaster turned Democratic House candidate, looked on as Penn State dominated Ohio State early on Saturday, satisfied the game between the two Top 10 teams might not even be close in the end.

Likewise, Pennsylvania might not end up all that close either, he said.

''Here's the thing, dude,'' he said, ''it doesn't matter whether you live in the city, the suburbs or the country. If you can't afford to pay your bills and you're afraid to go outside at night, or have your kids walk to school, like, those things are universal.''

But in Pennsylvania, no one really knows. Ultimately, Penn State lost.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/04/us/politics/pennsylvania-trump-harris.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/04/us/politics/pennsylvania-trump-harris.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: A training session for Democratic volunteers in Philadelphia's Germantown neighborhood as both parties blitzed the state. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHELLE GUSTAFSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A18.

**Load-Date:** November 5, 2024

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[***Has Eric Trump Ever Held a ‘Real’ Job?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D6W-GY41-JBG3-62DC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 628 words

**Byline:** Michelle CottleMichelle Cottle writes about national politics for Opinion and is a host of the podcast &amp;#8220;Matter of Opinion.&amp;#8221; She has covered Washington and politics since the Clinton administration.

**Highlight:** The week in bad public behavior and political nonsense.

**Body**

Every Friday through the election, Michelle Cottle will highlight outstanding examples of misdeeds, outrageous statements and simply bizarre political behavior.

A couple of clarifying moments from Donald Trump’s clan this week, showing what they really think of ***working-class*** Americans:

First, Trump père dissed a whole category of U.S. autoworkers during his sit-down with Bloomberg News at the [*Economic Club of Chicago*](https://twitter.com/KamalaHQ/status/1846244477100302681): “They don’t build cars,” he said. “They take ’em out of a box, and they assemble them. We could have our child do it.”

Then there was Eric Trump, [*sneering*](https://twitter.com/KamalaHQ/status/1846244477100302681) at Kamala Harris’s résumé on Fox News: “She’s never actually had a real job, right? She has been in the federal government her entire adult life. She has never signed the front of a check.”

So, a few things about that:

First, a vast majority of Americans do not have jobs requiring them to sign the front of a check — teachers, autoworkers, beat cops, firefighters, flight attendants, restaurant servers, coal miners …

Second, a nepo baby who has worked for his daddy his entire adult life might want to think twice about making snide proclamations about what constitutes a “real” job.

That said, I can see how Eric Trump might have strong feelings about a tough-as-nails prosecutor, which is how Harris started out, considering his father’s extensive experience with the criminal justice system.

Late last week, the Democratic mayor of East Cleveland, Ohio, Brandon King, [*was indicted*](https://twitter.com/KamalaHQ/status/1846244477100302681) on a mishmash of felony and misdemeanor charges, including theft in office, having an unlawful interest in a public contract and soliciting improper compensation.

Potentially criminal behavior by an elected official — no big deal in the Trump era, right? Except that King is the third of the city’s past four mayors to face charges.

That’s quite a municipal record to boast about.

The Republican nominee to represent Michigan’s Seventh Congressional District, Tom Barrett, [*ran a full-page ad in The Michigan Bulletin, a Black-owned newspaper*](https://twitter.com/KamalaHQ/status/1846244477100302681) focused on serving the Black community around Lansing, urging people to turn out and vote for him on Nov. 6.

Read that sentence again.

Nov. … 6?

Barrett’s campaign has insisted this was simply a [*proofreading error*](https://twitter.com/KamalaHQ/status/1846244477100302681) and said it will run a corrected ad in a future edition. The Michigan Legislative Black Caucus is unimpressed and has asked the state attorney general to look into whether any election laws were violated. The A.G.’s office has already [*issued*](https://twitter.com/KamalaHQ/status/1846244477100302681) Barrett’s campaign a cease and desist notice.

House Speaker Mike Johnson might have ascended to one of the highest offices in the land, but he remains a shameless “stop the steal” Trumpian bootlicker. “I think there is going to be some cheating in this election. I think noncitizens are going to vote,” [*he said*](https://twitter.com/KamalaHQ/status/1846244477100302681) on CBS’s “[*Face the Nation” last Sunday*](https://twitter.com/KamalaHQ/status/1846244477100302681).

Estimating that there are “16 million illegal aliens in the country” since the Biden administration “opened the border wide,” Johnson speculated, “Because of that, there’s concern. Because those people are distributed all around the country, as you know, there’s concern some of those people will try to participate in the elections.”

The intricacies of border policy notwithstanding, I feel confident that an even bigger reason “there’s concern” about the possibility of noncitizens voting and of widespread voting fraud more generally — which, to be clear, [*is not a thing in the United States*](https://twitter.com/KamalaHQ/status/1846244477100302681) — is that Republican leaders like Johnson have spent the past four years parroting Trump’s lies about the 2020 presidential election being stolen.

But don’t let the truth stand in your way, Mr. Speaker. You just keep on undermining public faith in America’s electoral system. What could possibly go wrong?

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Matt Slocum/Associated Press FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 18, 2024

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[***As Harris Courts Voters in the Sun Belt, High Housing Costs Stand in Her Way***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D7R-2DN1-JBG3-64X9-00000-00&context=1519360)

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Late Edition - Final

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**Length:** 1480 words

**Byline:** By Jennifer Medina

**Body**

Shuttered factories and trade deals helped turn ***working-class*** Midwesterners against Democrats. Will the high cost of housing do the same in the Sun Belt?

The promise of the American dream has shimmered in Las Vegas for as long as the city has existed. That hope of a stable middle-class life has attracted would-be homeowners from California, sun-seekers from the East and immigrants from all over the world.

But for many voters here, it now feels like a mirage. In a state that relies on hourly wage workers in tourism and service jobs, many cannot find an affordable place to live.

The result is a well of cynicism, frustration and anger -- with national consequences.

Presidential elections have long been shaped by economic discontent in the emptying, industrial towns of the Midwest.

This year could be the first in decades to turn on the Sun Belt version.

It's not the exodus of steel companies or auto manufacturers that has left workers reeling, but a long-festering housing problem that is yielding the same result: Many ***working-class*** voters say a promise has been broken, and they are looking for someone to blame.

In the final weeks of a deadlocked presidential campaign, there is no better place to observe this restlessness than the stuccoed neighborhoods that snake into the desert around Las Vegas. The median home price is $445,000, an increase of more than 50 percent compared with five years ago, and well out of reach for many in a region where the median income hovers around $70,000. Rents average $2,000 in a city where many workers make less than $20 an hour.

Many once-reliable Democrats say the issue has eroded their trust in politicians. In the state's Democratic hub, that means turning away from Vice President Kamala Harris.

''When we got the new president, I didn't hear nothing, I didn't see any changes,'' Maria Ocampo, 54, who has voted Democratic for decades, said of the Biden administration. This year, she does not plan to vote at all.

Ms. Ocampo moved to Las Vegas three decades ago and quickly bought a modest home with her husband. But they have since divorced, and Ms. Ocampo watched as her rent kept climbing over the last few years, even as her business selling dried chiles and candy at a local swap meet struggled.

At one point, she said, her landlord more than doubled the rent to $2,800 a month.

After her business shut down for several months in 2020, sales briefly picked up as the coronavirus pandemic began to ease. But now Ms. Ocampo said her family's dozen stands made a tiny fraction of what they did in 2019.

''They just promise things,'' she said. ''But I don't see nothing coming out for us.''

In interviews with dozens of voters in and around Las Vegas, the rising cost of housing was routinely cited as the most persistent financial difficulty weighing on their minds. That was particularly true for Black and Latino blue-collar workers, voters who have moved away from Democrats, according to recent polls.

In Nevada, that group makes up one of the fastest-growing parts of the electorate and is being fiercely fought over by both parties in the final weeks of the campaign.

And while the problem is particularly acute in Nevada, anxiety about finding an affordable place to live is evident in many swing states, in Philadelphia, Phoenix and Kalamazoo, Mich. In Maricopa County, which surrounds Phoenix, the average price of a home is now $470,000, up about 50 percent since the pandemic.

Both presidential candidates have tried to speak to these worries. Ms. Harris made one of her first policy proposals a plan for three million new housing units across the country in the next four years and a $25,000 tax credit for first-time home buyers. Her plan would require support from Congress.

But in Nevada, few persuadable voters said they had heard of Ms. Harris's idea. Some who had viewed it with scorn -- another example of a soon-to-be-broken election year promise.

Many of these voters were equally skeptical of the Republican nominee, former President Donald J. Trump. He has said his plan to deport immigrants will free up affordable housing. Economists, however, widely agree that plan would worsen the housing crisis because it would hamper the construction industry.

Polls show the race in the state is tied.

Nevada's six electoral votes have been fought over for the last 20 years. While Democrats have eked out victories in the state in the last several elections, the margins have shrunk, leaving party officials anxious about any further erosion.

Like so many Las Vegas residents, Shakriyah Uwoloh moved to Las Vegas from Los Angeles because of the high cost of living in California. But her income has not kept pace with her bills. The rent on her two-bedroom apartment was $700 a month a year ago. Now, it is $1,200.

''It has just skyrocketed,'' she said. Though she voted for President Barack Obama twice before, she has no intention of voting this year. ''To be honest, I don't see too much happening.''

Mr. Obama won a whopping 55 percent of the vote in 2008, when he campaigned vigorously in Nevada and spent hours courting the state's powerful Culinary Workers Union and repeating its slogan about ''the Las Vegas Dream.''

But the Great Recession and the foreclosure crisis changed everything. Thousands lost their homes or abandoned them altogether. Wall Street-backed firms bought thousands of properties for under $100,000. Now, many are rented for several thousands of dollars a month to the same type of workers who once owned them -- people who work in sprawling distribution warehouses or serve tourists in the glittering casinos.

The pandemic eviscerated the economy again. And although the tourism industry has climbed back, voters still feel rattled.

When Armando Garcia, now 26, was growing up in Las Vegas, his parents urged him over and over to do what they had not been able to -- buy a home. For years, Mr. Garcia tried to make the numbers work, but during the pandemic he fell behind on bills, paying for basic groceries with his credit card and struggling to make the rent he splits with four roommates.

Eventually, they were threatened with eviction. Mr. Garcia, who earns $20 an hour working for a betting company, cobbled together a loan from several family members, allowing them to stay.

But the experience shook them. Even two months later, several belongings remain in the garage and boxes are scattered around their living room, packed up in a panic. One roommate cried every day for two weeks, Mr. Garcia said, imagining couch surfing or living out of her car.

''The dream of having my own home is not a dream I've had since I was 21,'' Mr. Garcia said, sitting in his mostly barren living room, adding that it ''feels too bold'' now. ''It just feels unrealistic. It doesn't feel like I can, like, daydream about it for very long because it just feels like I have realism around me all the time.''

Mr. Garcia is unlikely to vote for Ms. Harris next month, he said, though he will support local Democrats, and instead will write in another candidate or simply not cast a presidential ballot. He said there was ''zero percent chance'' he would vote for Mr. Trump, who he said would do more to favor the wealthy and endanger immigrants.

Like Mr. Garcia, many voters in Las Vegas blame wealthy California transplants who flocked to southern Nevada during the pandemic and out-of-state investors for driving up prices. There are also other factors: Higher interest rates have made borrowing more expensive, wages have not kept up with rents and there is a shortage of affordable units.

Josefina Hurtado, a 47-year-old server at the Westgate casino, sold her three-bedroom home with a $500 monthly mortgage amid a divorce several years ago. She assumed she'd be able to save up and find a similar modest ranch house within a year or two.

But she lost hours and income during the pandemic and now rents a house on the farthest southern outskirts of Las Vegas for $2,000 a month. She has taken a second job doing medical billing. Her landlord is now selling that home for $490,000 -- far more than Ms. Hurtado could ever dream of paying.

''Nowadays you have to make at least six figures just to live comfortably here, just to buy your food and pay your bills,'' Ms. Hurtado said. Like many other women she works with, she has frequently taken in family members who cannot afford rent at all. ''The idea of a middle class seems like a struggle,'' she said.

Still, Ms. Hurtado is convinced that a Harris administration will do more to help people like her, and she has spent the last several weeks knocking on doors to persuade other voters. She is less focused on policy specifics than on Ms. Harris's own life story.

''Her mom was a single parent, she knows what a struggle is,'' she said. ''She's seen us. She can be the one to make a difference.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/us/politics/2024-campaign-las-vegas-nevada-housing.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/21/us/politics/2024-campaign-las-vegas-nevada-housing.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Home construction in Henderson, Nev., above, and a Harris rally in Las Vegas in August. Many Democrats have said the scarcity of affordable housing has eroded their trust in politicians. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MORGAN LIEBERMAN/THE NEW YORK TIMES

BRIDGET BENNETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A16.

**Load-Date:** October 22, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Is the G.O.P. Changing Its Tune on Unions? Don’t Count On It.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CGV-HMW1-DXY4-X216-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 16, 2024 Tuesday 05:02 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 522 words

**Byline:** Farah Stockman Farah Stockman joined the Times editorial board in 2020. For four years, she was a reporter for The Times, covering politics, social movements and race. She previously worked at The Boston Globe, where she won a Pulitzer Prize for commentary in 2016.

**Highlight:** Despite the attempts at a courtship, the Republican Party supports barriers to collective bargaining.

**Body**

The Republican Party, which has long attempted to crush organized labor, welcomed the leader of one of the country’s largest unions on the convention stage Monday night: the Teamsters president, Sean O’Brien. It was a bizarre moment that tested the limits of Donald Trump’s economic populism.

O’Brien, the first Teamster to address a G.O.P. convention in the union’s 121-year history, drew wild applause when he thanked Trump for the invitation and called him “one tough S.O.B.” But he also challenged the Republican Party to change its attitudes toward unions, called for the reform of bankruptcy laws that allow “vulture capitalists” to swoop in and destroy workers’ livelihoods and pensions and castigated a “political caste system” that leaves working people without access to their elected officials.

Some lines could have come from Bernie Sanders: “The biggest recipients of welfare in this country are corporations,” O’Brien said. I bet no one uttered that at a G.O.P. convention before.

There were some frowns and bewildered looks in the crowd at the end of his speech. And yet I do sense a shift. O’Brien’s appearance comes after months of strange sightings: Trump’s choice for vice president, Senator J.D. Vance of Ohio, [*visited striking*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/opinion/editorialboard.html) United Auto Workers members at the Toledo Assembly Complex last fall, and Senator Josh Hawley of Missouri [*showed up*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/opinion/editorialboard.html) on a Teamsters picket line this year.

Trump met with autoworkers at a nonunionized auto parts supplier in Michigan a day after President Biden — the most union-friendly president in living memory — made history by standing with striking workers on a Michigan picket line.

Republicans say they want to be the party of the ***working class***, and they are increasingly attracting blue-collar voters. But being a sworn enemy of unions could be an obstacle to that. Some of the G.O.P.’s courtship of unions seems sincere. For instance, the new-right conservative think tank American Compass has argued that being pro-union is part of upholding pro-family values.

Let’s be honest, however. Much of this is just for show. During Trump’s four years in office, he made appointments to the National Labor Relations Board who [*systematically rolled back workers’*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/opinion/editorialboard.html) rights and undermined the right to collective bargaining. And [*the labor section of Project 2025,*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/opinion/editorialboard.html) a policy plan put together by Trump allies, is pushing to allow the formation of an alternative to unions that would significantly weaken bargaining power.

That’s why some Teamsters are furious about O’Brien’s appearance at the G.O.P. convention. “It’s all show and no substance,” [*Rick Smith*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/opinion/editorialboard.html), a Teamster who hosts a talk show about the ***working class***, told [*Capital &amp; Main*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/opinion/editorialboard.html), noting that [*Trump supports*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/opinion/editorialboard.html) so-called right-to-work laws.

O’Brien dismissed the criticism in his speech and let it slip that the Democrats hadn’t yet invited him to speak at their convention. “We aren’t beholden to anyone or any party,” he announced. It would be good news if unions get the bipartisan support that O’Brien is calling for. But it is far more likely that he’s helping to elect union busters who would get rid of Biden’s labor-friendly policies.

**Load-Date:** July 17, 2024

**End of Document**



[***In Pennsylvania, Republicans Stress Optimism While Democrats Just Stress***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DBH-5M11-JBG3-61Y4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 4, 2024 Monday 00:23 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1761 words

**Byline:** Jonathan Weisman and Campbell RobertsonJonathan Weisman is a politics writer, covering campaigns with an emphasis on economic and labor policy. He is based in Chicago.

**Highlight:** The biggest battleground of the presidential campaign remains tied on the eve of Election Day, with both the Trump and Harris campaigns saying they have the advantage.

**Body**

In a park in northern York County, Pa., where rural farmland bangs into new suburban construction, busloads of Democratic canvassers on Saturday were preparing to knock on doors in a region where not long ago, their voters scarcely existed.

Among the fired-up faithful, the watchword for Vice President Kamala Harris’s presidential ambitions was hope.

“As tight as the race is, as ugly as it’s gotten, I do have hope,” Stephanie Cramer, a 53-year-old York County native and former teacher, said as she was heading out for another day of canvassing.

Thirty-four miles to the north, at a “tailgate” party in the back room of Arooga’s Grille House near Hershey, Representative Scott Perry, a close ally of Donald J. Trump, was more than just hopeful about the former president’s chances of winning, especially in the biggest, most important swing state of the 2024 campaign.

“The vice president’s campaign is in free fall,” he pronounced, as Penn State scored an early touchdown against Ohio State and the Republican crowd cheered, with one eye on the congressman, the other on the big screens.

“They’re abandoning states like Arizona and Nevada,” he continued, which is not true. “They’re trying to shore up whatever is left of this ‘blue wall,’ but it’s going to crumble in Pennsylvania on Tuesday night.”

And so it goes in the state that long ago, both Ms. Harris and Mr. Trump identified as the must-win, and where more money and manpower have been directed than any other battleground. On election eve, both sides say they are cautiously optimistic. And in typical fashion, the Republicans are playing up the optimism, the Democrats the caution.

It is a measure of Pennsylvania’s importance that both candidates will spend their last day of campaigning blitzing the state. Ms. Harris will begin a door-knocking effort in Scranton. Then, aiming at voters still smarting from a pro-Trump comedian calling Puerto Rico “garbage,” the vice president will hold a rally in Allentown featuring two Puerto Rican entertainers. She’ll stop by Reading, then close out with rallies in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia. (Her running mate, Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, is campaigning in Wisconsin and Michigan.)

Mr. Trump will hold rallies in Reading and Pittsburgh, while his running mate, Senator JD Vance of Ohio, closes his campaign in the Philadelphia suburb of Newtown.

“This election, in your state, could turn on a few hundred votes,” Senator Cory Booker, Democrat of New Jersey, practically shouted at a gathering of Black men on Friday in Harrisburg, at Crawdaddy’s Restaurant, in the shadow of the State Capitol. “We have the power.”

With the state tied according to polls, Republicans say the winner will be determined by enthusiasm, an edge they say Mr. Trump has. Democrats, who insist they are plenty motivated, say Ms. Harris will bring it home on grit and ground game.

“This is just sweat equity now,” said Michelle Milan McFall, chairwoman of the Democratic Party of Westmoreland County, a redoubt of Trumpism in western Pennsylvania where, nonetheless, Democrats were mounting an all-out effort to cut into the former president’s margins.

The final New York Times/Siena College poll published Sunday found Pennsylvania knotted at 48 percent of the vote for Ms. Harris and Mr. Trump. But beneath that tie were trends to buoy both sides. Just about 20 percent of Pennsylvania voters have already cast their ballots, far lower than other battleground states, where close to half have.

The vice president is winning those early votes by a vast margin, 65 percent to 31 percent. But Mr. Trump is narrowly ahead among the 56 percent of the state who say they are almost certain to vote but haven’t, 50 percent to 47 percent. He is far ahead among the remaining quarter of voters who are less certain they will bother.

At the same time, late deciders — a critical 6 percent — seem to be heading Ms. Harris’s way. Voters who said they made up their minds in the last few weeks are siding with her, 53 percent to 45 percent.

All of that sets up a 13-hour stretch in Pennsylvania on Tuesday that could well determine the next president.

Brendan McPhillips, a senior Harris campaign official in the state, said the effort in Pennsylvania was built for this moment: to persuade, to get out the early vote, and now, to make sure the vice president’s last voters get to the polls on Tuesday. Canvassers for Ms. Harris knocked on 800,000 doors on Saturday alone, the campaign said, talking to 293,000 people.

On Friday afternoon in downtown Mercer, Pa., Judy Hines, 75, was handing out signs to people who stopped by the new Democratic satellite office, which recently opened in a former bank building. Mr. Trump won Mercer County, in rural western Pennsylvania, by more than 25 percentage points in 2020, and Ms. Hines said his supporters seemed as invigorated as ever.

But busloads of Democratic volunteers have been coming in from Ohio, New York and other parts of Pennsylvania to knock on doors. A man from Texas canvassed for hours. The Democratic campaign presence here in Mercer County, Ms. Hines said, was “larger, much, much larger” than any she had seen before.

Some Republicans allowed that they weren’t keeping pace in their locales.

“The party is engaged,” said Kermit Bell, secretary of the Lebanon County G.O.P. in south-central Pennsylvania. “But I can tell you this — sometimes we do drop the ball.”

Trump campaign officials dismissed the significance of the Democratic operation, because, they say, more Pennsylvanians want to elect Mr. Trump than Ms. Harris. The Republicans’ get-out-the-vote effort is diffuse, spread among the Trump campaign, the conservative youth group Turning Point Action, and America PAC, a super PAC [*affiliated with Elon Musk*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/11/us/politics/elon-musk-donald-trump-pennsylvania.html). Republicans have had to take it on faith that in combination, the groups were having an impact, but the Trump campaign didn’t seem bothered by that.

Four years ago, a senior Trump campaign aide said, Democrats had a 685,000-voter advantage in party registration. That is down to 280,000, with key counties like Luzerne and Bucks flipping from majority Democratic registrations to majority Republican.

And, he said, it’s showing in the early vote, where Democrats have a 23-point lead, down from 44 points in the pandemic year of 2020 but also way down from the 49-point lead of 2022, when Democrats won the governor’s race and a Senate contest.

“One thing that infrastructure can’t do or manufacture is enthusiasm,” said Sam DeMarco, a Republican and an at-large member of the County Council in Allegheny County, where Pittsburgh sits. Mr. DeMarco believed that the unhappiness over inflation runs too deep in Pennsylvania for the Democrats to overcome.

With the race so close, neither side is willing to concede that the other is more enthusiastic. Both believe they have the right message to win the day. Voters have identified the economy as their top concern, said Malcolm Kenyatta, a Democratic state representative running for the statewide office of auditor general, but in the closing days of the campaign, Mr. Trump has been focused on everything but those kitchen-table issues.

At a rally on Sunday in Lititz, outside Lancaster, Pa., the former president went on an extended tear accusing the “demonic” Democrats of plotting to rig Tuesday’s vote and repeating the lie that he won in 2020, saying he “shouldn’t have left” the White House.

“There’s something wrong with him,” Mr. Kenyatta said, contrasting Mr. Trump’s message with assurances from Ms. Harris that her policies would bring down the cost of groceries, underwrite entrepreneurship and help Pennsylvanians buy homes.

Both parties pointed to Greater Philadelphia as the ultimate deciding ground on Tuesday. And this time, Republicans believe they are battling back in the suburbs, where the Democratic firewall is supposed to be at its strongest. At a rally at a sports center in an upscale part of Bucks County, party officials boasted of substantially narrowing the gap in mail-in ballot requests and registrations.

These gains, Lawrence Tabas, the chair of the state party, said to the crowd, were “an indication that voters in Pennsylvania have lost faith in the Democrats.”

Democrats are quick to point out that an early Republican vote from the Main Line Philly suburbs isn’t necessarily a vote for Mr. Trump. Ms. Harris has mobilized Republican surrogates like former Representative Liz Cheney in a pointed campaign to persuade Republicans to vote for Ms. Harris, making a plea for cross-party support [*at an event last month in Bucks County*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/11/us/politics/elon-musk-donald-trump-pennsylvania.html).

Even so, Democrats know they have to turn out voters at record levels in Philadelphia. Tuesday will see armies of canvassers, fleets of vans to drive people to the polls and a blizzard of phone calls in the city, Harris campaign officials said.

In a former beauty supply store on a street in ***working-class*** West Philadelphia, the canvassers of One Pennsylvania, a progressive nonprofit that focuses on organizing the Black ***working class***, were gathering on Saturday afternoon for yet another round of door knocking.

Steve Paul, the group’s executive director, said people with his organization had knocked on nearly 630,000 doors in multiple counties, hosted at least half a dozen parties and made around 1.7 million phone calls.

This has meant putting in long days for several months, but Mr. Paul sounded the same note heard from Democrats across the commonwealth: cautious optimism.

“I cannot not be optimistic with as much work as we’ve put in,” he said, laughing. “Look, we’ve talked to every person we could talk to. We’ve talked to them multiple times. We’ve done everything we can.”

Back at Arooga’s Grille House in central Pennsylvania, Mr. Perry, who faces a stiff challenge from Janelle Stelson, a newscaster turned Democratic House candidate, looked on as Penn State dominated Ohio State early on Saturday, satisfied the game between the two Top 10 teams might not even be close in the end.

Likewise, Pennsylvania might not end up all that close either, he said.

“Here’s the thing, dude,” he said, “it doesn’t matter whether you live in the city, the suburbs or the country. If you can’t afford to pay your bills and you’re afraid to go outside at night, or have your kids walk to school, like, those things are universal.”

But in Pennsylvania, no one really knows. Ultimately, Penn State lost.

PHOTO: A training session for Democratic volunteers in Philadelphia’s Germantown neighborhood as both parties blitzed the state. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHELLE GUSTAFSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A18.

**Load-Date:** November 5, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Democrats Need to Take MAGA Seriously***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CHX-M5K1-DXY4-X2DB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 21, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Sunday Review Desk; Pg. 5; DAVID BROOKS

**Length:** 1443 words

**Byline:** By David Brooks

**Body**

In 2016, MAGA was just a slogan -- or at best a spasm of resentments and instincts about issues like immigration. Over the last eight years, think tankers, activists and politicians have developed MAGA into a worldview, a worldview that now transcends Donald Trump.

Across the Western world, right-wing parties have ceased to be parties of the business elites and have become ***working-class*** parties. MAGA is the worldview that accords with this shifting reality. It has its roots in Andrew Jackson-style populism, but it is updated and more comprehensive. It is the worldview that represents one version of ***working-class*** interests and offers ***working-class*** voters respect.

JD Vance is the embodiment and one of the developers of this worldview -- with his suspicion of corporate power, foreign entanglements, free trade, cultural elites and high rates of immigration. In Milwaukee this week, with Vance as Trump's pick for vice president, it became clear how thoroughly MAGA has replaced Reaganism as the chief operating system of the Republican Party.

If Democrats want to beat MAGA, it's not enough to say: Orange man bad. Talking endlessly about Jan. 6 does no good. If Democrats hope to win in the near future they have to take the MAGA worldview seriously, and respectfully make the case, especially to ***working-class*** voters, for something better.

At its best, what is MAGA, anyway?

Well, in any society, there is a legitimate tension between security and dynamism. In a volatile world, MAGA offers people security. It promises secure borders and secure neighborhoods. It offers protection from globalization, from the creative destruction of modern capitalism. It offers protection from an educated class that looks down on you and indoctrinates your children in school. It offers you protection from corporate predators. As Senator Josh Hawley argued in Compact magazine this week, ''The C-suite long ago sold out the United States, shuttering factories in the homeland and gutting American jobs.''

To those who rightly feel buffeted by vast and destabilizing forces, Trump emerges as a kind of Aaron Sorkin character: ''You want me on that wall. You need me on that wall.'' He offers security so people can get on with their lives.

Now, the problem with MAGA -- and here is where the Democratic opportunity lies -- is that it emerges from a mode of consciousness that is very different from the traditional American consciousness.

The American consciousness has traditionally been an abundance consciousness. Successive waves of immigrants found a vast continent of fertile fields and bustling cities. In 1910, Henry van Dyke, who later became the U.S. ambassador to the Netherlands and Luxembourg, wrote a book called ''The Spirit of America,'' in which he observed that ''the Spirit of America is best known in Europe by one of its qualities -- energy.'' In the 20th century, Luigi Barzini, an Italian observer, argued that Americans have a zeal for continual self-improvement, a ''need tirelessly to tinker, improve everything and everybody, never leave anything alone.''

Many foreign observers saw us, and we saw ourselves, as the dynamic nation par excellence. We didn't have a common past, but we dreamed of a common future. Our sense of home was not rooted in blood-and-soil nationalism; our home was something we were building together. Through most of our history, we were not known for our profundity or culture but for living at full throttle.

MAGA, on the other hand, emerges from a scarcity consciousness, a zero-sum mentality: If we let in tons of immigrants they will take all of our jobs; if America gets browner, ''they'' will replace ''us.'' MAGA is based on a series of victim stories: The elites are out to screw us. Our allies are freeloading off us. Secular America is oppressing Christian America.

Viewed from the traditional American abundance mind-set, MAGA looks less like an American brand of conservatism and more like a European brand of conservatism. It resembles all those generations of Russian chauvinists who argued that the Russian masses embody all that is good but they are threatened by aliens from the outside. MAGA looks like a kind of right-wing Marxism, which assumes that class struggle is the permanent defining feature of politics. MAGA is a fortress mentality, but America has traditionally been defined by a pioneering mentality. MAGA offers a strong shell, but not much in the way of wings needed to soar.

If Democrats are to thrive, they need to tap into America's dynamic cultural roots and show how they can be applied to the 21st century. It should be said that social dynamism is more complicated than it appears at first blush. It's not just getting on your Harley and hitting the open road. It's not really about rugged individualism or the libertarian version of freedom as the absence of constraint.

My favorite definition of dynamism is adapted from the psychologist John Bowlby: All of life is a series of daring explorations from a secure base. If Democrats are to thrive, they need to offer people a vision both of the secure base and of the daring explorations.

Here's where they have a potentially good story to tell. Americans can't be secure if the world is in flames. That's why America has to be active abroad in places like Ukraine, keeping wolves like Vladimir Putin at bay. Americans can't be secure if the border is in chaos. Popular support for continued immigration depends on a sense that the government has things under control. Americans can't be secure if a single setback will send people to the depths of crushing poverty. That's why the social insurance programs that Democrats largely built are so important.

But what Democrats really need to do, in my view, is to offer people a vision of the daring explorations that await them. That's where the pessimistic post-Reagan Republicans can't compete. American dynamism was turbocharged by the construction of the transcontinental railway, the creation of the land grant colleges, the G.I. Bill and President Biden's successful efforts to revive our industrial base in the American Midwest.

Personally, I wish Democrats would spend less time on dumb, reactionary policies like rent control. That reeks of panic in the Biden campaign. I wish they would champion the abundance agenda that people like Derek Thompson and my colleague Ezra Klein have been writing about. We need to build things. Lots of new homes. Supersonic airplanes and high-speed trains.

Democrats need to take on their teachers' unions and commit to dynamism in the field of education. They need to stand up to protectionism, not join the stampede. Raising tariffs, as Trump wants to do, would not only raise costs on American consumers; it would also breed laziness and mediocrity within those sectors cosseted from competition. Democrats need to throttle back the regulators who have been given such free rein that they've stifled innovation.

If Republicans are going to double down on class war rhetoric -- elites versus masses -- Democrats need to get out of that business. They need to tap back into the more traditional American aspiration: We are not sentenced to a permanent class-riven future but can create a fluid, mobile society.

The economist Michael Strain of the American Enterprise Institute has offered a telling psychic critique of MAGA economic thinking: ''The economics of grievance is ineffective, counterproductive and corrosive, eroding the foundations of prosperity. Messages matter. Tell people that the system is rigged, and they will aspire to less. Champion personal responsibility, and they will lift their aspirations. Promoting an optimistic vision of economic life can increase risk tolerance, ambition, effort and dynamism.''

Strain is getting at the core point that aspiration is not like a brick that just sits there. Aspiration is more like a flame that can be fed or dampened. The venture capitalist Marc Andreessen underlined the point a few years ago: ''The problem is desire. We need to \*want\* these things. The problem is inertia. We need to want these things more than we want to prevent these things.''

In Milwaukee, I have heard a lot of patriotism, but it was the patriotism of nostalgia, not the patriotism of hope. That leaves an opening for the folks who gather in Chicago next month.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/opinion/maga-trump-vance-democrats.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/opinion/maga-trump-vance-democrats.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY DIEU-NIALO CHERY/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK) This article appeared in print on page SR5.

**Load-Date:** July 21, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Top Democrats Try To Put Sunny Spin On 2024 Results***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DN8-GYB1-JBG3-610P-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 15, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 23; POLITICAL MEMO

**Length:** 1434 words

**Byline:** By Reid J. Epstein

**Body**

Some leaders have begun to put a sunnier spin on the November outcome by pointing to down-ballot victories -- a possible sign that Democrats may not tear down their party after all.

For most Democrats, losing to Donald J. Trump was a devastating gut punch that sent them hurtling into the political abyss.

But to hear some party leaders and their allies talk, Democrats had plenty of November victories to be proud of.

Jaime Harrison, the chairman of the Democratic National Committee, wrote a 2,600-word memo to party members last week that pointed to down-ballot triumphs and declared, ''Democrats beat back global headwinds that could've turned this squeaker into a landslide.''

Representative Hakeem Jeffries of New York, the House Democratic leader, wrote in a statement recently that his caucus had ''defied political gravity,'' a reference to the newly released ''Wicked'' movie that was soon echoed by Senator Amy Klobuchar, the Minnesota Democrat.

And further down the ballot, the Democratic Legislative Campaign Committee wrote in its year-end report that the party's successes in statehouse races represented ''one of the most shocking election results in modern history'' -- even though Democrats lost majorities in chambers in Michigan and Minnesota.

These sunny-side-up views of the election serve as something of an antidote to the notion that Democrats, humbled by their 2024 mistakes, are about to begin rebuilding their party from the ground up.

They also fly in the face of signs of a broad depression within the party. Ratings are down on MSNBC, the liberal television network that has served as the house organ for Democratic officials, as the party's voters so far show little inclination to revive their resistance to Mr. Trump from 2016.

What's more, the positive sentiment lets Democrats blame President Biden -- whom many of them publicly defended even after his disastrous debate in June -- for the party's poor showing. By arguing that the party's problems stem from an 82-year-old president who is about to retire from politics, Democrats can avoid tackling tough questions about why they have lost ground among voters of color and ***working-class*** Americans while giving donors who invested billions of dollars something to explain why they lost.

Jessica Mackler, the president of Emily's List, the largest group helping to elect Democratic women, said on the left-leaning podcast ''The Downballot'' that Vice President Kamala Harris had saved the party from even bigger defeats had Mr. Biden remained its presidential nominee.

''When she entered this race, Democrats were poised to lose and lose big,'' Ms. Mackler said. ''The energy that she brought, the way that she was able to evaporate that enthusiasm gap, it really mattered.''

As Democrats throw up their hands and point to political headwinds brought on by inflation and Mr. Biden as the cause of their 2024 plight, many are also eliding the fact that they had been optimistic that Ms. Harris would win.

The Harris campaign's pre-election data showed her winning in Michigan and Wisconsin and within 0.1 percent of Mr. Trump in Pennsylvania, according to an internal post-mortem campaign analysis, reviewed by The New York Times, that was written by Meg Schwenzfeier, the campaign's chief analytics officer, and Becca Siegel, a senior adviser to the campaign.

The campaign's modeling underestimated Mr. Trump's support by an average of 1.7 percentage points across 13 states where it tracked data.

Top officials from the Harris campaign have also suggested that Mr. Biden bequeathed his vice president a perilous political situation. Last month, David Plouffe, a senior adviser, said on the podcast ''Pod Save America'' that Ms. Harris's position was ''pretty catastrophic in terms of where the race stood.''

In recent weeks, the Harris campaign has circulated a separate, and unsigned, document titled ''Tough Q & A [not to share].'' It consists of talking points meant to answer questions that campaign officials and surrogates were likely to face after their defeat.

To the questions ''How much of this was Biden's fault? Should he have dropped out earlier/run for re-election at all?'' the campaign document suggests a nonresponse.

''It was up to him whether or not to run,'' the document states. ''He then made the decision to step aside following the June debate. That was the right decision and it put Democrats in the best position to compete -- the ground the V.P. was able to make up proves that.''

Andrew Bates, a spokesman for Mr. Biden, said the president's assessment was that aftereffects of the pandemic that also hurt incumbent parties in other nations' elections were ''the biggest factor'' in Ms. Harris's defeat.

The Harris campaign talking points spend more time on the Trump campaign's advertising attacking Ms. Harris on transgender issues than on any other topic. Eleven bullet points explain why the campaign did not go on the air with its own ad responding to Mr. Trump.

''Most voters found the ads troubling, particularly the idea that tax dollars are funding these surgeries,'' the document states. ''They were quick to say, however, that this was not the most important issue to them, impacted a small number of people and felt it was overblown and overly political.''

Then there are the sometimes tone-deaf solicitations for more money from Democratic donors.

A November email from the Harris campaign under the subject line ''Good news and bad news'' included the bad news -- Mr. Trump won the election -- and the good news: The recipient of the email had an opportunity to give $50 to ''hold Trump accountable these next four years.''

In the 20 days after the election -- from Nov. 6 to Nov. 25, the last day of the most recent campaign finance reporting period -- the Harris Victory Fund, the campaign's main fund-raising vehicle, reported just over $6 million in online donations from nearly 180,000 contributions. That was less than the fund raised in any given day in the final stretch before the election.

On Tuesday, the Democratic National Committee asked for a $3 contribution and a vote on a design for what it called the ''Official 2025 Democratic Member Card.'' Three of the four options contain the words ''PROUD DEMOCRAT,'' while the fourth shows a donkey, the party's longtime mascot.

Democrats without a direct relationship with the Harris campaign have been more likely to declare that the election results were a disaster.

''No, it wasn't a good night,'' Gov. Phil Murphy of New Jersey said in an interview. ''But I was not shocked that he won. How could you be?''

Priorities USA, which was the top allied super PAC for Hillary Clinton's 2016 presidential campaign but was subsequently passed over by Mr. Biden's aides, wrote in a post-election presentation that the race had been ''winnable'' for Ms. Harris and that Democratic messaging on Mr. Trump had ''missed the mark.''

''Democrats remain so focused on hatred of Trump, that we can't grasp why some voters are drawn to him,'' the group wrote.

At the same time, plenty of Democrats are quick to note that even though Mr. Trump swept the seven battleground states, he won the White House by a relatively narrow margin. They insist the party remains on the right track.

In his memo to D.N.C. members, Mr. Harrison boasted that Mr. Trump's margin of victory in the popular vote ranked ''44th out of 51 elections since 1824.''

''This is the narrowest margin for a Republican since 1968, excluding the two times Republicans lost the popular vote and won the Electoral College,'' Mr. Harrison wrote.

Ben Wikler, the chairman of the Wisconsin Democratic Party who is running to succeed Mr. Harrison as D.N.C. chairman, said during an interview on ''The Daily Show'' that ''we actually added votes for Harris relative to Biden.''

Wisconsin was, Mr. Wikler said, the state that ''came closest to defeating Trump.''

And in a memo summarizing what Democrats in Washington could learn from their state-level brethren, Andrew Grunwald of the States Project, a liberal dark-money group that focuses on state legislative races, wrote that Democrats should not overreact to the 2024 presidential results.

''Even with no changes between now and the 2026 elections,'' Mr. Grunwald wrote in the memo, ''Democrats are well positioned to make significant gains in Congress and at the state legislative levels.''

Reporting was contributed by Nick Corasaniti, Katie Glueck, Erica L. Green and Shane Goldmacher.Reporting was contributed by Nick Corasaniti, Katie Glueck, Erica L. Green and Shane Goldmacher.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/13/us/politics/democrats-harris-trump-2024-election.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/13/us/politics/democrats-harris-trump-2024-election.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Jaime Harrison, the chairman of the Democratic National Committee, pointed to wins in down-ballot races. (PHOTOGRAPH BY LOREN ELLIOTT/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE -- GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page A23.

**Load-Date:** December 15, 2024

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[***wsj section C completed not live check saturday 8/24: clear***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CTJ-NS61-DXY4-X01H-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 26, 2024 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 1300 words

**Byline:** By Aida Alami

**Body**

As a teenager, Amine Kessaci confronted Emmanuel Macron, founded an environmental group and lost a brother to drug violence. At 20, he almost won a National Assembly seat.

At 17, Amine Kessaci found himself seated close to the president of France, Emmanuel Macron, who had come to Marseille to kick off his second presidential campaign in 2021.

Well-known for his top-down approach to policymaking, Mr. Macron described his plan to inject large amounts of state money into Marseille, France's second-most populous city, with the goal of stimulating its economy and ending its rampant violence.

With the leader of France squeezed on a seat almost next to him, Mr. Kessaci, the son of Algerian immigrants, did not miss his chance for an impromptu audience. In a voice that was simultaneously calm and combative, he urged Mr. Macron to be more inclusive in his decision-making.

''There is no point to come with a plan from Paris drafted on a plane, or I don't know where. You have to build it with us,'' he told Mr. Macron, who did not respond to the substance of Mr. Kessaci's comment, simply asking him his age and then slightly applauding.

Less than three years later, Mr. Kessaci (pronounced keh-ssah-see) ran for a National Assembly seat as a candidate of the Green Party, part of the left-wing New Popular Front coalition. He narrowly lost -- by 835 votes -- in the snap legislative elections in July to Gisèle Lelouis, 72, a member of the far-right National Rally party. The election resulted in a deadlock that has yet to be broken to form a government.

Mr. Kessaci's ambition speaks to a changing France. Elected or not, he is representative of citizens from immigrant backgrounds who are agitating to be heard and included, and who aspire to corridors of power long dominated by elites.

The legislative campaigns defined the competing visions for France's future. The National Rally, even as it has softened some of its most incendiary language, has taken a hard line on immigration. It often argues that immigration is linked to crime and threats to French identity, though France does not keep statistics based on ethnicity.

In Mr. Kessaci's constituency, the vote is typically split between villages outside Marseille that tend to support the far right and multicultural urban areas like Mr. Kessaci's, where disillusionment has suppressed voter turnout.

His campaign message was simple: He understood the daily experiences of lower-income voters, especially younger ones, and he was committed to pushing for change, especially for those living in the ***working-class*** neighborhoods, or ''quartiers populaires,'' of northern Marseille, where he grew up.

''Life experience is what matters most to be a representative of the nation,'' Mr. Kessaci said shortly after the election.

France has some politicians of ethnically diverse backgrounds in its top ranks of leadership. But in 2022, they made up only about 32 members of the 577-seat National Assembly, according to the news outlet France24, and few have a second-generation immigrant background like Mr. Kessaci's.

In the years after World War II, immigrants from Africa -- including former colonies and protectorates in the north and west -- settled in the quartiers populaires in response to France's growing need for labor. These were usually areas on the outskirts of major cities that lacked many public services, and came to embody social exclusion and economic disparity.

Mr. Kessaci grew up in one of them, in a dilapidated high-rise apartment building in Frais-Vallon, a 15-minute metro ride from Marseille's center. It remains one of the most crime-afflicted neighborhoods in all of France.

Close to the building, where his father still lives, young men in black ski masks can be seen on any given day at checkpoints monitoring who comes and goes, and who might represent a threat to their drug trade.

''We are the ones who live among real insecurity and yet we are the ones who complain the least,'' Mr. Kessaci said about concerns over crime that have fueled support for the far right.

Rachid Zerrouki, a teacher in Marseille who works with students who are disengaged academically, said he was happy to see someone with Mr. Kessaci's background get involved in politics.

''Representation is important,'' Mr. Zerrouki said.

The desperate economic and social situations these teenagers face, Mr. Zerrouki added, results in many of them being lured away from an education and into drug trafficking.

''We are struggling to even find internships so that they can imagine a career,'' he said about his students.

Mr. Kessaci has a personal connection to these kinds of problems. In December 2020, Brahim Kessaci, an older sibling, was killed, his burned body found in the trunk of a car. The police could not identify him for days, until the family confirmed that a jewelry chain found with the body was his.

Karim Bentahar, who works for a government program intended to prevent youth delinquency and extremism and ran Mr. Kessaci's campaign, said this experience was formative for Mr. Kessaci.

''I saw in him a young person who grew up too fast,'' he said of their first encounter three years ago. ''The brutal death of his brother nourished a positive drive, allowing him to take charge of his own destiny and to represent young people in the same situation as him with dignity.''

Mr. Kessaci's politics are also informed by environmental and economic concerns shared by other Green Party candidates. He supports a climate tax on companies that pollute and an increase in the minimum wage.

At 16, Mr. Kessaci founded Conscience Ecologique, a nonprofit organization with the goal of bringing ***working-class*** citizens into the national conversation on sustainability issues.

''We can fix our problems ourselves,'' he said. ''We can clean our neighborhoods. We are capable of doing it. We are young people who read, who have ideas, who do something other than drugs.''

The organization, now called Conscience, is run by his mother, Ouassila Benhamdi. Inside its offices, in what used to be a school, there are containers with donated clothes and food and a kitchen for cooking workshops. Conscience also helps people with the paperwork they must fill out to get housing, and offers camping excursions and yoga retreats for grieving parents and others who recently lost a loved one.

''I am an example for others,'' Ms. Benhamdi said of her work. ''Tragedy touched me. I didn't die, and life goes on.''

More than three years after the death of Mr. Kessaci's brother, Marseille still struggles with drug-related violence. In 2023, 49 people were killed in violence related to the drug trade, including killings that the police call ''settling scores'' among gangs. Last month, a teenager was shot to death in a neighborhood near Frais Vallon, according to local news media.

Mr. Kessaci supports legalizing cannabis as a way to weaken drug gangs and is in favor of restoring Police de Proximité, a local policing program that was eliminated in 2003. Since then, instead of the police being stationed in the community, they mostly arrive only in raids.

While the program ended before Mr. Kessaci was born, he still hears stories of good community-police relations that now almost seem like a fantasy.

''People used to call the police 'big brothers,''' he said of that calmer period. ''I even remember seeing a photo of a police officer playing soccer with young people. The police have lost their deterrent force.''

Despite his electoral defeat, Mr. Kessaci said he remained optimistic about his political prospects and was focusing on increasing voter registration while he studied law at Aix-Marseille University, in Marseille.

''I am only 20 years old,'' he said, ''and the next time will be the right one.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/25/world/europe/marseille-france-amine-kessaci.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/25/world/europe/marseille-france-amine-kessaci.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Amine Kessaci lives in Frais-Vallon, a poor area of Marseille. ''We are the ones who live among real insecurity and yet we are the ones who complain the least,'' he said.

Above left, election posters. Mr. Kessaci ran as a Green Party candidate, but lost. Karim Bentahar, right, ran Mr. Kessaci's campaign.

Left, having a coffee in central Marseille. Right, a scene in the ''quartiers populaires,'' the ***working-class*** neighborhoods that ring the city. ''We can fix our problems ourselves,'' Mr. Kessaci said. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANDREA MANTOVANI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A4.

**Load-Date:** August 26, 2024

**End of Document**



[***The French Singer Who Won Over Iggy Pop; On the Verge***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D87-3D11-DXY4-X0B3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 24, 2024 Thursday 15:53 EST

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**Section:** T-MAGAZINE

**Length:** 670 words

**Byline:** Lindsey Tramuta

**Highlight:** Zaho de Sagazan went viral for her performances at the Cannes Film Festival and the Paris Olympics. Next, she’s coming to America.

**Body**

Zaho de Sagazan went viral for her performances at the Cannes Film Festival and the Paris Olympics. Next, she’s coming to America.

[*On the Verge*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/on-the-verge) showcases emerging talent from the worlds of fashion, food, music, art and design.

When the French singer-songwriter Zaho de Sagazan, 24, was a teenager she earned the nickname Petite Tempête — “Little Storm.” “I was crying all the time,” she says. “I didn’t know what to do with all my angst.” But after her twin sister introduced her to the work of the English singer-songwriter Tom Odell — with which she quickly became obsessed, learning all his lyrics and teaching herself to play his songs on the piano — she realized that music could be a means of processing her dark emotions. By 2020, she was sharing videos of her original songs, which blend elements of synth-pop, electronica and chanson Française, on Instagram. Her expressive, sometimes husky voice caught the attention of Warner Chappell/Virgin Music, which released her first album, “[*La Symphonie des Éclairs*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/on-the-verge)” (“The Symphony of Lightning”) in spring 2023. It went platinum in 2024 and earned four awards at Victoires de la Musique, the French version of the Grammys. Tomorrow, a reissued edition will hit streaming platforms with new material, including “Old Friends,” which de Sagazan recorded with Odell. “I basically slid into his DMs,” she says. “We’ve been friends since. Singing with him is one of the few things I dreamed of for myself.”

De Sagazan was born and raised in the ***working-class*** shipyard town of Saint Nazaire, on France’s Atlantic coast, reared in a family of artists and free spirits with few rules and plenty of encouragement. Her father, Olivier de Sagazan, is a painter, sculptor and performer who has collaborated on immersive exhibitions and videos with musicians including [*FKA Twigs*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/on-the-verge). During her adolescence, de Sagazan spent hours holed up in her room, alone at the piano, writing about themes including self-doubt, addiction (she recently quit smoking weed, a decade-long habit), climate change and romantic love — though she says she hasn’t yet experienced it herself. She moved to Nantes at 17 and attended university for a while to appease her mother, a schoolteacher, though her ambition was to make music or start a label. To earn money, she worked as a home health aide. “I thought I’d become a nurse or work in a hospital,” she says. “I wanted to care for people. Music is another way of doing that.”

In the less than two years since her debut, de Sagazan has gone from a relative unknown to a viral star who has charmed everyone from Iggy Pop (“[*She can sing, she can write and she’s got a lot to say*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/on-the-verge),” he pronounced on his BBC Radio show) to the designer Nicolas Ghesquière, who used her music in his spring 2024 Louis Vuitton presentation. He’s also dressed her for several public appearances, including the opening of the Cannes Film Festival in May, where [*she performed a whimsical rendition*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/on-the-verge) of David Bowie’s “Modern Love,” and the closing ceremony of the Paris Olympics. There, in the emptied-out Tuileries Garden, she sang Edith Piaf’s “Sous le Ciel de Paris” a cappella, accompanied by a 34-person choir and wearing a two-tone ruffled skirt. It was a surreal moment for de Sagazan, who points out that the song “represents the city and French elegance,” while her own wardrobe is full of oversize Kraftwerk tees and athleisure. “I’m not at all Parisienne,” she insists.

She expresses her true self, she says, during her own free-form, pared-down shows, dancing wildly, often in cycling jumpsuits. “The American thing, with wild light effects, backup dancers, and outfit changes, doesn’t speak to me,” she says. She will, however, soon be performing in the States, with sold-out shows on both coasts scheduled for December. “I hope they walk away thinking, ‘What a nice, simple girl, with great songs, who’s completely free,’” she says of American audiences. “But only after they’ve gotten a massive rush of energy.”

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Amélie Ambroise FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 24, 2024

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[***‘The Power Broker’ Is Magisterial. It Is Also Flawed.; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D32-1JM1-JBG3-6292-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 30, 2024 Monday 09:52 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1620 words

**Byline:** Ross Barkan

**Highlight:** We need to recapture faith in government to be a great builder again.

**Body**

When I was 22 and working at a local newspaper in Queens, I opened up “The Power Broker” for the first time. I sat in a park in the borough’s leafy eastern reaches, within a short drive of a Robert Moses-constructed bridge (the Bronx-Whitestone) and a Robert Moses-constructed expressway (the Clearview). I commuted to work from my apartment in the southwest corner of Brooklyn, enduring the Moses parkways and expressways, driving myself to madness in one rush-hour traffic scrum after another. I came to believe this long-dead urban planner had locked me in an asphalt prison that I could never escape.

Like generations of New Yorkers, journalists and historians across America, I came to understand my city through Robert Caro’s magisterial biography of the master builder who dominated the machinery of city and state government from the Jazz Age through Beatlemania. Now a half-century old, “The Power Broker” is every bit the New York institution Mr. Moses ever was — as is Mr. Caro himself.

I was awed by Mr. Caro’s dogged reportage and novelistic sweep. I grew up in Bay Ridge, Brooklyn, a neighborhood ribboned by two Moses highways and cleaved by what was in the 1960s the largest suspension bridge in the world.

But I have come to believe, with a half-century of hindsight, that Mr. Caro did not get the story of Robert Moses completely right. Today, in the popular imagination, Mr. Moses is understood as an imperious, even racist villain who despised the poor, immolated outer borough neighborhoods and singularly worshiped the automobile. He is a perpetual warning against the consolidation of power, bureaucratic overreach and heedless development; he was, in the aftermath of “The Power Broker,” understood as a catalyst of New York’s deterioration in the 1970s.

Some readers have misunderstood Mr. Caro’s journalism. Others have overlearned the lessons of “The Power Broker” and absorbed to too great a degree Mr. Caro’s framing of a deeply complex, unsettling and extraordinarily accomplished historical figure. By overlearning, they have lost faith in government and failed to comprehend that some of the Moses spirit must be recaptured today if the United States is going to be a great builder again.

Mr. Moses did have tremendous faults — his dedication to highways at the expense of mass transit and his ultimate unwillingness to take opposition to his megaprojects seriously. His elitism bled into his distaste for trains, buses and any initiatives intended to accommodate them. But he left behind within the five boroughs an egalitarian legacy that has not been matched since. Much of the public housing built under his watch exists to this day and shelters residents who otherwise could never afford to live in a rapidly gentrifying city. In cities like Chicago and St. Louis, similar developments would more likely have already been demolished. Today some of the stock has fallen into disrepair, but this is the fault of limited national investment — the federal government still provides funding for the city housing authority and technically oversees it — and local mismanagement; Mr. Moses himself stood these developments up in a startlingly brief amount of time.

Mr. Caro, to his credit, methodically accounts for the housing boom under Mr. Moses. Between 1945 and 1958, more than 1,000 public housing buildings were constructed, containing 148,000 apartments and housing as many as 550,000 tenants. As documented in a study of Mr. Moses’ legacy edited by the historians Kenneth T. Jackson and Hilary Ballon, Mr. Moses so expertly wielded federal funding that New York City received 114 percent more Title I funding than Chicago, the second-highest-spending city.

Mr. Moses was simultaneously the city parks commissioner and the head of the State Parks Council, and he radically reimagined public parkland across New York. While he is often remembered for dreaming up Jones Beach out of a deserted sandbar and keeping his suburban creation out of the reach of public buses and railways, his achievements within the five boroughs — where the working classes jammed together — were far more democratic. In 1934, the city parks system contained 14,000 acres. By 1960, when Mr. Moses left the city Parks Department, the acreage had swelled to [*more than 34,000*](https://www.nycgovparks.org/about/history/timeline/robert-moses-modern-parks). Once again, “The Power Broker” is a worthwhile resource, cataloging how, in that time, the number of playgrounds exploded to 771 from 119, which today make up a vast bulk of the playgrounds in the five boroughs.

Flushing Meadows Corona Park, the crown jewel of Queens to this day, was a dumping ground for ashes until Mr. Moses conceived of it as something more.

In the first half of the century, many residents of the city were white ethnic — of Italian, Irish, German and Eastern European descent — and it is here where common misreadings of Mr. Caro’s reportage, and misfires by the author himself, contribute to a warped perception of Mr. Moses’ approach to race relations.

There’s little evidence in Mr. Moses’ urban planning practices that he singled out the city’s relatively small Black and Puerto Rican populations for particular punishment. He did raze Manhattan’s San Juan Hill [*neighborhood*](https://www.nycgovparks.org/about/history/timeline/robert-moses-modern-parks), home to many such residents, to make space for Lincoln Center, but he rarely spared the city’s white ***working class*** for his other projects.

In 2021, Representative Ritchie Torres, a Bronx Democrat, [*declared that*](https://www.nycgovparks.org/about/history/timeline/robert-moses-modern-parks) one of Mr. Moses’ most notorious projects, the Cross-Bronx Expressway, is “literally and metaphorically a structure of racism” for leaving in its wake “decades of greenhouse gas emission and environmental degradation.”

But “The Power Broker” makes clear that the reality of the expressway’s construction was quite different. The residents of the East Tremont neighborhood who lost their homes to the expressway were, like Mr. Moses, white. So were the residents displaced by almost all the titanic highway and bridge projects of the Moses era. The Verrazzano-Narrows Bridge, which ripped apart my native Bay Ridge, demolished the houses of ***working-class*** Irish, Italian and Norwegian Americans. When the Brooklyn-Queens Expressway, as Mr. Caro wrote, ran roughshod through the Brooklyn neighborhood of Sunset Park, it was not yet a Latino and Chinese enclave, as it is today.

All of this might seem like ancient history. But it does matter in the sense that a hardened argument with scant direct evidence to back it up came to define how all hierarchical urban planning was viewed after the 1970s. When “The Power Broker” appeared, deindustrialization and white flight were bleeding the local tax base, and the city itself was on the brink of fiscal insolvency. Mr. Moses’ policies contributed to the middle class drift out of the five boroughs, but suburbanization and car culture would have taken root even if he had never been born. The federal government erected the Interstate System of highways and ignored mass transit. As the writer Nicole Gelinas points out in an [*upcoming exploration*](https://www.nycgovparks.org/about/history/timeline/robert-moses-modern-parks) of the history of New York’s streetscape, Mr. Moses’ highways followed earlier proposals sketched out by the Regional Plan Association.

“The Power Broker” rarely meditates on the myriad freeway and slum clearance projects undertaken in other American cities, and since Mr. Caro’s reportage appeared in 1974, it cannot account for New York’s more recent renaissance — and how it is the rare American metropolis to boast [*more residents now*](https://www.nycgovparks.org/about/history/timeline/robert-moses-modern-parks) than it did at midcentury.

Many of Mr. Moses’ projects were unnecessarily disruptive, and he was far too callous about those living in the way of his bulldozer. It is also true that Mr. Moses should have included rail links on major bridge and expressway projects, and certain ego-driven ventures, such as the aforementioned Verrazzano, would have been better off as tunnels. Still, as megalomaniacal as Mr. Moses could be, he proved the public sector could be a tangible force for civic improvement in America, delivering monumental public works that could stand for the rest of the century and beyond.

Politicians today need that sort of ambition. Centralization is not inherently grotesque, and community control is sometimes an excuse to reject anything that qualifies as change. The post-Moses era in New York and beyond has been one of frustration and stagnation — public infrastructure deteriorates as the local governments overseeing it dither. Sclerotic bureaucracies like the Metropolitan Transportation Authority, created in part to thwart Mr. Moses, make power diffuse, shield politicians from accountability and bloat budgets.

At the minimum, the Faircloth Amendment [*should be repealed*](https://www.nycgovparks.org/about/history/timeline/robert-moses-modern-parks) so the federal government, in partnership with the states, can start building public housing again to help solve the affordability crisis. Moses-style efforts should be applied, too, to the construction of high-speed rail, wind farms, new transmission lines and the infrastructure needed to prepare the nation for climate change.

Too much has been foisted upon private entities who must seek profit as they provide for the public. The United States of the 21st century is in desperate need of new power brokers.

Ross Barkan, a novelist, is a contributing writer for The New York Times Magazine, as well as a contributor to New York magazine and The Nation.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nycgovparks.org/about/history/timeline/robert-moses-modern-parks) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.nycgovparks.org/about/history/timeline/robert-moses-modern-parks). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nycgovparks.org/about/history/timeline/robert-moses-modern-parks).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY The New York Times (Photo by Weegee(Arthur Fellig)/International Center of Photography, via Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 1, 2024

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[***One Person Trump Needs in His Administration***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DGB-8KR1-DXY4-X0VJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 22, 2024 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 20; GUEST ESSAY

**Length:** 1118 words

**Byline:** By Matthew Schmitz

**Body**

As Donald Trump assembles his economic team, a tension seems to have emerged between his desire to reassure Wall Street and his promise to push back against globalization by enacting sweeping tariff policies.

Despite calling himself ''a tariff man,'' Mr. Trump has influential backers who would apparently like to see him forget his trade priorities. Elon Musk recently cheered tariff-cutting moves by President Javier Milei of Argentina. Some leading candidates for top economic posts in the new administration, such as the hedge fund manager Scott Bessent, as well as Mr. Trump's pick for secretary of commerce, the Wall Street executive Howard Lutnick, have been criticized as too committed to World Trade Organization protocols or insufficiently supportive of Mr. Trump's tariff plans. Mr. Trump himself is reportedly concerned that his nominee for Treasury secretary not disrupt the stock market's strong performance since his election victory.

But to deliver on his longstanding economic vision of prioritizing American workers and industry, Mr. Trump will need people in his administration who share his understanding of trade and can advance it effectively. This means people who regard tariffs not just as a negotiating tactic or foreign-policy tool but also as a broad means of raising revenue and promoting industry. It also means people with a track record of working within institutions while building consensus across partisan and ideological divides.

For these reasons, Mr. Trump should assign an important role on his economic team to Robert Lighthizer, the veteran trade negotiator who has championed Mr. Trump's plans to revive American industry and transform the global economy. (Mr. Trump has reportedly told allies he wants Mr. Lighthizer to serve as a ''trade czar.'')

Mr. Lighthizer served as the U.S. trade representative in the first Trump administration, which defied decades of free-trade orthodoxy by enacting new tariffs on goods from China. That move pales in comparison to the far-reaching agenda Mr. Trump has proposed for his second term, which includes a 60 percent tariff on Chinese goods and a blanket tariff of up to 20 percent on goods from other countries.

If enacted, these levies would constitute a drastic change in U.S. trade policy. Rather than being narrowly deployed to protect strategic industries, the tariffs would be applied universally in order to raise revenue and promote domestic manufacturing. They would also be used to force an economic decoupling from China. This change would mean the decisive abandonment of the dream of a globally integrated economy.

It would also mean a break with the neoliberal assumption that economic policy is a matter best left to the experts, and thus insulated from democratic decision-making. Economists have warned that the Trump tariffs would significantly raise prices, depress gross domestic product and harm employment. But in a poll in September, 56 percent of registered voters said they would be more likely to support a candidate who backed a 60 percent tariff on imports from China and a 10 percent tariff on other goods. A defining question of the second Trump term will be whether the experts or the voters have the final say.

Policymakers and businesspeople are already bracing for a shift. Last month, the Wall Street firm Piper Sandler, citing conversations with Mr. Lighthizer, warned that new tariffs could be put in place shortly after Mr. Trump takes office. This past spring, Mr. Lighthizer appeared at a meeting of the Bilderberg group, a free-market organization. His pro-tariff remarks were ''terrifying to everybody who was there,'' according to an attendee quoted by Politico.

In an interview this year, Mr. Lighthizer dismissed pro-free-trade experts whose models have ''never predicted anything accurately.'' He has reason to be skeptical. In 1997, he warned that once China was admitted to the World Trade Organization, ''virtually no manufacturing job in this country will be safe.'' A much sunnier view was offered by nearly 150 economists -- including 13 Nobel laureates -- who in 2000 signed a letter arguing that China's accession to the World Trade Organization would promote freedom in China and ''raise living standards in both China and its trading partners.''

In retrospect, Mr. Lighthizer seems more prescient. China's growing industrial might has not meant an increase in liberty for the Chinese. As for China's trading partners, in a 2016 study, the economists David Autor, David Dorn and Gordon Hanson found that some 985,000 American manufacturing jobs had been lost as a result of the ''China shock'' between 1999 and 2011.

For Mr. Lighthizer, trade policy should aim not just at bringing down prices or advancing foreign-policy objectives, but also at promoting good jobs, strong families and healthy communities here in America -- part of an approach that he calls ''common good economics.'' This stance is different from those of both the free-trade right and the progressive left: Along with his support for tariffs and industrial policy, Mr. Lighthizer insists on the need for lower taxes and the elimination of unnecessary regulation.

Though very much a Republican, Mr. Lighthizer has succeeded in building relationships with Democrats. In 2019, he took his staff at the trade office for a two-hour meeting with the Democratic lawmaker John Lewis -- not to discuss trade, but to hear about Mr. Lewis's work for civil rights. Mr. Lewis, who had voted against the North American Free Trade Agreement years before, ended up supporting the Trump administration's reworked version of the agreement. Mr. Lighthizer has also enjoyed strong relationships with former labor leaders such as Richard Trumka of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. and James Hoffa of the Teamsters.

Mr. Trump's appeal to workers is based not just on his policies, but also on his ability to channel a ***working-class*** sensibility that is suspicious of invocations of expert authority, seeing them as a way for a narrow class to advance its interests at the expense of others. Mr. Lighthizer shares this mistrust, and he has a record of channeling it effectively. His career is a reminder that competence is sometimes more valuable than expertise, and that experience can be a better guide than any scientific model.

Matthew Schmitz (@matthewschmitz) is a founder and an editor of the magazine Compact.

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**Graphic**

PHOTO (POOL PHOTO BY ANNA MONEYMAKER) This article appeared in print on page A20.

**Load-Date:** November 22, 2024

**End of Document**



[***The Tallest Building in Queens Rises in Long Island City***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DGB-MY61-JBG3-6335-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 22, 2024 Friday 13:42 EST

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**Section:** REALESTATE

**Length:** 992 words

**Byline:** Anna KodéAnna Kod&amp;#233; writes about design and culture for the Real Estate section of The Times.

**Highlight:** The Orchard, a rental tower with a dizzying array of luxury amenities, caps a decade of rapid development in the neighborhood.

**Body**

The Orchard is set to be the tallest building in Queens, after topping out at 823 feet this summer. The amenity-rich rental tower in Long Island City is expected to open in early 2026, with 824 units, a third of which will be designated as affordable housing.

“The tallest, biggest, newest, best” — that’s how Lloyd Goldman, the president of BLDG Management, the developer behind [*the Orchard*](https://theorchardlic.com/), described it over a recent video call. Mr. Goldman rattled off an almost comically long list of amenities, including a fitness center, a basketball court, swimming pools, theater rooms, fire pits, a dog park, a golf simulator, steam rooms, a podcast room, an arcade room and, of course, an orchard. “I’m sure I’m leaving something out,” he added.

A representative for BLDG Management said that the developer could not “comment on pricing specifics at the moment.”

The building is part of a new phase for the borough. Long Island City, in particular, has seen a large wave of new development in recent years, with the rise of several high-end residential buildings, restaurants and shops. It is home to the borough’s only Michelin-starred restaurant, Meju, which opened last year, and will soon get an outpost of Butterfield Market, the upscale Upper East Side grocery. Since 2019, over 9,000 new rental units have been added to the neighborhood, according to the Corcoran Group.

The neighborhood’s waterfront, proximity to Manhattan and accessibility via multiple train lines have all made it prime territory for developers. “It is clearly a place that has good views of Manhattan, but it has always been kind of semi-industrial and a bit forlorn,” said Daniel Safarik, the research director at the nonprofit Council on Tall Buildings and Urban Habitat.

That’s why Mr. Goldman — whose family has owned the property since the 1960s, when it was a site for industrial buildings — didn’t want to redevelop it until recently. “I wasn’t going to be a pioneer,” he said. Now, however, “the area around it is, I wouldn’t say fully mature, but there’s a good streetscape. There’s grocery stores, there’s drugstores, there’s a lot of restaurants.” Construction on the Orchard began in 2022.

Though height can be an impressive bragging right for a developer, what matters more to the typical residential customer is the views that come with it, Mr. Safarik said. “The reason to go as tall as they possibly can is probably to get privileged views that are unlikely to be eclipsed at the top rental floors,” he said. “So in some ways, they’re using height to market it, but I don’t think it’s so much to say, ‘I live in the tallest building in Queens,’ but it’s like, ‘I have commanding views of everywhere from [*Hell Gate*](https://theorchardlic.com/) to the Statue of Liberty.’”

What does the Orchard mean for the character of Queens, a sprawling and diverse borough known for its ***working-class*** and immigrant neighborhoods?

In Queens, as in many other parts of the city, housing costs have been rising. According to Realtor.com, the median rental asking price in Queens was around $3,350 in September, nearly $280 more than the same time last year.

And the rental market is especially tight. The city’s Housing and Vacancy Survey for 2023 showed that the [*rental vacancy rate had dropped*](https://theorchardlic.com/) to 1.4 percent, the lowest it’s been in over 50 years. Even among the city’s most expensive units, the vacancy rate was low, at 3.4 percent for apartments that cost $2,400 or more.

While introducing more housing stock can help alleviate pressure in the market, some affordable housing advocates are wary of high-end development.

“Luxury housing doesn’t do much to help the city’s housing crisis because there’s such a wide gulf between the high rents for those apartments and what would be affordable for most New Yorkers, especially those struggling in the current housing market,” said Emily Goldstein, the director of organizing and advocacy at the nonprofit Association for Neighborhood and Housing Development.

Gabrielle Bendiner-Viani, co-founder of the urban strategy studio Buscada and the author of “The Cities We Need,” said she was concerned about the “knock-on effect” of luxury skyscrapers: “These kinds of developments can raise both residential and small commercial rents around a neighborhood, which obviously leads to displacement.” And while the private amenities may be appealing for tenants, they don’t benefit the rest of the neighborhood, Ms. Bendiner-Viani added. “It’s not contributing outward to the neighborhood, it’s very inward-looking — this idea that you can come into a neighborhood but not really engage with it or add to it.”

Many community groups in the borough have resisted large-scale, corporate development in recent years. In 2019, Amazon [*canceled*](https://theorchardlic.com/) plans to build a new campus in Queens after facing backlash from residents and activists. Grassroots organizations, such as Stop Sunnyside Yards and Queens Neighborhoods United, have formed to fight displacement.

“It’s a classic New York hypocrisy in that it’s like, ‘It’s the most diverse borough, it’s what we love about New York,’” Ms. Bendiner-Viani said. “Officials can claim that and celebrate that at the same time as encouraging this kind of development, which is only serving a very small fraction of the population.”

Whether it’s welcomed or not, the new development has already profoundly shaped the neighborhood. In the past, certain residents were moving “to Long Island City and thinking they’d have to go back to Manhattan for the social aspects of their life,” said Jodi Stasse, executive vice president of Corcoran New Development. But now, “there’s enough bars and new restaurants and specialty stores that have opened.”

The Orchard occupies a full block on Jackson Avenue, which Ms. Stasse jokingly called “the Park Avenue of Long Island City.”

PHOTO: The Orchard development, set to open in 2026, occupies a full block on Jackson Avenue in Long Island City. (PHOTOGRAPH BY James Estrin/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 22, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Labor Secretary Pick Is Rep. Lori Chavez-DeRemer of Oregon***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DGH-BH91-JBG3-63CB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 22, 2024 Friday 07:19 EST

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**Section:** BUSINESS; economy

**Length:** 1018 words

**Byline:** Michael M. Grynbaum and Danielle KayeMichael M. Grynbaum writes about the intersection of media, politics and culture. He has been a media correspondent at The Times since 2016.

**Highlight:** A moderate from a swing district, she received endorsements from several unions but narrowly lost her bid for a second House term.

**Body**

A moderate from a swing district, she received endorsements from several unions but narrowly lost her bid for a second House term.

Lori Chavez-DeRemer, a first-term Republican representative from Oregon who [*narrowly lost*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/14/us/elections/oregon-house-chavez-deremer-bynum.html) her House seat this month, was chosen on Friday to serve as labor secretary in the coming Trump administration.

“Lori has worked tirelessly with both business and labor to build America’s work force, and support the hardworking men and women of America,” President-elect Donald J. Trump said in a statement.

A moderate from a swing district that includes parts of Portland, Ms. Chavez-DeRemer, 56, is not a major figure in American labor politics. But she was one of only a few House Republicans to support major pro-union legislation, and she split her district’s union endorsements with her Democratic opponent, Janelle Bynum, earning nods from ironworkers, firefighters and local Teamsters.

When the House speaker, Mike Johnson, [*spoke at a*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/14/us/elections/oregon-house-chavez-deremer-bynum.html) Chavez-DeRemer rally in October, he said, “She’s got more labor union endorsements than any Republican I’ve ever seen in my life.”

Labor leaders criticized Mr. Trump’s policies during his first term as president, and at one point in the race this year, he praised Elon Musk for a willingness to fire workers who go on strike. But Mr. Trump also proposed ending taxes on tips and overtime, and many rank-and-file union members embraced his pro-tariffs economic agenda.

After Ms. Chavez-DeRemer’s defeat this month, the president of the Teamsters, Sean O’Brien, urged Mr. Trump to consider her for the labor secretary role, [*Politico reported*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/14/us/elections/oregon-house-chavez-deremer-bynum.html). On Friday, Mr. O’Brien praised her selection, posting a photograph on X of himself standing with Mr. Trump and Ms. Chavez-DeRemer.

“North America’s strongest union is ready to work with you every step of the way to expand good union jobs,” he wrote.

Mr. O’Brien courted Mr. Trump throughout the presidential race — to the consternation of some of his membership — even speaking at the Republican National Convention; ultimately, the Teamsters [*did not endorse*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/14/us/elections/oregon-house-chavez-deremer-bynum.html) a candidate.

Ms. Chavez-DeRemer, who has said her father belonged to the Teamsters, faced [*one of the toughest re-election battles*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/14/us/elections/oregon-house-chavez-deremer-bynum.html) of any House member this year.

She endorsed Mr. Trump, but she rarely praised him on the campaign trail in her district, where many voters are unaffiliated. Instead, she focused on a law-and-order message and her legislative work on the fentanyl crisis.

In the run-up to Election Day, Ms. Chavez-DeRemer toured a training facility for a local plumbers and steamfitters union, where apprentices practiced their welding skills. The group later endorsed her.

Ms. Chavez-DeRemer began her political rise in Happy Valley, Ore., a Portland suburb where she served as mayor for eight years. On social media on Friday, she thanked Mr. Trump for putting her on the threshold of a cabinet position.

“***Working-class*** Americans finally have a lifeline with you in the White House,” she wrote.

During the Biden administration, the Labor Department — led first by Martin J. Walsh, then by Julie Su — ramped up its enforcement of minimum-wage, overtime and worker-safety rules. Much of that could be reversed after Mr. Trump takes office. In his first four years in the White House, the Labor Department rolled back various worker protections and benefits, from paid leave to worker classifications.

Among the Labor Department’s most far-reaching policies under President Biden was an expansion of overtime eligibility to millions of workers by raising the income cutoff to about $59,000 next year from the $35,500 threshold [*set by the department under Mr. Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/14/us/elections/oregon-house-chavez-deremer-bynum.html). A federal judge in Texas [*struck down*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/14/us/elections/oregon-house-chavez-deremer-bynum.html) the Biden administration’s overtime rule on Nov. 15, and Mr. Trump’s Labor Department could reinforce limitations on how many people would qualify for overtime pay.

Worker classification was another Biden administration priority. Mr. Biden’s Labor Department issued a rule making it more likely that gig workers would be classified as employees rather than independent contractors, entitling them to the federal minimum wage and overtime pay. Mr. Trump’s department could undo that rule, which has faced several lawsuits from businesses seeking to block it. During his first term, Mr. Trump issued a rule that some labor experts argued made it easier for employers to classify workers as independent contractors.

The Labor Department is also responsible for enforcing child labor violations, a mandate that Mr. Biden stepped up. Last year, the department’s wage and hour division [*instructed officials*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/14/us/elections/oregon-house-chavez-deremer-bynum.html) to seek large monetary penalties from violators. But the Trump administration is likely to tamp down enforcement of child labor rules.

Mr. Trump’s department could walk back or delay Biden-era safety rules, including a proposal by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration [*requiring employers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/14/us/elections/oregon-house-chavez-deremer-bynum.html) to protect workers from the health risks of heat. During Mr. Trump’s first term, the Labor Department took aim at safety regulations less directly, too, by instructing the heads of the department’s enforcement agencies to generally [*refrain from issuing news releases*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/14/us/elections/oregon-house-chavez-deremer-bynum.html) about citations or other enforcement actions against companies.

The Trump administration’s crackdown on immigration during his first term had a chilling effect on immigrant workers, discouraging them from coming forward to discuss workplace issues, said Janice Fine, a professor of labor studies at Rutgers University. That, she said, could play out again and affect the Labor Department’s work, beyond the likely reversal of specific Biden-era measures.

“When immigrant workers don’t come forward, they don’t complain about wage theft and health and safety threats and violations,” Dr. Fine said. “It gets in the way of the government’s ability to protect all workers.”

Maya C. Miller contributed reporting.

Maya C. Miller contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Representative Lori Chavez-DeRemer, a moderate, is one of only a few House Republicans to support major pro-union legislation. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL BROCHSTEIN/SOPA IMAGES, VIA REUTERS) This article appeared in print on page A24.

**Load-Date:** November 26, 2024

**End of Document**



[***In Display of Fealty, Tech Industry Curries Favor With Trump***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DN2-17H1-DXY4-X4FM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 14, 2024 Saturday 23:27 EST

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**Section:** TECHNOLOGY

**Length:** 1355 words

**Byline:** Theodore Schleifer and David Yaffe-BellanyTheodore Schleifer is a Times reporter covering campaign finance and the influence of billionaires in American politics.

**Highlight:** It was a week of frenzied activity, as Silicon Valley billionaires and their companies brandished checks and compliments for the President-elect.

**Body**

It was a week of frenzied activity, as Silicon Valley billionaires and their companies brandished checks and compliments for the President-elect.

The $1 million donations came gradually — and then all at once.

[*Meta*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/technology/meta-trump-inaugural-fund-donation.html). [*Amazon*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/technology/meta-trump-inaugural-fund-donation.html). [*OpenAI’s Sam Altman*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/technology/meta-trump-inaugural-fund-donation.html). Each of these Silicon Valley companies or their leaders promised to support President-elect Donald J. Trump’s inaugural committee with seven-figure checks over the past week, often accompanied by a pilgrimage to Mar-a-Lago to bend the knee.

The procession of tech leaders who traveled to hobnob with Mr. Trump face-to-face included Sundar Pichai, Google’s chief executive, and Sergey Brin, a Google founder, who together dined with Mr. Trump on Thursday. [*Tim Cook*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/technology/meta-trump-inaugural-fund-donation.html), Apple’s chief executive, shared a meal with Mr. Trump on Friday. And Jeff Bezos, the founder of Amazon, planned to meet with Mr. Trump in the next few days.

This was the week when many tech companies and their top executives, as reluctant as they may have been, acknowledged the reality of getting business done in Mr. Trump’s Washington. With their donations, visits and comments, they joined a party that has already raged for a month, as a cohort of influential Silicon Valley billionaires, led by Elon Musk, [*began running parts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/technology/meta-trump-inaugural-fund-donation.html) of Mr. Trump’s transition after endorsing him in the campaign.

While businesses frequently try to get on an incoming president’s good side, the frenzy of tech activity stood out from other industries. Until President Obama’s administration, the tech industry had largely stayed aloof from politics. Some wrote just small checks for Mr. Trump’s first inauguration.

Now the bread-breaking with Mr. Trump has become highly public. Meta and Amazon, whose founders had previously been criticized by Mr. Trump, said they would donate $1 million to Mr. Trump’s inaugural fund this week. Sam Altman, the chief executive of OpenAI, the high-profile artificial intelligence start-up, said on Friday that a $1 million donation to Mr. Trump’s inaugural fund would come from him personally.

“President Trump will lead our country into the age of A.I., and I am eager to support his efforts to ensure America stays ahead,” Mr. Altman said in a statement.

Nonprofit contributions to inaugural committees, which host patriotic-themed events around Jan. 20, are low-stakes, timeworn ways for companies to seek favor under the guise of patriotism without being pegged as overly partisan actors.

Other tech leaders have also praised Mr. Trump. Marc Benioff, the chief executive of Salesforce and the owner of Time Magazine, [*posted*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/technology/meta-trump-inaugural-fund-donation.html)on X on Thursday that it was “a time of great promise for our nation,” after Time awarded Mr. Trump its coveted “Person of the Year” designation.

“We look forward to working together to advance American success and prosperity for everyone,” Mr. Benioff wrote, alongside a picture of the Time cover of Mr. Trump.

The turnabout has been especially stark as some tech executives who made donation pledges or met with Mr. Trump this week had appeared to be avowed liberals. That included Mr. Benioff and Mr. Altman, who were among the most politically active Democratic tech donors during Mr. Trump’s first term. [*Mr. Brin publicly protested*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/technology/meta-trump-inaugural-fund-donation.html)an immigration order from Mr. Trump in 2017.

In a statement, Karoline Leavitt, a spokeswoman for Mr. Trump, said, “President Trump has built the broadest political movement in history fueled by ***working-class*** Americans who are being joined by leaders from Silicon Valley to Wall Street. He’s not even in the White House yet and President Trump is already uniting all Americans through success.”

(The New York Times has sued OpenAI, saying the start-up infringed on its copyright in training A.I. systems.)

The latest moves brought the tech industry’s backing of Mr. Trump to an even greater critical mass, as his early tech supporters spoke out about their giddiness for the incoming administration.

[*Marc Andreessen*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/technology/meta-trump-inaugural-fund-donation.html), an influential Silicon Valley venture capitalist who endorsed Mr. Trump during the campaign, said in a podcast interview this week that he had spent about half of his time since Election Day working on the presidential transition. He framed Mr. Trump’s win as a cultural moment for a “techno-optimist” ideology.

“It’s morning in America, so I’m very happy,” Mr. Andreessen said. “People are finally poking their heads out of the frozen tundra of the culture and realizing that it’s actually OK to build things, hire on merit, celebrate success, and fundamentally be proud of the country and be patriotic.”

Mr. Andreessen has joined tech executives such as Mark Pincus, who founded the gaming company Zynga, and David Marcus, a former Meta executive, at Mar-a-Lago to help [*staff the new administration*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/technology/meta-trump-inaugural-fund-donation.html) and to work on reducing regulations in industries like A.I. and cryptocurrencies.

Peter Thiel, a tech investor who was involved in Mr. Trump’s 2016 transition but has been less involved this time, said in an interview that aired this week that his expectations were “properly intermediate” for Mr. Trump’s performance. Even so, Mr. Thiel said, it was an epochal moment.

The “ancien régime that is liberalism is really exhausted,” Mr. Thiel told Piers Morgan in the interview, in a reference to the political and social system in France before the French Revolution.

[*Exactly eight years ago*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/technology/meta-trump-inaugural-fund-donation.html), Mr. Thiel organized the parallel to the latest tech pilgrimages — a selective get-together at Trump Tower of tech titans and Mr. Trump. At the time, attendees expressed a similar optimism, which evaporated when Mr. Trump pushed policies on climate and immigration early in his term that repelled tech leaders.

Some signs of tension between Mr. Trump and the tech industry have already surfaced this time. Mr. Trump has named tech hawks to senior administration roles, as well as tech executives such as [*David Sacks*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/technology/meta-trump-inaugural-fund-donation.html), an investor and podcaster who has been appointed “czar” of crypto and A.I.

Part of Mr. Sacks’s job is to assemble a council to advise Mr. Trump, who has pronounced himself a crypto believer, on crypto and A.I. But Mr. Trump’s circle of advisers and his tech friends have disagreed over whether there should be two separate advisory bodies or just one, people involved in the conversations said.

Those in the cryptocurrency and A.I. fields have largely pushed for two different councils, one person said, adding that there had also been some dispute over who would choose those who serve on the councils. People who donated to support Mr. Trump are likely to gain preference in receiving positions on the councils, the people said.

Many cryptocurrency and A.I. executives have also visited Mar-a-Lago or talked with Mr. Trump or those close to him. Among them is Daniel Gross, an A.I. executive, who recently visited Mar-a-Lago, according to a social-media post from him.

Michael Saylor, the executive chairman of MicroStrategy, a publicly traded software firm that owns tens of billions of dollars of Bitcoin, said in an interview this week that he would be “happy to volunteer my services” to the crypto advisory council. And Brian Armstrong, the chief executive of Coinbase, the largest U.S. crypto exchange, spoke privately with Mr. Trump last month, two people with knowledge of the matter said. (Coinbase said in a statement that it planned to work with Republicans and Democrats.)

Brad Garlinghouse, the chief executive of the crypto company Ripple, said he also visited Mar-a-Lago recently to talk about crypto. Not to be outdone, Ripple plans to donate $5 million in XRP, its own digital currency, to Mr. Trump’s inaugural fund, he said.

Cecilia Kang and Nico Grant contributed reporting.

Cecilia Kang and Nico Grant contributed reporting.

PHOTOS: Sam Altman, top left, chief executive of OpenAI, personally donated $1 million to the presidential inaugural fund. Marc Andreessen, top right with his wife, supported Donald Trump. Tim Cook, Apple C.E.O., lower left, dined with Mr. Trump on Friday, while Sundar Pichai, Google’s chief, did so on Thursday. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JEENAH MOON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; TAYFUN COSKUN/ANADOLU, VIA GETTY IMAGES; JEFF CHIU/ASSOCIATED PRESS) (B4) This article appeared in print on page B1, B4.

**Load-Date:** December 15, 2024

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[***Donald Trump and the Meaning of a Raised Fist; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CXS-KX61-DXY4-X2TY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 10, 2024 Tuesday 20:32 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1107 words

**Byline:** Liz Magic Laser

**Highlight:** A history of the appropriation of a political gesture.

**Body**

This is an installment of Visual Studies, a series that explores how images move through and shape culture.

On July 13, in a “fight or flight” moment, Donald Trump demonstrated himself to be an Olympian performer, making a potent impression by thrusting his fist into the air immediately after an attempt on his life. An iconic image was instantly born.

Watching Mr. Trump co-opt this posture of protest, I couldn’t help thinking about the broader history of political gestures. While doing research for a video installation about political rhetoric, I discovered that there were hardly any dramatic hand movements in televised presidential speeches until George H.W. Bush was inaugurated in 1989. How did our politicians find their way from minimal movement, to polished oratorical gestures, to posing as activists?

Mr. Trump’s raised fist is the latest chapter in the story of a political gesture. Clenching the fist, a signal performed to initiate the “people’s fight,” asserts that one has been victimized by the powers that be.

In America, the gesture is almost synonymous with the Black Panthers, whose raised fists stood against racial injustice and white supremacy. Often accompanied by the cry, “Power to the people,” it was a call to arms by the oppressed, an expression of rebellion and defiance.

The Black American athletes Tommie Smith and John Carlos brought the fist to renewed global attention when they raised their gloved hands during a medal ceremony at the 1968 Olympic Games in Mexico City.

The same emblematic fist is deployed by the Black Lives Matter movement.

But the raised fist of resistance and rebellion has a long history. One of the earliest examples is found in Honoré Daumier’s mid-19th-century painting “The Uprising,” which depicts the passion of French revolutionaries.

We can trace its rise through the proto-Soviet insurgents pictured in Sergei Eisenstein’s “Battleship Potemkin” …

… to Communists and anti-fascists across Europe during the 1920s and ’30s, whose raised fists were a sharp contrast to the open-palmed salutes used by Nazis and other fascists.

Labor unions, like the Industrial Workers of the World, rallied in solidarity around the fist …

… and both women’s movements and Pride activists have also deployed the fist in protest.

July 13 was far from the first time Mr. Trump performed the raised fist; he used it frequently during his first presidential campaign. The appropriation is of a piece with his brand of right-wing populism — with it, he professes kinship with the ***working class*** despite being born to, and living in, tremendous wealth.

In this, Mr. Trump followed the 1970s New Right Movement, a group led by Washington insiders who portrayed themselves as outside agitators in order to appeal to ***working-class*** white Americans. Mr. Trump’s Inauguration Day fist was a claim that he was an underdog who had triumphed over the system. But the president is nothing if not the embodiment of the power of the system.

On Jan. 6, 2021, when Senator Josh Hawley, Republican of Missouri, raised a fist in solidarity with Trump supporters outside the Capitol, it was clear that the raised fist had been severed from its roots. It has become a floating signifier — fair game for use on both the left and right in America. But when did oratorical gestures enter the visual vocabulary of contemporary politicians in the first place?

For 14 years, my multimedia performance and video art has focused on how performing arts techniques are used by politicians and business executives to maximize the efficiency of their words and gestures.

In 2012, while developing “The Digital Face,” a performance and video installation that juxtaposed gestures from George H.W. Bush’s State of the Union address in 1990 with Barack Obama’s in 2012, I scoured recordings of presidents delivering official addresses and speeches. I made a surprising discovery: Before 1990, gestures were very often absent from major official state speeches.

Instead, I found, it was common for politicians to use their hands expressively in debates but not in broadcast speeches. Like early newscasters, politicians were once more dependent on paper scripts and probably did not want to call attention to the fact that they were reading their lines.

Even Ronald Reagan, the country’s first Hollywood president, rarely moved his hands during speeches. Static hands and close-up camera framing were the conventions of the formal speeches by Mr. Reagan and his predecessors, even after they began using teleprompters in the middle of the 20th century.

It took decades for politicians to make full use of teleprompters to facilitate more naturalistic performances. Mr. Bush, in his 1990 State of the Union speech, was the first president I found to actively gesticulate in a televised address. Many saw him as lackluster and uninspiring after Mr. Reagan, so he used his hands to impress and persuade. His successors would generally avoid the casual pauses he took to sip water or scratch his nose during broadcast speeches, but they adopted his use of gesture.

When I saw President Obama’s 2012 State of the Union address, I was struck by the poised and meticulous composition of his hand movements. By contrast, Mr. Trump seems to revel in being unscripted and unpolished, in keeping with his reality TV training. To accompany his inflammatory and bombastic televised persona, he has cultivated improvisational instincts that make him a formidable performer.

When a blood-spattered Mr. Trump managed to raise his fist in the face of death, I thought (echoing Karl Marx): History repeats itself, first as a tragedy, second as a farce. But it’s no longer easy to tell which fists are tragic and which are farcical. Who gets to wield the symbols of resistance?

It appears that anyone, no matter that person’s power and privilege, can raise a clenched fist and identify as a revolutionary these days. But I believe we must still distinguish between authentic and appropriated performances, between those who work in solidarity with the people and those only who pretend to.

Liz Magic Laser is a visual artist and faculty member of the School of Visual Arts in New York City.

Credits from top: Anna Moneymaker/Getty Images; Stephen Shames/Steve Kasher Gallery; Bettmann/Getty Images; Spencer Platt/Getty Images; ART Collection/Alamy; Mosfilm; Gamma-Keystone/Getty Images; Files Planet News/ Agence France-Presse — Getty Images; Hulton Archive/Getty Images; Bromberger Hoover Photography/Getty Images; Damon Winter/The New York Times; Francis Chung/Politico, via Associated Press; University of Virginia Miller Center

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 24, 2024

**End of Document**



[***The Young Frenchman Striving to Give Voice to a Troubled Area***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CTB-80P1-JBG3-6000-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 25, 2024 Sunday 10:10 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1385 words

**Byline:** Aida Alami Aida Alami is a Moroccan reporter who has been contributing to The Times since 2011. She is based in Rabat, Morocco, and Paris.

**Highlight:** As a teenager, Amine Kessaci confronted Emmanuel Macron, founded an environmental group and lost a brother to drug violence. At 20, he almost won a National Assembly seat.

**Body**

As a teenager, Amine Kessaci confronted Emmanuel Macron, founded an environmental group and lost a brother to drug violence. At 20, he almost won a National Assembly seat.

At 17, Amine Kessaci found himself seated close to the president of France, Emmanuel Macron, who had come to Marseille to kick off his second presidential campaign in 2021.

Well-known for his top-down approach to policymaking, Mr. Macron described his plan to inject large amounts of state money into Marseille, France’s second-most populous city, with the goal of stimulating its economy and ending its rampant violence.

With the leader of France [*squeezed on a seat almost next to him*](https://x.com/franceinfo/status/1433111528962760710), Mr. Kessaci, the son of Algerian immigrants, did not miss his chance for an impromptu audience. In a voice that was simultaneously calm and combative, he urged Mr. Macron to be more inclusive in his decision-making.

“There is no point to come with a plan from Paris drafted on a plane, or I don’t know where. You have to build it with us,” he told Mr. Macron, who did not respond to the substance of Mr. Kessaci’s comment, simply [*asking him his age and then slightly applauding*](https://x.com/franceinfo/status/1433111528962760710).

Less than three years later, Mr. Kessaci (pronounced keh-ssah-see) ran for a National Assembly seat as a candidate of the Green Party, part of the left-wing [*New Popular Front*](https://x.com/franceinfo/status/1433111528962760710) coalition. He narrowly lost — by 835 votes — in the [*snap legislative elections*](https://x.com/franceinfo/status/1433111528962760710) in July to [*Gisèle Lelouis*](https://x.com/franceinfo/status/1433111528962760710), 72, a member of the far-right National Rally party. The election resulted in a deadlock that has yet to be broken to form a government.

Mr. Kessaci’s ambition speaks to a changing France. Elected or not, he is representative of citizens from immigrant backgrounds who are agitating to be heard and included, and who aspire to corridors of power long dominated by elites.

The legislative campaigns defined the competing visions for France’s future. The National Rally, even as it has [*softened some of its most incendiary language*](https://x.com/franceinfo/status/1433111528962760710), has taken a hard line on immigration. It often argues that immigration is linked to crime and threats to French identity, though France does not keep statistics based on ethnicity.

In Mr. Kessaci’s constituency, the [*vote is typically split*](https://x.com/franceinfo/status/1433111528962760710) between villages outside Marseille that tend to support the far right and multicultural urban areas like Mr. Kessaci’s, where disillusionment has suppressed voter turnout.

His campaign message was simple: He understood the daily experiences of lower-income voters, especially younger ones, and he was committed to pushing for change, especially for those living in the ***working-class*** neighborhoods, or “quartiers populaires,” of northern Marseille, where he grew up.

“Life experience is what matters most to be a representative of the nation,” Mr. Kessaci said shortly after the election.

France has some politicians of ethnically diverse backgrounds in its top ranks of leadership. But in 2022, they made up only about 32 members of the 577-seat National Assembly, [*according to the news outlet France24*](https://x.com/franceinfo/status/1433111528962760710), and few have a second-generation immigrant background like Mr. Kessaci’s.

In the years after World War II, immigrants from Africa — including former colonies and protectorates in the north and west — settled in the quartiers populaires in response to France’s growing need for labor. These were usually areas on the outskirts of major cities that lacked many public services, and came to embody social exclusion and economic disparity.

Mr. Kessaci grew up in one of them, in a dilapidated high-rise apartment building in Frais-Vallon, a 15-minute metro ride from Marseille’s center. It remains [*one of the most crime-afflicted neighborhoods*](https://x.com/franceinfo/status/1433111528962760710) in all of France.

Close to the building, where his father still lives, young men in black ski masks can be seen on any given day at checkpoints monitoring who comes and goes, and who might represent a threat to their drug trade.

“We are the ones who live among real insecurity and yet we are the ones who complain the least,” Mr. Kessaci said about concerns over crime that have fueled support for the far right.

Rachid Zerrouki, a teacher in Marseille who works with students who are disengaged academically, said he was happy to see someone with Mr. Kessaci’s background get involved in politics.

“Representation is important,” Mr. Zerrouki said.

The desperate economic and social situations these teenagers face, Mr. Zerrouki added, results in many of them being lured away from an education and into drug trafficking.

“We are struggling to even find internships so that they can imagine a career,” he said about his students.

Mr. Kessaci has a personal connection to these kinds of problems. In December 2020, Brahim Kessaci, an older sibling, [*was killed*](https://x.com/franceinfo/status/1433111528962760710), his burned body found in the trunk of a car. The police could not identify him for days, until the family confirmed that a jewelry chain found with the body was his.

Karim Bentahar, who works for a government program intended to prevent youth delinquency and extremism and ran Mr. Kessaci’s campaign, said this experience was formative for Mr. Kessaci.

“I saw in him a young person who grew up too fast,” he said of their first encounter three years ago. “The brutal death of his brother nourished a positive drive, allowing him to take charge of his own destiny and to represent young people in the same situation as him with dignity.”

Mr. Kessaci’s politics are also informed by environmental and economic concerns shared by other Green Party candidates. He supports a climate tax on companies that pollute and an increase in the minimum wage.

At 16, Mr. Kessaci founded Conscience Ecologique, a nonprofit organization with the goal of bringing ***working-class*** citizens into the national conversation on sustainability issues.

“We can fix our problems ourselves,” he said. “We can clean our neighborhoods. We are capable of doing it. We are young people who read, who have ideas, who do something other than drugs.”

The organization, now called Conscience, is run by his mother, Ouassila Benhamdi. Inside its offices, in what used to be a school, there are containers with donated clothes and food and a kitchen for cooking workshops. Conscience also helps people with the paperwork they must fill out to get housing, and offers camping excursions and yoga retreats for grieving parents and others who recently lost a loved one.

“I am an example for others,” Ms. Benhamdi said of her work. “Tragedy touched me. I didn’t die, and life goes on.”

More than three years after the death of Mr. Kessaci’s brother, Marseille still [*struggles with drug-related violence*](https://x.com/franceinfo/status/1433111528962760710). In 2023, 49 people were [*killed in violence related to the drug trade*](https://x.com/franceinfo/status/1433111528962760710), including killings that the police call [*“settling scores*](https://x.com/franceinfo/status/1433111528962760710)” among gangs. Last month, a teenager [*was shot to death in*](https://x.com/franceinfo/status/1433111528962760710) a neighborhood near Frais Vallon, according to local news media.

Mr. Kessaci supports legalizing cannabis as a way to weaken drug gangs and is in favor of restoring Police de Proximité, a local policing program that was eliminated in 2003. Since then, instead of the police being stationed in the community, they mostly arrive only in raids.

While the program ended before Mr. Kessaci was born, he still hears stories of good community-police relations that now almost seem like a fantasy.

“People used to call the police ‘big brothers,’” he said of that calmer period. “I even remember seeing a photo of a police officer playing soccer with young people. The police have lost their deterrent force.”

Despite his electoral defeat, Mr. Kessaci said he remained optimistic about his political prospects and was focusing on increasing voter registration while he studied law at Aix-Marseille University, in Marseille.

“I am only 20 years old,” he said, “and the next time will be the right one.”

PHOTOS: Amine Kessaci lives in Frais-Vallon, a poor area of Marseille. “We are the ones who live among real insecurity and yet we are the ones who complain the least,” he said.; Above left, election posters. Mr. Kessaci ran as a Green Party candidate, but lost. Karim Bentahar, right, ran Mr. Kessaci’s campaign.; Left, having a coffee in central Marseille. Right, a scene in the “quartiers populaires,” the ***working-class*** neighborhoods that ring the city. “We can fix our problems ourselves,” Mr. Kessaci said. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANDREA MANTOVANI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A4.

**Load-Date:** August 26, 2024

**End of Document**



[***A Writer's Life Had Plenty Of Plot Twists***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D73-16G1-JBG3-62XB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 19, 2024 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 6

**Length:** 1538 words

**Byline:** By Sarah Lyall

**Body**

After years of this-and-that jobs, Janice Hallett began to write a novel: ''What do I have to lose?'' Now a widely celebrated voice in crime fiction, she just launched her fifth book, ''The Examiner.''

Janice Hallett never imagined that, in her 50s, she would become a novelist, let alone a celebrated new voice in crime fiction. But a few years ago, after a lifetime of other jobs -- beauty-industry journalist, government speechwriter-for-hire, frustrated author of unproduced screenplays -- she fired up her laptop and opened a blank document.

''I thought, what do I have to lose?'' she recalled recently.

The result was ''The Appeal,'' a murder mystery set among the members of a provincial drama group, which was published to rapturous reviews and huge sales in Britain in 2021. A fiendishly clever modern-day reimagining of the classic epistolary novel, using emails, text messages, newspaper clippings and interoffice memos in place of letters, ''The Appeal'' invited readers to become detectives themselves, teasing out the mystery within.

Three years on, Hallett has used variations on this approach in equally innovative novels about, among other things, a pair of competing true-crime journalists investigating a possibly supernatural cult (''The Mysterious Case of the Alperton Angels'') and an ex-con describing his hunt for the code concealed in the novels of an Enid Blyton-esque children's author while also, it turns out, describing something else entirely (''The Twyford Code'').

Her most recent book, out this month both in the United States and Britain, is ''The Examiner,'' an even more complicated puzzle box of a story using instant messages, emails and academic essays to plumb the nefarious goings-on in a multimedia art course at a British university.

Reviewers have marveled at the books' ingenuity. ''Hallett's treatment of crimes as intellectual puzzles looks like a logical progression in a market hungry for locked-room thrillers,'' Madeleine Feeny wrote in The Bookseller. ''Yet she has somehow managed to revolutionize the genre.''

In person, Hallett, 55, is low-key, unfussy and wryly funny. She describes herself as an introvert and seems genuinely surprised at the turn in her fortunes.

''If I sat down and thought about how to write a novel, I never would have come up with this format,'' she said in an interview over the summer. But it makes sense for her, she added, since her preference for listening rather than speaking has made her acutely sensitive to what people say and what they leave out.

''There's a lot of deception, and self-deception, in communication,'' she said. ''People try to cover things up and don't admit things even to themselves, and that thrills me.''

Wearing comfortable pants, a sensible black cardigan and a pair of fuzzy pink house slippers, Hallett was chatting over lunch in her house. It's a compact two-story structure identical to hundreds of other houses on a very long street in Northolt, a suburb in West London. Hallett was born nearby and sees no reason to move away or to change much about the way she lives.

''You may have noticed that the furniture is from the '90s, which is the last time we decorated,'' she said, laughing. (She has ordered a new sofa, though.)

She had set out a variety of salads and sandwiches -- along with a spectacular selection of fancy cakes and cookies displayed on a tiered pastry stand -- for lunch. Her partner, Gary, a gas engineer whom she first encountered in a local drama group, the Raglan Players, when both were teenagers, was out.

Hallett's parents met at a local factory that produced the pungent liquid antiseptic TCP. ''They said you had to out with someone else who worked there because no one else could stand the smell,'' she said. Later, her mother worked at the local gas board, and her father became the manager of an appliance-rental shop -- a point of familial pride.

''My mother always made sure you said 'manager,''' Hallett said. ''If I were to give my family a class label, I would say they were in the aspiring ***working class***, always trying to better themselves.''

When Hallett was 12, her beloved brother, Brian, who was as gregarious and outgoing as she was reserved and private, died of Hodgkin's disease. He was 21. There was no option to give in to grief, or to address it with therapy, and Hallett retreated inside herself. But it sparked something.

''It gave me my creativity,'' she said. ''It's what makes me write.''

Hallett's parents weren't remotely bookish, but she was. Though her classmates derided her as a nerdy ''swot,'' she found school a refuge and -- after getting unexpectedly good grades on her pre-college A-level exams -- realized that higher education was an option. ''I had to hastily ring round the universities and say, ''Have you got any spaces?'' Hallett said. She ended up studying English at University College London.

She always wanted to write, she said, even if it meant writing about topics she wasn't naturally interested in, like makeup. She worked at Cosmetic International, a trade magazine, and left it to help start Pure Beauty, a publication for people who sell beauty products. In her late 30s, she quit.

''I thought, 'it's now or never,''' she said. She wrote speeches and policy documents for politicians and government agencies; she got a master's in screenwriting; she wrote, directed and acted in plays for the Raglan Players.

In 2006, after answering an online ad, she was hired to help rewrite a screenplay for a movie about people on an island who have been told that they are the survivors of a pandemic. The movie, ''Retreat,'' starred Cillian Murphy and came out in 2011; the relative ease of the experience filled Hallett with confidence about her future in the film industry.

''Hahaha,'' she said, looking back. Though she wrote numerous screenplays and TV pilots, along with experimental plays that were put on in pubs -- including ''NetherBard,'' a feminist comedy about three actresses caught in some sort of Shakespearean alternative universe -- none of her work made it to the screen. ''Nothing convinced me to give up, not even failure,'' she said. ''I wasn't discouraged. Isn't that weird?''

Finally, she was admitted to a program for would-be screenwriters ''who had fallen through the net,'' as she described it. ''They were into diversity, and I was an older, ***working-class*** woman, so I qualified.''

Her mentor in the course, Cameron Roach, the former head of drama at Sky Studios, said, ''Have you thought about writing a novel?'' she recalled. That's what led to ''The Appeal,'' which -- after its success in Britain -- was published in the United States in 2022; Barnes & Noble made it their mystery pick of the month that November.

''It's not a usual trajectory, no,'' said Lucy Fawcett, an agent at Sheil Land Associates, in Britain, who had been working with Hallett for years as she wrote screenplays. ''I must admit I was initially bemused that a head of drama would suggest to a screenwriter that they write a novel, because in many ways it's a very different discipline and not straightforward at all.''

Fawcett conferred with her colleague Gaia Banks, who became Hallett's book agent. ''Janice started delivering chapters and we couldn't read them quickly enough,'' Fawcett said. (In a satisfying plot twist, several of the books are now in development for television.)

Her literary success means that Hallett has had to adjust to, among other things, being ''required to go places and talk'' to promote her books, she said. ''I had no idea that novelists did that sort of thing.''

She shuddered as she recalled her first appearance, on a panel for debut writers at a literary festival. ''I repeated myself; I trailed off; I forgot the questions,'' she said. ''I'm good on paper, but talking in public is something I've always struggled with. Finding my actual voice has been a lifelong problem.''

Currently, she's at work on a series for children about a pair of siblings investigating a cold murder case using documents they've unearthed from a box in the attic. Her next book for adults will be set in the world of pub quizzes, a familiar milieu since she and Gary are on a local quiz team.

''Talk about bragging -- these are my two quiz trophies,'' she said, pointing to a pair of statuettes on a shelf. ''Gary's specialty is music, and mine is supposed to be books, but I can guarantee if I'm asked a question about a book, it's one I haven't read.''

Her greatest recent triumph, she said, was helping her team to victory by correctly spelling the word ''diarrhoea''-- it takes an ''o'' in Britain -- in a local quiz.

Lunch was nearly over, and Hallett began to pack up some of the uneaten pastries into a little box, kindly insisting that I take it with me -- the first time I've ever left an interview with a care package.

She had to think for a moment when asked how success had changed her. ''I was quite old when it happened, so I was very set in my ways,'' she said. Then she tried again.

She feels happy in her work and her life, she said. More than that: ''The dogged determination I always had, which meant that I wasn't put off by failure, has finally worked,'' she said.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/25/books/janice-hallett-the-appeal.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/25/books/janice-hallett-the-appeal.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Janice Hallett's most recent book, out now in the United States and Britain, is ''The Examiner.'' (PHOTOGRAPH BY CHARLOTTE HADDEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page C6.

**Load-Date:** October 19, 2024

**End of Document**



[***With Guilty Verdicts, Rape Victim’s Ordeal in France Becomes a Message of Hope***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DP5-13N3-RRV6-Y3BN-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 19, 2024 Thursday 09:00 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1437 words

**Byline:** Catherine Porter and Ségolène Le StradicCatherine Porter is an international reporter for The Times, covering France. She is based in Paris.

**Highlight:** Dozens of men who abused Gisèle Pelicot were convicted, including the man who invited them to do so: her husband of 50 years. She wanted the public trial to show rape victims they were not alone.

**Body**

Dozens of men who abused Gisèle Pelicot were convicted, including the man who invited them to do so: her husband of 50 years. She wanted the public trial to show rape victims they were not alone.

In a packed courtroom on Thursday in Avignon, France, the head judge asked each of the dozens of men accused of raping Gisèle Pelicot — while she was near-comatose and at the invitation of her husband of 50 years — to stand briefly. Then he pronounced their convictions swiftly, one after the other: all guilty.

By the time it was over, every one of the 51 accused men had been convicted, most of them for raping Ms. Pelicot in her own bedroom. Her husband, Dominique Pelicot, 72, who had admitted to drugging her over nearly a decade to abuse her, was the only one to get the maximum sentence: 20 years.

The rest were given sentences mostly ranging from six to nine years.

And with that, the trial that had both horrified and captivated France for almost four months ended with a victory for the woman at its center, Ms. Pelicot. She [*became a feminist icon*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/25/world/europe/france-rape-trial-gisele-pelicot.html) for her bravery in allowing the case to be tried publicly, to more fully expose the horrors of rape in a country where [*#MeToo hardly gained traction*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/25/world/europe/france-rape-trial-gisele-pelicot.html).

After it was over, she stepped into a swarm of French and international reporters and hundreds of supporters eagerly awaiting her, who held up signs of appreciation and cheered when she emerged. There were so many of them that they stopped traffic on the road outside the courthouse.

“Justice for Gisèle, justice for all,” one sign read. Another proclaimed: “All the women on Earth support you. Thank you Gisèle.”

As she has throughout the trial, Ms. Pelicot retained her trademark poise, giving a simple statement about her decision to allow the world to witness the painful details of her rapes rather than keep them private as is allowed by French law. Her goal was to force discussions of rape, including those facilitated through the use of drugs.

“I wanted, by opening the doors of this trial on Sept. 2, that society would take up the debates that have been launched,” she said on Thursday. “I never regretted my decision.”

She said she had drawn strength from the backing she had received from people around the world, adding that the support had allowed her to return to the courthouse “over long days of this trial” — even when videos of some of the rapes were shown in court at her insistence.

Though all the men were convicted, many feminist activists who have lined up daily to watch the proceedings in an overflow room were upset by the sentences. That was because in all cases, except for Mr. Pelicot’s, the sentences were lower than the prosecutor had recommended. Six of the convicted men were freed, having already served most or all of their time in jail.

“It means you can rape a woman who was drugged in her own home and walk out free,” said Pascale Plattard, a member of the feminist collective the Amazons of Avignon, who was perched on a fence in front of the courthouse. “I am very angry.”

Lorraine Questiaux, a lawyer whose Paris practice focuses on violence against women, called the sentences “relatively lenient, given the gravity of the acts.”

Many of the lawyers of the accused said they were satisfied with the sentences, though it was unclear if some would appeal.

The trial has rattled the country because of its many sordid elements.

A grandmother and retired manager at a big public company, Ms. Pelicot had built what she and her children thought was a happy life with her husband.

But that gauzy vision was torn apart one day in late 2020, when the police arrested him and told her of [*the abuse she had been suffering*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/25/world/europe/france-rape-trial-gisele-pelicot.html). Only then did she understand why she was losing hair and weight, and suffering repeated memory losses so severe that she thought she had Alzheimer’s or a brain tumor.

Mr. Pelicot quickly admitted to crushing sleeping pills into her food and drink for years to rape her when she was near-comatose. Then, he invited dozens of men he met online to join him, charging them nothing but regularly filming the encounters. (Ms. Pelicot has since divorced him.)

The case drew so much attention in part because of the sheer numbers of men who had participated and because of their varied and ordinary profiles. The French news media called them “Monsieur Tout-le-monde” — “Mr. Every Man” — and experts said they [*destroyed the myth of the “monster rapist,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/25/world/europe/france-rape-trial-gisele-pelicot.html) replacing it with the image of the man next door.

Aged 26 to 74, they appeared to be a cross-section of middle- and ***working-class*** men — tradesmen, firefighters, truck drivers, a journalist, a nurse.

About 15 of the defendants pleaded guilty. The rest admitted that they had had sex with Ms. Pelicot but argued that they had never intended to rape her. Instead, most said that they had been lured by Mr. Pelicot to join the couple for a consensual threesome and had been told that Ms. Pelicot was pretending to sleep or had taken sleeping pills herself. Most painted Mr. Pelicot as a master manipulator; some argued that he had drugged them, as well, a charge he denied.

Many offered stunning explanations to the court, qualifying their acts as “involuntary rape,” “nonconsenting rape,” “accidental rape” or “rape by body but not mind.”

But the videos — which Ms. Pelicot insisted be played in court as evidence and as a wake-up call to the country — showed the men penetrating her nonresponsive body.

Earlier this week, the accused were given a last chance to offer final words in their defense. Few took it.

Many of those who had been free on bail for the trial arrived at the courtroom on Thursday morning carrying small bags with their belongings in preparation for what the day might hold. Shortly after the verdict, they were whisked away by police and taken directly to prison. Their wives, mothers and daughters who had watched the verdict in an overflow room wept.

As in other important moments during the trial, on Thursday Ms. Pelicot was flanked by her and Mr. Pelicot’s three children. The trial, and the horrific crimes it documented, had shattered not just her life and identity, but theirs, as well.

The children had considered their father a loving pillar of the family who had hosted fabulous birthday parties and was there for them, whether it was attending sports events together or making sure his daughter got home from parties safely. The revelation of his crimes and double life destroyed their perceptions of their childhoods.

The couple’s eldest son, David, [*told the court recently*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/25/world/europe/france-rape-trial-gisele-pelicot.html) that he feared his own son, who remains in psychological treatment, had also been abused by Mr. Pelicot — a charge Mr. Pelicot denied. The couple’s second son, Florian, said he had lost his marriage because of the tragedy.

And the couple’s daughter, who goes by the pen name Caroline Darian, is convinced she was also drugged and sexually abused by her father since the police recovered deleted photos of her from his electronics that showed her in underwear she did not recognize, asleep with the lights on.

She was briefly hospitalized in a psychiatric ward soon after the police took her father into custody and checked herself back into a clinic during the trial, she said on Instagram, “to recover all my energy, to be able to sleep again.”

Her memoir about the horrific discovery has been translated into English and will be released soon: “I’ll Never Call Him Dad Again.”

Mr. Pelicot was convicted on Thursday of taking and publishing sexual photos of her, as well as of his two daughters-in-law. He had repeatedly denied abusing his daughter or grandchildren.

As she left the courtroom, Ms. Pelicot thanked her children, their partners and her grandchildren, including one grandson standing nearby, “because they are the future, and it’s also for them that I waged this battle.”

Then, she shared some thoughts for the crowds.

“I think of the victims, unrecognized, whose stories often remain hidden,” she said. “I want you to know that we share the same struggle.”

She added, “I have confidence in our ability to collectively seize a future in which everyone, women and men, can live in harmony, with respect and mutual understanding.”

With that, she was escorted by a knot of police officers through the throngs of reporters and into the giant cheering mass of her supporters.

PHOTOS: Gisèle Pelicot talking to the news media after the verdict. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MANON CRUZ/REUTERS) (A1); Gisèle Pelicot leaving the courthouse in Avignon, France, on Thursday after judges sentenced her former husband and 50 other men. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MIGUEL MEDINA/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES) (A10) This article appeared in print on page A1, A10.

**Load-Date:** December 20, 2024

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[***Democrats Argue That the 2024 Election Actually Had Its Bright Spots; Political Memo***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DMV-VXC1-JBG3-64CK-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 13, 2024 Friday 23:10 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1448 words

**Byline:** Reid J. EpsteinReid J. Epstein covers campaigns and elections from Washington. Before joining The Times in 2019, he worked at The Wall Street Journal, Politico, Newsday and The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel.

**Highlight:** Some leaders have begun to put a sunnier spin on the November outcome by pointing to down-ballot victories — a possible sign that Democrats may not tear down their party after all.

**Body**

Some leaders have begun to put a sunnier spin on the November outcome by pointing to down-ballot victories — a possible sign that Democrats may not tear down their party after all.

For most Democrats, losing to Donald J. Trump was a devastating gut punch that sent them hurtling into the political abyss.

But to hear some party leaders and their allies talk, Democrats had plenty of November victories to be proud of.

Jaime Harrison, the chairman of the Democratic National Committee, wrote a 2,600-word memo to party members last week that pointed to down-ballot triumphs and declared, “Democrats beat back global headwinds that could’ve turned this squeaker into a landslide.”

Representative Hakeem Jeffries of New York, the House Democratic leader, wrote in a statement recently that his caucus had “defied political gravity,” a reference to the newly released [*“Wicked” movie*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/21/movies/wicked-review.html) that was soon echoed by [*Senator Amy Klobuchar, the Minnesota Democrat*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/21/movies/wicked-review.html).

And further down the ballot, the Democratic Legislative Campaign Committee wrote in [*its year-end report*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/21/movies/wicked-review.html) that the party’s successes in statehouse races represented “one of the most shocking election results in modern history” — even though Democrats lost majorities in chambers in Michigan and Minnesota.

These sunny-side-up views of the election serve as something of an antidote to the notion that Democrats, humbled by their 2024 mistakes, are about to begin rebuilding their party from the ground up.

They also fly in the face of signs of a broad depression within the party. Ratings are down on MSNBC, the liberal television network that has served as the house organ for Democratic officials, as the party’s voters so far show little inclination to revive their resistance to Mr. Trump from 2016.

What’s more, the positive sentiment lets Democrats blame President Biden — whom many of them publicly defended even after his disastrous debate in June — for the party’s poor showing. By arguing that the party’s problems stem from an 82-year-old president who is about to retire from politics, Democrats can avoid tackling tough questions about why they have lost ground among voters of color and ***working-class*** Americans while giving donors who invested billions of dollars something to explain why they lost.

Jessica Mackler, the president of Emily’s List, the largest group helping to elect Democratic women, said on [*the left-leaning podcast “The Downballot*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/21/movies/wicked-review.html)” that Vice President Kamala Harris had saved the party from even bigger defeats had Mr. Biden remained its presidential nominee.

“When she entered this race, Democrats were poised to lose and lose big,” Ms. Mackler said. “The energy that she brought, the way that she was able to evaporate that enthusiasm gap, it really mattered.”

As Democrats throw up their hands and point to political headwinds brought on by inflation and Mr. Biden as the cause of their 2024 plight, many are also eliding the fact that they had been optimistic that Ms. Harris would win.

The Harris campaign’s pre-election data showed her winning in Michigan and Wisconsin and within 0.1 percent of Mr. Trump in Pennsylvania, according to an internal post-mortem campaign analysis, reviewed by The New York Times, that was written by Meg Schwenzfeier, the campaign’s chief analytics officer, and Becca Siegel, a senior adviser to the campaign.

The campaign’s modeling underestimated Mr. Trump’s support by an average of 1.7 percentage points across 13 states where it tracked data.

Top officials from the Harris campaign have also suggested that Mr. Biden bequeathed his vice president a perilous political situation. Last month, David Plouffe, a senior adviser, said on the podcast “Pod Save America” that Ms. Harris’s position was “pretty catastrophic in terms of where the race stood.”

In recent weeks, the Harris campaign has circulated a separate, and unsigned, document titled “Tough Q &amp; A [not to share].” It consists of talking points meant to answer questions that campaign officials and surrogates were likely to face after their defeat.

To the questions “How much of this was Biden’s fault? Should he have dropped out earlier/run for re-election at all?” the campaign document suggests a nonresponse.

“It was up to him whether or not to run,” the document states. “He then made the decision to step aside following the June debate. That was the right decision and it put Democrats in the best position to compete — the ground the V.P. was able to make up proves that.”

Andrew Bates, a spokesman for Mr. Biden, said the president’s assessment was that aftereffects of the pandemic that also hurt incumbent parties in other nations’ elections were “the biggest factor” in Ms. Harris’s defeat.

The Harris campaign talking points spend more time on the Trump campaign’s [*advertising attacking Ms. Harris on transgender issues*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/21/movies/wicked-review.html) than on any other topic. Eleven bullet points explain why the campaign did not go on the air with its own ad responding to Mr. Trump.

“Most voters found the ads troubling, particularly the idea that tax dollars are funding these surgeries,” the document states. “They were quick to say, however, that this was not the most important issue to them, impacted a small number of people and felt it was overblown and overly political.”

Then there are the sometimes tone-deaf solicitations for more money from Democratic donors.

A November email from the Harris campaign under the subject line “Good news and bad news” included the bad news — Mr. Trump won the election — and the good news: The recipient of the email had an opportunity to give $50 to “hold Trump accountable these next four years.”

In the 20 days after the election — from Nov. 6 to Nov. 25, the last day of the most recent campaign finance reporting period — the Harris Victory Fund, the campaign’s main fund-raising vehicle, reported just over $6 million in online donations from nearly 180,000 contributions. That was less than the fund raised in any given day in the final stretch before the election.

On Tuesday, the Democratic National Committee asked for a $3 contribution and [*a vote on a design for what it called the “Official 2025 Democratic Member Card*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/21/movies/wicked-review.html).” Three of the four options contain the words “PROUD DEMOCRAT,” while the fourth shows a donkey, the party’s longtime mascot.

Democrats without a direct relationship with the Harris campaign have been more likely to declare that the election results were a disaster.

“No, it wasn’t a good night,” Gov. Phil Murphy of New Jersey said in an interview. “But I was not shocked that he won. How could you be?”

Priorities USA, which was the top allied super PAC for Hillary Clinton’s 2016 presidential campaign but was subsequently passed over by Mr. Biden’s aides, wrote in [*a post-election presentation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/21/movies/wicked-review.html) that the race had been “winnable” for Ms. Harris and that Democratic messaging on Mr. Trump had “missed the mark.”

“Democrats remain so focused on hatred of Trump, that we can’t grasp why some voters are drawn to him,” the group wrote.

At the same time, plenty of Democrats are quick to note that even though Mr. Trump swept the seven battleground states, he won the White House [*by a relatively narrow margin*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/21/movies/wicked-review.html). They insist the party remains on the right track.

In his memo to D.N.C. members, Mr. Harrison boasted that Mr. Trump’s margin of victory in the popular vote ranked “44th out of 51 elections since 1824.”

“This is the narrowest margin for a Republican since 1968, excluding the two times Republicans lost the popular vote and won the Electoral College,” Mr. Harrison wrote.

Ben Wikler, the chairman of the Wisconsin Democratic Party who is running to [*succeed Mr. Harrison as D.N.C. chairman*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/21/movies/wicked-review.html), said [*during an interview on “The Daily Show”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/21/movies/wicked-review.html) that “we actually added votes for Harris relative to Biden.”

Wisconsin was, Mr. Wikler said, the state that “came closest to defeating Trump.”

And in a memo summarizing what Democrats in Washington could learn from their state-level brethren, Andrew Grunwald of [*the States Project*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/21/movies/wicked-review.html), a liberal dark-money group that focuses on state legislative races, wrote that Democrats should not overreact to the 2024 presidential results.

“Even with no changes between now and the 2026 elections,” Mr. Grunwald wrote in the memo, “Democrats are well positioned to make significant gains in Congress and at the state legislative levels.”

Reporting was contributed by Nick Corasaniti, Katie Glueck, Erica L. Green and Shane Goldmacher.

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PHOTO: Jaime Harrison, the chairman of the Democratic National Committee, pointed to wins in down-ballot races. (PHOTOGRAPH BY LOREN ELLIOTT/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page A23.

**Load-Date:** December 14, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Trump Spreads His Politics of Grievance to Nonwhite Voters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D55-RJG1-DXY4-X1FK-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 1386 words

**Highlight:** Eight years ago, he won over many white voters, who were often called the forgotten Americans. Now, he hopes to make inroads with Black and Latino voters by stoking resentments and pointing to scapegoats.

**Body**

Eight years ago, he won over many white voters, who were often called the forgotten Americans. Now, he hopes to make inroads with Black and Latino voters by stoking resentments and pointing to scapegoats.

For more than a decade, former President Donald J. Trump fueled his political rise with dark appeals to white Christian voters, warning of immigrants coming for their jobs and nefarious efforts to undermine what he describes as the country’s true heritage.

Now, facing a neck-and-neck race against the first Black woman to win her party’s nomination, Mr. Trump is branching out.

He has [*repeatedly accused migrants of poaching*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/28/us/politics/black-job-trump-immigration.html) “Black jobs” and “Hispanic jobs,” which is inaccurate, according to labor statistics. He told Latino voters in Las Vegas that illegal immigrants were “totally destroying our Hispanic population.” He promised women in Pennsylvania he would “be their protector” and that they would no longer be “abandoned, lonely or scared” — a vow based on the hyperbolic premise that criminals who also happen to be immigrants are lurking around every corner.

For all the frequent laments about how left-leaning politicians divide the country through “identity politics,” it appears to be Mr. Trump in this race who is making the most explicit identity-based arguments for voters to support his policies.

“He’s way more explicit than most prior candidates with these explicit appeals to Black voters and Latino voters that pit their various identity groups against each other,” said Michael Tesler, a professor of political science at the University of California, Irvine, who cowrote a book about how Mr. Trump wields white identity politics. “There’s a unified grievance in terms of ‘I’m not getting my fair share.’”

Many of Mr. Trump’s blunt and dire entreaties have been greeted with condemnation, even mockery, for their clumsy invocation of race, gender and religion. Yet, in this final, frenetic stretch of the contest, they also represent a striking effort to expand the tent of economic, racial and cultural grievances that propelled him to the White House eight years ago.

Mr. Trump is seeking to win over Black and Latino voters by pitting them against undocumented immigrants, whom he has long blamed for a litany of economic, public safety, national security and social problems. He’s blaming an influx of undocumented immigrants — he says they were allowed into the country by the Biden administration — for voters’ economic frustrations.

Appeals to subsets of the American electorate have been part of presidential races for decades, often entwined with shifting racial and gender politics. In 1960, John F. Kennedy campaigned in Harlem, promising to advance civil rights. Nearly a half-century later, George W. Bush sprinkled some Texas-twanged Spanish in campaign speeches [*from Iowa to California.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/28/us/politics/black-job-trump-immigration.html)

But Mr. Trump’s foray into such targeted campaigning has gone far beyond the traditional political stops at Black churches and taco stands.

In 2016, Mr. Trump focused on hard-working “forgotten” Americans, a phrase historically used to refer to white ***working-class*** voters. Four years later, he embraced white nationalist touchstones, defending Confederate monuments and warning of violent Black Lives Matter protesters invading white suburbs.

But in a race expected to be decided by the slimmest of margins, his campaign aides believe shaving off even a percentage point or two of Ms. Harris’s advantage with groups that tend to overwhelmingly favor Democrats could be decisive.

“This is a game of inches,” said James Blair, the Trump campaign’s political director. “It’s about marginal gain with different populations in different states.”

The result is a message that can, at times, feel discordant.

When speaking to Black voters, Mr. Trump will highlight his signature criminal justice reform law, the First Step Act. At other events, he’ll call for a return to the stop-and-frisk policing strategy that has been found to disproportionately target Black and Latino men. At an event at a Black church in Detroit, intended to signal his outreach, a sizable share of the crowd was white.

He has also brought Black and Hispanic musicians onstage at rallies, part of an effort to court new surrogates, an effort that is at times awkward. In Las Vegas last month, Mr. Trump, clearly reading from scripted remarks, gave a shout-out to Nicky Jam, a male reggaeton star in attendance. “Do you know Nicky?” He asked the crowd. “She’s hot. Where is Nicky?” When Nicky Jam came to take the stage, Mr. Trump looked a bit befuddled.

In Johnstown, Pa., the Puerto Rican rapper Anuel AA endorsed Mr. Trump in front of a sizable white audience, an incongruity that Mr. Trump acknowledged. “I don’t know if these people know who the hell you are, but it’s good for the Puerto Rican vote,” he said. “Every Puerto Rican is going to vote for Trump right now. We’ll take it.”

In his efforts to win Jewish voters from Democrats, he has insisted that Israel will cease to exist if he is not elected. And even as he tries to win Jews, a group of about 700,000 voters across the battleground states, he has said they [*“would have a lot to do”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/28/us/politics/black-job-trump-immigration.html) with a loss, pre-emptively blaming them.

Those who have watched Mr. Trump for decades say such overtures are rooted in an effort to pit various groups against one another.

“Donald always appeals to your dark side,” said Alan Marcus, a consultant who worked for the Trump Organization in the 1990s and opposes the former president. “He deals in hate. If he can make you hate something, he gains.”

Trump campaign aides say they’ve been targeting Black and Latino voters across battleground states, hosting community events from offering free haircuts at a campaign office in Pennsylvania to small business round-tables in Georgia and Nevada.

Vianca Rodriguez, director of Hispanic communications for the Trump campaign, described their effort as sharing “President Trump’s vision for improving the quality of life for Hispanic Americans, many of whom are struggling under” the Biden-Harris administration.

The Harris campaign says it has conducted far more extensive and prolonged outreach in those communities through a field operation that began nearly a year ago. On Wednesday, it began “Hombres con Harris,” an initiative targeted at Latino men in battleground states.

They dismiss Mr. Trump’s overtures as divisive, even hateful.

“I think people are exhausted, and they’re exhausted with the lies, they’re exhausted with the selfishness, they’re exhausted with the attempt to divide us as Americans, and they’re ready to turn the page and chart a new way forward,” Ms. Harris said in an interview with “The View” on Tuesday.

At other moments, they’ve worked to transform Mr. Trump’s own words into potent attacks against him.

“Who’s going to tell him that the job he’s currently seeking might just be one of those ‘Black jobs’?” said Michelle Obama, the former first lady, to thunderous applause at the Democratic National Convention in August.

There are early indications that Mr. Trump may be finding some success. Polling shows that he has expanded his support among Latino and Black voters from 2020, a shift that threatens to undermine the multiracial coalition that has long been the foundation of Democratic victories.

The precise level of his support is hard to measure. Mr. Trump is explicitly targeting what campaign strategists call “low propensity” voters, particularly a group of Black and Latino men who are less likely to regularly show up and vote.

But it is the small movements of those difficult-to-track voters, say strategists, that could decide the race.

“The most important voters are the ones we know the least about,” said Carlos Odio, a founder of Equis, a Democratic-leaning research group that focuses on Latino voters. “The remaining question that we have at this point is: Can Trump pull out some these Trumpian Latino irregular votes as he has with white ***working-class*** men?”

PHOTOS: Former President Donald J. Trump is aiming to expand the tent of grievances that propelled him to the White House eight years ago. During his June visit to a Black church in Detroit, at left, a sizable share of the crowd was white. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY JAMIE KELTER DAVIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; BRITTANY GREESON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A11) This article appeared in print on page A1, A11.

**Load-Date:** October 11, 2024

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[***Four of Mayor's Ballot Measures Prevail in City Elections***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCT-HCX1-JBG3-62CW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 10, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section MB; Column 0; Metropolitan Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 904 words

**Byline:** By Jeffery C. Mays

**Body**

Opponents tried to use Mayor Eric Adams's federal indictment to argue against the measures, and cast them as a bid to lessen the City Council's power.

For months, opponents of five New York City ballot measures had undertaken a broad effort to cast them as an unwarranted power grab by Mayor Eric Adams.

They accused the mayor of trying to seize more authority by stripping power away from the City Council, and argued that the mayor -- who is facing a five-count federal corruption indictment -- was in no position to assert more power.

Despite those efforts, voters approved at least four out of five ballot measures, according to The Associated Press. Two of the measures were designed to change the way the City Council approves legislation; another will give the Department of Sanitation more power over how it cleans city streets.

The five measures were proposed by a Charter Revision Commission that Mr. Adams hastily convened in May. Many saw the commission as a ploy to block a ballot measure that would have forced the mayor to seek Council approval on 21 of his commissioner-level appointments.

By forming a commission to come up with its own ballot proposals, Mr. Adams effectively knocked the Council's proposal, which required voter approval, off the ballot.

In a statement, Mr. Adams said, ''***Working-class*** New Yorkers spoke, and the Charter Revision Commission listened.''

''This is a great day for everyone who desires a safer city, cleaner streets, greater fiscal responsibility, transparency in the city's capital planning process, and, of course, access to abortion care,'' the mayor said, referring to Proposition 1, a statewide ballot measure that enshrines the protection of reproductive rights in the State Constitution.

More than 60 civil rights and community groups and 50 elected officials had formed a coalition called No Power Grab NYC to oppose the five proposals. Their pitch: Given his current federal corruption indictment and the likelihood of additional charges, Mr. Adams -- and future mayors -- should not be given more power.

But the passage of the ballot measures may signal that the mayor can still exert influence over city policy, even as he faces trial in April on five federal corruption charges that accuse him of taking illegal campaign contributions and luxury gifts, such as travel upgrades and hotels, in exchange for performing favors.

Mark Winston Griffith, a spokesman for No Power Grab NYC, blamed the results on the haste with which the questions were put on the ballot for their passage, which left many voters -- their numbers inflated during a presidential election year -- uninformed. He said the changes move the city in the ''wrong direction.''

Jumaane Williams, the city's public advocate, praised the passage of Proposition 1 but said the mayor's ballot measures were ''self-serving'' and that ''misinformation'' played a role in the changes gaining voter approval.

''This was a power grab by a mayor in whom trust has been shaken, to say the least,'' Mr. Williams said in a statement.

Adrienne Adams, the Council speaker, called the mayor's proposals ''anti-democratic'' and ''inaccurately worded'' measures that ''misled'' New Yorkers. She has introduced legislation to form a new Charter Revision Commission.

Eric Lane, a professor of law at Hofstra University and the executive director of the 1989 charter review commission that reorganized New York City's government, said that Mr. Adams's commission ''wasn't intended as a robust study of the charter, but rather as an obstacle to passing the Council's laws.''

Among the five proposals, three raised the most concerns among opponents.

One measure that was passed will require 30 days' notice before the Council votes on public safety legislation. Opponents felt it was payback for the Council's decision to override the mayor's vetoes on a bill that would end solitary confinement in city jails and another that would require police to report more information about people they stop.

Another ballot measure that was passed will require the Council to release fiscal impact statements for legislation earlier and extend the deadline for the mayor to introduce executive budgets.

The third measure will give the Department of Sanitation more jurisdiction over public spaces such as parks and highway medians. The Adams administration said the proposal, which was approved by voters, according to The A.P., was designed to allow for those areas to be cleaned, but opponents said the measure would give the city the power to sweep vendors and homeless people off the street.

The only measure that may be headed for defeat would have created a chief business diversity officer to support minority and women-owned businesses.

State lawmakers may also consider legislation next year that could alter the Charter Revision Commission process to prevent Mr. Adams and future mayors from repeating his sidestep maneuver. The proposed bill would eliminate the ability of the mayor to push a question off the ballot by forming a commission to create new ballot questions; it would also increase to six months the amount of time a charter commission is formed before it could place a question on the ballot.

''There is serious work needed to protect our local democracy from a mayor willing to disregard norms in the pursuit of power that removes checks and balances,'' Ms. Adams said in a statement.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/nyregion/nyc-ballot-propositions.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/nyregion/nyc-ballot-propositions.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: New York's mayor, Eric Adams, on Tuesday. A commission he convened in May proposed his five ballot measures. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHELLE V. AGINS/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page MB1, MB6.

**Load-Date:** November 10, 2024

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[***Teamsters' Failure to Endorse a Candidate for President Divides the Rank and File***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D0W-YB31-JBG3-64BM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 20, 2024 Friday

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**Length:** 1173 words

**Byline:** By Jonathan Weisman

**Body**

The Teamsters president, Sean O'Brien, has shown an openness to former President Donald J. Trump, dividing the powerful union. Neither candidate will be the beneficiary of its considerable organizing muscle.

The leadership of the 1.3-million-member International Brotherhood of Teamsters said in a statement Wednesday it would not back a presidential candidate, a blow to Vice President Kamala Harris, who has the endorsement of the country's other powerful labor unions.

The decision by the Teamsters board, while short of an endorsement for former President Donald J. Trump, vindicated Mr. Trump's strategy of wooing the union's president, Sean O'Brien, a leader who has repeatedly signaled his willingness to chart his own path. The board's vote was 14 for not endorsing and three for Ms. Harris. No board member backed Mr. Trump.

''Unfortunately neither major candidate was able to make serious commitments to our union to ensure the interests of working people are always put before Big Business,'' Mr. O'Brien said in the statement issued by the board.

Mr. O'Brien's equivalence between the two candidates could be seen as a boost for Mr. Trump, especially considering the same statement noted that Ms. Harris backed pro-organizing legislation, known as the PRO Act, while Mr. Trump refused to commit to vetoing so-called right-to-work legislation, which would prohibit mandatory union dues payments from workers who opt out of a unionized workplace.

But the former president worked hard to curry Mr. O'Brien's favor, inviting him to his private club and residence, Mar-a-Lago, this summer and then granting him his wish for a prime-time speaking slot at the Republican National Convention in July. The Democratic convention rebuffed him.

Mr. O'Brien's openness to Mr. Trump -- who angered other unions by appointing anti-labor members to the National Labor Relations Board and praising Elon Musk recently for a willingness to fire striking workers -- has badly divided the union.

The Teamsters' National Black Caucus, more than a half-dozen Teamsters locals, and members of the union's national leadership have endorsed Ms. Harris over Mr. O'Brien's objections. Opponents of the former president have organized a Teamsters Against Trump effort that has undermined Mr. O'Brien two years into his first term as president. After the national union declined to endorse on Wednesday, two Teamsters joint governing councils in the West, which cover 300,000 workers including those in the swing state of Nevada, announced they would back Ms. Harris. A number of other locals followed suit, including union locals in Michigan and Wisconsin.

The union endorsed President Biden in 2020, as well as the Democrats Hillary Clinton in 2016 and Barack Obama in 2008 and 2012.

''I'm very disappointed that our international leadership has chosen not to stand up to a bully and an anti-union candidate,'' James Curbeam, chairman of the Teamsters' National Black Caucus, said in an interview Wednesday.

On Monday, Ms. Harris held a round table with Teamsters leaders that was at times tense. Allies of Mr. O'Brien pushed her on the role President Biden played in averting a rail strike in late 2022 and the ways the White House could have been more helpful in a Teamsters dispute last summer with United Parcel Service.

Ms. Harris said she would like the union's endorsement, but she also said she would win in November and would treat the Teamsters fairly with or without it. Declining to endorse in the presidential election leaves the union officially on the sidelines, depriving both candidates of organizing muscle in the final weeks of the campaign.

The union's membership was clearly divided. Earlier this year, when Mr. Biden was still in the race, Mr. O'Brien asked each Teamsters local to hold a straw poll. The Teamsters released those results on Wednesday: Mr. Biden had won a plurality, 44 percent to Mr. Trump's 36 percent. But the union released two other surveys as well, an ''electronic member poll'' that showed Mr. Trump crushing Ms. Harris, 60 percent to 34 percent, and a ''research phone poll'' with a similar Trump lead, 58 percent to 31 percent.

The Trump campaign hailed those numbers: ''The vast majority of rank-and-file working men and women in this important organization want President Donald Trump back in the White House,'' it said in a statement.

But the release of those polls, with their stark shift in opinion, prompted additional disagreement. Mr. Curbeam said the latter numbers were gleaned from an unscientific survey printed on the back of the union's magazine.

And the Harris campaign took an unexpected swipe at Teamsters leaders after the decision.

''As the vice president told the Teamsters on Monday, when she is elected president, she will look out for the Teamsters rank-and-file no matter what,'' Lauren Hitt, a Harris campaign spokeswoman, said, leaving out the top brass.

Ahead of the decision, the Harris campaign tried to mitigate the blow, noting that of the 10 largest unions in the country, only the Teamsters had not backed her, and that the umbrella labor organization, the A.F.L.-C.I.O., represents about 10 times the number of workers in the Teamsters and is working hard on Ms. Harris's behalf.

Still, with its diffuse membership and its ***working-class*** credibility among truck drivers, rail workers and freight haulers, the Teamsters union could have bolstered the Democrats' ground game in battleground states this fall.

The decision not to endorse reflected the divisions within the union's rank-and-file. Leaders who backed Ms. Harris noted that the Biden administration had done much to like. Mr. Biden's Covid relief bill, the American Rescue Plan, included the one measure that Teamsters leaders wanted the most -- a huge bailout of pension plans that will restore retirement accounts at the union for three decades.

''When we were all worried about what was going to happen with our pensions, I remember watching Kamala Harris cast that vote, and there was nothing but applause all around,'' said Michelle Espinoza, 51, a member of Teamsters Local 135 in Indianapolis who drives a semi-truck cross country with her husband every week. (Ms. Harris broke the tie on the American Rescue Plan.)

The $1 trillion infrastructure bill, the $280 billion measure to rekindle a domestic semiconductor industry and the Inflation Reduction Act and its $370 billion for clean energy to combat climate change all had pro-union provisions, including measures that mandated union-scale wages and tilted toward union apprenticeship and training programs.

But ***working-class*** voters, especially white men, have favored Mr. Trump, a point Ms. Harris conceded on Monday when she told Teamsters leaders that she understood the union's rank-and-file was looking at issues beyond labor, such as immigration. She implored Teamsters officials to tell members that she had backed a bipartisan border security bill that was negotiated in the Senate and then killed at the behest of Mr. Trump.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/18/us/politics/teamsters-endorsement-2024-election.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/18/us/politics/teamsters-endorsement-2024-election.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A16.

**Load-Date:** September 20, 2024

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[***As French Rape Trial Nears End, Wife Speaks of 'Banality' and 'Cowardice'***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DFX-B631-DXY4-X03R-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 20, 2024 Wednesday

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 11

**Length:** 967 words

**Byline:** By Catherine Porter

**Body**

Gisèle Pelicot made her final address to the court, calling the things her husband allegedly did to her 'unforgivable.'

For more than 10 weeks, Gisèle Pelicot has sat in a courtroom in Avignon, France, quietly listening to the explanations of 50 men, including her now ex-husband, charged with raping, sexually assaulting or attempting to rape her while she was in an unconscious state, having been drugged by her husband.

She has heard most say that they were not guilty -- that they went to her house lured by her husband, believing they were going for a threesome that she had consented to. She has heard some say they were trapped, played like checker pieces. She has heard some say they believe that he had drugged them, too.

Ms. Pelicot stayed in the courtroom while grim videos that her husband took of those encounters were played -- revealing the men, sitting on benches nearby, touching her inert body and engaging in sexual acts, with her husband in the background egging them on, often with vulgar words. (Ms. Pelicot divorced him just before the trial began.)

On Tuesday, a day before closing statements were set to begin, she was given the chance to address the court one last time.

She was tired, she said, standing small and poised at the microphone.

''It's difficult for me to hear that it's basically banal to have raped Madame Pelicot,'' she said, referring to herself. ''This is a trial of cowardice.''

The trial of 51 men -- one is on the run and being tried in absentia -- has profoundly shaken the country since it began in September. Mr. Pelicot has pleaded guilty to crushing sleeping pills into his wife's food and drink for almost a decade and then inviting strangers he met mostly on the internet to come to the house they had rented for retirement in southern France to join him in raping her.

The accused are a cross-section of middle- and ***working-class*** men -- tradesmen, firefighters, truck drivers, a journalist, a nurse. They range in age from 26 to 74. Most live close to Mazan, the town that the Pelicots retired to in 2013. Many are married or in committed relationships. Most have children. The court has heard from their wives, their parents, their friends and children, who mostly have said they are wonderful, kind people.

About 15 of them, including Mr. Pelicot, have pleaded guilty. Mr. Pelicot has repeatedly insisted that the others were perfectly aware of what was going on.

Ms. Pelicot has told the court that the couple met as teenagers and mostly lived together happily for 50 years. She had no idea that he had been drugging her, though she suffered frightening symptoms including extended blackouts. She had visited many doctors, fearing that she had a brain tumor or Alzheimer's disease.

The defense lawyers who pack the court alongside their clients questioned Ms. Pelicot for the last time on Tuesday and tested their theories of defense.

One noted that she had been under her husband's control, steered and tricked for at least a decade. So how could she not think it was possible that he had tricked and controlled these men?

''He drugged me,'' said Ms. Pelicot, 71. ''He did not manipulate me daily. You think I would have stayed with a man who manipulated me for 50 years?''

Another lawyer said Ms. Pelicot seemed to have more sympathy for her ex-husband than the other accused. She posited that Ms. Pelicot was still under her husband's control.

''That's your analysis,'' Ms. Pelicot said calmly. She added, ''All my life, I have been a very positive person. I will keep with me the best of this man.''

Ms. Pelicot said she had been working through her anger and sorrow in sessions with a psychiatrist, as well as long walks, talking to her friends and eating chocolate.

Her ex-husband had always driven her to her medical appointments, searching for the cause of her health issues that, ultimately, he was causing. Ms. Pelicot had described those trips as support. One lawyer pointed out that it was another form of control and manipulation, with an aim to ensure that his secret was not discovered.

''It could be both at the same time,'' she responded. ''I always took it as an act of kindness. It could also have been a way for him to ensure they didn't discover the facts.''

Ms. Pelicot recognized that her ex-husband was the ''orchestra conductor'' and that it was not only her family that had been destroyed in the fallout but also the families of the 50 other accused men. But while they might have been manipulated to get them to the house, once the men were in the bedroom and saw her state, they should have left and called the police, she said.

''I feel anger against those who are behind me who not for one moment thought of reporting it,'' she said. ''Not a single one reported it. It raises some real questions.''

Since she made the rare decision of opening the trial to the public, Ms. Pelicot has become a feminist hero. While her children and grandchildren had been ashamed of their name at the beginning of the trial, Ms. Pelicot said she believed they were now proud.

''Today I am known around the world, whether I like it or not,'' she said. ''People will remember Madame Pelicot, much less Monsieur Pelicot.''

Mr. Pelicot was also given a final chance on Tuesday to address the court and his family, who had all assembled on the other side of the courtroom from where he sat in his prisoner's box. Many people had been asking why he had done this, he said. He pointed to sexual violence that he said he had suffered or witnessed as a child and teenager.

''It created a fissure that I have kept for life,'' he said.

Ms. Pelicot had already addressed her ex-husband earlier in the day.

''Some think I have forgiven him,'' she said. ''I will never forgive him. The things he did to me are unforgivable.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/france-rape-trial-gisele-pelicot.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/france-rape-trial-gisele-pelicot.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A11.

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**End of Document**



[***There’s One Person Trump Absolutely Needs in His Administration; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DFX-PK81-JBG3-61DK-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1123 words

**Byline:** Matthew Schmitz

**Highlight:** Robert Lighthizer has championed plans to revive American industry and transform the global economy.

**Body**

As Donald Trump assembles his economic team, a tension seems to have emerged between his desire to reassure Wall Street and his promise to push back against globalization by enacting sweeping tariff policies.

Despite calling himself “a tariff man,” Mr. Trump has influential backers who would apparently like to see him forget his trade priorities. Elon Musk recently [*cheered*](https://x.com/elonmusk/status/1857698387371397241) tariff-cutting moves by President Javier Milei of Argentina. Some leading candidates for top economic posts in the new administration, such as the hedge fund manager Scott Bessent, as well as Mr. Trump’s pick for secretary of commerce, the Wall Street executive Howard Lutnick, have been criticized as too committed to World Trade Organization protocols or insufficiently supportive of Mr. Trump’s tariff plans. Mr. Trump himself is [*reportedly concerned*](https://x.com/elonmusk/status/1857698387371397241) that his nominee for Treasury secretary not disrupt the stock market’s strong performance since his election victory.

But to deliver on his longstanding economic vision of prioritizing American workers and industry, Mr. Trump will need people in his administration who share his understanding of trade and can advance it effectively. This means people who regard tariffs not just as a negotiating tactic or foreign-policy tool but also as a broad means of raising revenue and promoting industry. It also means people with a track record of working within institutions while building consensus across partisan and ideological divides.

For these reasons, Mr. Trump should assign an important role on his economic team to Robert Lighthizer, the veteran trade negotiator who has championed Mr. Trump’s plans to revive American industry and transform the global economy. (Mr. Trump has [*reportedly told allies*](https://x.com/elonmusk/status/1857698387371397241) he wants Mr. Lighthizer to serve as a “trade czar.”)

Mr. Lighthizer served as the U.S. trade representative in the first Trump administration, which defied decades of free-trade orthodoxy by enacting new tariffs on goods from China. That move pales in comparison to the far-reaching agenda Mr. Trump has proposed for his second term, which includes a 60 percent tariff on Chinese goods and a blanket tariff of up to 20 percent on goods from other countries.

If enacted, these levies would constitute a drastic change in U.S. trade policy. Rather than being narrowly deployed to protect strategic industries, the tariffs would be applied universally in order to raise revenue and promote domestic manufacturing. They would also be used to force an economic decoupling from China. This change would mean the decisive abandonment of the dream of a globally integrated economy.

It would also mean a break with the neoliberal assumption that economic policy is a matter best left to the experts, and thus insulated from democratic decision-making. Economists have warned that the Trump tariffs would significantly [*raise*](https://x.com/elonmusk/status/1857698387371397241) prices, [*depress*](https://x.com/elonmusk/status/1857698387371397241) gross domestic product and [*harm*](https://x.com/elonmusk/status/1857698387371397241) employment. But in a poll in September, 56 percent of registered voters [*said*](https://x.com/elonmusk/status/1857698387371397241) they would be more likely to support a candidate who backed a 60 percent tariff on imports from China and a 10 percent tariff on other goods. A defining question of the second Trump term will be whether the experts or the voters have the final say.

Policymakers and businesspeople are already bracing for a shift. Last month, the Wall Street firm Piper Sandler, citing conversations with Mr. Lighthizer, warned that new tariffs could be put in place shortly after Mr. Trump takes office. This past spring, Mr. Lighthizer appeared at a meeting of the Bilderberg group, a free-market organization. His pro-tariff remarks were “terrifying to everybody who was there,” according to an attendee [*quoted*](https://x.com/elonmusk/status/1857698387371397241) by Politico.

In an interview this year, Mr. Lighthizer dismissed pro-free-trade experts whose models have “never predicted anything accurately.” He has reason to be skeptical. In 1997, he warned that once China was admitted to the World Trade Organization, “virtually no manufacturing job in this country will be safe.” A much sunnier view was offered by nearly 150 economists — including 13 Nobel laureates — who in 2000 signed a letter arguing that China’s accession to the World Trade Organization would promote freedom in China and “raise living standards in both China and its trading partners.”

In retrospect, Mr. Lighthizer seems more prescient. China’s growing industrial might has not meant an increase in liberty for the Chinese. As for China’s trading partners, in a 2016 study, the economists David Autor, David Dorn and Gordon Hanson [*found*](https://x.com/elonmusk/status/1857698387371397241) that some 985,000 American manufacturing jobs had been lost as a result of the “China shock” between 1999 and 2011.

For Mr. Lighthizer, trade policy should aim not just at bringing down prices or advancing foreign-policy objectives, but also at promoting good jobs, strong families and healthy communities here in America — part of an approach that he calls “common good economics.” This stance is different from those of both the free-trade right and the progressive left: Along with his support for tariffs and industrial policy, Mr. Lighthizer insists on the need for lower taxes and the elimination of unnecessary regulation.

Though very much a Republican, Mr. Lighthizer has succeeded in building relationships with Democrats. In 2019, he took his staff at the trade office for a two-hour meeting with the Democratic lawmaker John Lewis — not to discuss trade, but to hear about Mr. Lewis’s work for civil rights. Mr. Lewis, who had voted against the North American Free Trade Agreement years before, ended up supporting the Trump administration’s reworked version of the agreement. Mr. Lighthizer has also enjoyed strong relationships with former labor leaders such as Richard Trumka of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. and James Hoffa of the Teamsters.

Mr. Trump’s appeal to workers is based not just on his policies, but also on his ability to channel a ***working-class*** sensibility that is suspicious of invocations of expert authority, seeing them as a way for a narrow class to advance its interests at the expense of others. Mr. Lighthizer shares this mistrust, and he has a record of channeling it effectively. His career is a reminder that competence is sometimes more valuable than expertise, and that experience can be a better guide than any scientific model.

Matthew Schmitz ([*@matthewschmitz*](https://x.com/elonmusk/status/1857698387371397241)) is a founder and an editor of the magazine [*Compact*](https://x.com/elonmusk/status/1857698387371397241).

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://x.com/elonmusk/status/1857698387371397241) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://x.com/elonmusk/status/1857698387371397241). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://x.com/elonmusk/status/1857698387371397241).

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PHOTO (POOL PHOTO BY ANNA MONEYMAKER) This article appeared in print on page A20.

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**End of Document**



[***As Some Latino Voters In Arizona Drift Right, Family Frictions Emerge***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D8C-4111-JBG3-63BX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 25, 2024 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 16

**Length:** 1616 words

**Byline:** By Jack Healy and Robert Gebeloff

**Body**

Miguel Gomez, 21, leans Trump. His parents very much don't. Their home is a miniature battleground, reflecting the fierce divides among Latino voters in Arizona.

Miguel Gomez, 21, could never fathom supporting a Republican, until this election. He grew up in a solidly Democratic middle-class home in Phoenix, the oldest son of a Mexican-born father and a mother who planted a Kamala Harris sign in the front yard.

''For the longest time, I was a Democrat,'' he said. ''I didn't look into it.''

But as Republicans have fought to peel away Latino voters in swing states, Mr. Gomez shocked his parents and close friends when he said he was leaning toward voting for former President Donald J. Trump. With his plans to forego college and become a welder, and his steady diet of right-leaning bro podcasters, Mr. Gomez did not feel as though he belonged in the Democratic Party anymore.

His parents were not having it. To them, voting against Mr. Trump was a statement about identity, not a transactional decision about food or gas prices.

''We grew up in our culture,'' said his father, Miguel Sr., whose family brought him to the United States from Mexico City when he was a toddler. But his son? ''Him, not so much.''

When the younger man's early-voting ballot arrived in the mail last week, he agonized over choosing between the two empty bubbles facing him.

''Am I overthinking everything?'' he asked.

Across Arizona, a state where about one in four voters is Latino, the 2024 election is dividing Latino voters like no other. Many families and friends who were once solidly Democratic say they now find themselves on opposing sides of America's gaping political chasm.

Twenty years ago, half of the Latino adults living in Arizona were foreign-born, and the majority were not citizens and therefore ineligible to vote. Today, two-thirds are born in the U.S. and more than 40 percent of Latino immigrants in the state are naturalized citizens. While the immigrant population in the state continues to grow, the U.S.-born Latino population is growing much faster.

This mirrors a national trend. The children of Latino immigrants are aging into the electorate, and their political sentiments are less predictable than those of their parents.

In 2020, Latino voters nationally supported Joe Biden by huge margins, but in this election, awash as it is with fear and discontent, many of those voters are finding that family ties and old political loyalties are moving to the background.

Increasingly, they are divided along the same fault lines that splinter the rest of the electorate -- men versus women, those with a college education versus those without, rural versus urban.

Even the immigration issue is cutting a little differently this election. In interviews, more than two dozen Latino voters in Phoenix expressed complicated feelings about Mr. Trump's anti-immigrant rhetoric and deportation plans: Some were repelled, while others supported a crackdown on newly arrived migrants.

A small shift toward Republicans by Latino voters could imperil Democrats' chances in Arizona. Latinos supported Mr. Biden by a roughly 30-point margin four years ago, helping him eke out a 10,500-vote win in the historically Republican state.

Recent surveys show Ms. Harris struggling to match that level of support.

A poll last month by The New York Times and Siena College found her advantage with Hispanic voters in Arizona was just 11 points. Younger Latino voters say in surveys that Trump policies helped them while Biden policies did not.

The share of registered Democrats in Arizona has dropped to 29 percent from 32 percent over the past four years as more voters have registered as independents. The Republican share has held steady at about 35 percent, and recent polling shows that Republicans are making inroads with Latino men like Mr. Gomez.

The stakes of this election feel deeply personal in for many Latinos in Arizona.

One of Mr. Gomez's close friends, Ariel Sanchez Perez, 20, worries that his undocumented parents could be swept up in Mr. Trump's plans to carry out mass deportations. Mr. Sanchez Perez is planning to vote for Ms. Harris, and got a job over the summer knocking on doors with a pro-immigration Latino advocacy group.

''I feel like Miguel wouldn't be able to understand that aspect,'' Mr. Sanchez Perez said, referring to his fears for his parents.

The two friends have been close since fifth grade, bonding over online gaming and nights hanging out at a local pizza place. But their lives have grown increasingly distant. Mr. Sanchez Perez went to Johns Hopkins to study mechanical engineering. Mr. Gomez stayed in Phoenix, got a graduate equivalency degree and works at a QuikTrip gas station.

The election has injected friction into their friendship. Mr. Gomez said he was still troubled by Mr. Trump's deportation promises. But he also said that he was distressed by the homelessness and addiction he sees while driving around Phoenix, and said he thought Democrats were to blame for the fentanyl pouring across the border. He said he could not vote for a candidate whose administration had presided over record numbers of migrants entering the country.

And Ms. Harris, he said, just did not seem tough enough.

If Mr. Trump is attracting young, ***working-class*** Latino men, Ms. Harris has her own cohort: women. A recent New York Times survey found that she had a 30-point lead among Hispanic women nationwide, but was just barely above water with Hispanic men.

That gender divide is evident in the Martinez family, who live in Maryvale, a ***working-class*** Latino neighborhood of Phoenix. The driveways in Maryvale are packed with pickups that leave every day for construction projects or home repair. On weekends, people sell warm churros and frozen fruit ices from their front yards to earn a little extra money.

Julio Martinez, 50, a truck driver, said he wanted to be a ''team player'' four years ago, and voted for Mr. Biden because his wife and daughter could not stand his opponent.

This year, though, he is fed up with the cost of housing and food. He is on Team Trump.

Political discussions at home have gotten so heated that the family had to watch the presidential debate last month in separate bedrooms.

Politics, however, is inescapable. The family is battered by political ads while watching Cardinals football games. Mr. Martinez drives past billboards on his predawn commute to haul wastewater, and his daughter, Julissa, sees ads as she flicks through social media.

On one blistering late-summer Sunday, arguments started up -- again -- about why Julissa had embraced Ms. Harris.

''Because Taylor Swift endorsed her,'' Mr. Martinez said.

''I don't like Taylor Swift,'' she retorted. Explaining her support for Ms. Harris, she said: ''I just like what she stands for -- women's rights and everything. It's empowering for a woman to be so powerful.''

Julissa glanced at her father. ''A man will never know what a woman goes through,'' she said.

Arizona Democrats opened a field office last December on a commercial strip in Maryvale, where volunteers gather regularly to fan out through the neighborhood, knock on doors and get voters engaged. But at the barbershop next to the campaign office, the men on duty said they were not planning to vote. On residential streets, there are few political yard signs.

Robert Fernandez's house, a few blocks away from the Martinez family, is one exception. A Harris-Walz flag flapped outside. But in that home, too, there is conflict.

Mr. Fernandez, 38 and an interior decorator, said his relatives used to all be Democrats. His mother voted for President Obama and Mr. Biden, and supported Mr. Fernandez after he told her he was gay.

But starting with the pandemic, and continuing through the Biden administration, his mother's political views began to align more with her friends and neighbors in the conservative exurb of Phoenix where she lives. This year, she is supporting Mr. Trump.

Mr. Fernandez's mother, Lucy, a retired retail worker, repeated some familiar conspiracy theories. She now saw the Democrats as puppets of the investment company BlackRock, ''Hollywood idiots'' and the liberal financier George Soros. She said she was not impressed with Ms. Harris's accomplishments, and was unconvinced by efforts to win back support from voters like her without college degrees.

''I'm not well-educated, but I'm not that stupid,'' she said.

When she visited Mr. Fernandez to help prepare elaborate Halloween decorations at his home, they spent much of the time fighting about the election.

''I'm more distant now with them,'' Mr. Fernandez said, referring to the Trump-supporting wing of his family. ''I care about my family, but I feel stabbed in the back.''

Mr. Fernandez's mother said he simply did not want to understand the other side.

''I love my son and would do anything for him,'' she said, ''but when we get together, I have to tell him, 'No politics.'''

There was no such luck for Miguel Gomez, the dissident Trump supporter. He said he had tried to avoid discussing the election with his parents, and bristled at his mother's outspoken opposition to Mr. Trump.

''I try to get him to understand where we're coming from,'' said his mother, Elizabeth Pedraza-Gomez, whose family has lived in Arizona for six generations.

As they filled out their mail-in ballots together -- Miguel's first in a presidential election -- his mother said she told him the decision was up to him. She left him alone at the kitchen island to finish, so she could get the ballots into the mail.

He cast an ambivalent vote for Ms. Harris. He said that he just wanted it to be over.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/24/us/trump-latino-voters-arizona.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/24/us/trump-latino-voters-arizona.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Julio Martinez's choice to vote for Donald J. Trump has put him at odds with his wife and daughter.

Miguel Gomez surprised his parents and friends when he said he was leaning toward Mr. Trump.

Robert Fernandez, right, and his husband, Marco Sanchez, are supporting Democratic candidates. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANNA WATTS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A16.

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[***The New Politics; DealBOok Newsletter***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DP0-0943-RT7C-02XW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 18, 2024 Wednesday 17:52 EST

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**Section:** BUSINESS; dealbook

**Length:** 1422 words

**Byline:** Sarah KesslerSarah Kessler is an editor for the DealBook newsletter and writes features on business and how workplaces are changing.

**Highlight:** At the DealBook Summit, nine prominent political figures, advisers and journalists debated what drove Trump’s victory and what it means for politics going forward. Here’s what they said.

**Body**

At the DealBook Summit, nine prominent political figures, advisers and journalists debated what drove Trump’s victory and what it means for politics going forward. Here’s what they said.

In the month since President-elect Donald Trump won the U.S. presidential election, there has been much debate over what led to his [*clear but narrow victory*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/upshot/trump-election-victory.html). At a task force session at the DealBook Summit, The Times’s senior political correspondent Maggie Haberman moderated a thoughtful, nuanced and sometimes contentious debate among political figures, advisers and journalists about what happened. Heres what they said.

Van Jones: “You’re pushing people out of the party.”

Jones is an author and host for CNN.

“Our party is supposed to be the party of F.D.R. and working folks,” Jones said of the Democratic Party. “But if you don’t eat kale and go to yoga classes, you can’t go to most of these meetings.” He said that Democrats were too skeptical of cryptocurrency and Silicon Valley, and that they missed an opportunity by not inviting Elon Musk, the chief executive of Tesla, to an electric vehicle event at the White House because his company didn’t employ union workers. “You’re pushing people out of the party,” he said.

Democrats also failed to speak to men, Jones said:

“Men are hurting. And the feminist culture tells you, Don’t cry because you’re the problem anyway. And the masculine culture tells you, Don’t cry because boys don’t cry. So you just aren’t able to talk about how scared you are that you can’t provide for anybody. You can’t talk about how scared you are that you don’t understand your kids and what’s going to happen to them. You can’t talk about anything. So at least Donald Trump lets you have an emotion besides shame.”

Sarah Longwell: “There’s actually a political realignment going on.”

Longwell is the publisher of The Bulwark and the host of the podcast “The Focus Group.”

“Most of the independent voters, they were double haters,” Longwell said, meaning they liked neither candidate. She also addressed Jones’s idea that Democrats had excluded groups from the party:

“It’s not just that people are being pushed out of the Democratic Party. There’s actually a political realignment going on. And so the Democratic Party is now populated by a lot more of these college-educated voters, and there aren’t enough of them.”

She also said that Trump’s celebrity status gave him a “superpower that other people don’t have,” and that when he displays qualities that would hurt other politicians at the polls, “because he’s on TV, because he was on Page Six, it’s like a celebrity thing that they forgive.”

Kellyanne Conway: “This election was a rejection of wokeness.”

Conway was a campaign manager for Trump in 2016.

The Democratic Party has leaned too heavily into identity politics, Conway said:

“Every day they wake up, it’s still Jan. 6, 2021, on the calendar. They get in an electric vehicle, they get an abortion. You’re out of touch with the public. This election was a rejection of wokeness.”

She also criticized President Biden’s industrial policies. He lost voters, she said, by “thinking that he was F.D.R.” instead of “realizing you’re here to be the post-Covid caretaker.”

Jonathan Karl: “Nobody stepped forward to take him on.”

Karl is the chief Washington correspondent at ABC News.

Several panelists argued that Biden’s decision to run for a second term cost Democrats the election. “He should have been a one-term president who was a bridge and let the party have a primary,” Longwell said.

Karl questioned why the Democratic Party didn’t challenge Biden’s nomination:

“Ultimately, it’s on those future leaders of the Democratic Party — and the bench was deeper than it had been for a long time — not to ultimately step in and say, I’m going to take him on. Nobody stepped forward to take him on.”

He said the question that Democrats had to ask themselves was “not whether or not Biden should have dropped out first,” but why “none of these major figures, the governors, came forward and said, ‘I’m going to take on Joe Biden.’”

Anita Dunn: “We have absolutely lost our credibility with people who are at the lower end of the economic scale.”

Dunn is a former senior adviser to Biden.

Dunn said: “If you were to say to me, Why did you lose? The easiest answer out there is inflation and prices, and the cost of rent.” She added:

”Joe Biden was elected president in 2020, losing the economy to Donald Trump. They still thought Trump was better on the economy, even as Joe Biden was elected. But it was a huge issue, and inflation is something that I think you can’t message your way out of.”

Referring to ***working class*** voters, she said that the biggest problem the Democratic Party was facing now was that “the people we think we’re representing don’t think we are representing them when it comes to a core issue for them, which is the economy and ‘how am I going to make it?’”

Kevin McCarthy: “What was the campaign about?”

McCarthy was the speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives from January 2023 to October 2023.

Vice President Kamala Harris’s campaign for president was not executed well, McCarthy argued:

“I could not tell you the three things she was going to accomplish if she got elected. The only thing that comes to mind is she was going to give first-time home buyers $25,000. So that’s a repudiation on the campaign itself: What was the campaign about?”

Alexis McGill Johnson: “I think we are overstating the multiracial coalition that Trump brought in.”

McGill Johnson is the president of Planned Parenthood.

McGill Johnson said that she would have liked to see Democrats talk more about “the economic constraints that families were experiencing,” and she pushed back on the idea that Trump had created sustained momentum among voters of color:

I see this as a rollback on 50 to 100 years of progress that we have been making among communities of color, among gender, among, you know, people who just want to live their lives. And I think we are overstating the multiracial coalition that Trump brought in. I really do, because I think there are enough people who stayed home who weren’t inspired to come out because the Democrats didn’t offer something.

Jason Miller: “Trump cut through.”

Miller is a senior adviser to Trump.

Trump made more appearances and appeared more authentic during the 2024 campaign, Miller argued:

“As a candidate, people wanted to have a beer with and talk about their economic future with somebody who doesn’t drink and somebody who himself is a billionaire, because he was authentic, because he could speak to them, direct and plain-spoken, and without a filter. And when you look at the way that Biden and Harris tried to hide, then President Trump cut through.”

Major Garrett: “The country confers the normality of the presidency.”

Garrett is the chief Washington correspondent at CBS News.

Thinking about Trump as an abnormal president is the wrong approach, Garrett said:

The presidency is an institution. The country confers the normality of the presidency, full stop. The occupant of the presidency is the president, and you cover the president and you do it with curiosity and clarity and accuracy, and that’s it. And if you get emotionally involved in it, not only is that journalistically erroneous, Trump will manipulate you.Trump understands your emotions much better than you do. Figure that out, people. Trump is someone who possesses, within the political context, supreme emotional intelligence, especially where reporters are involved.

Margaret Hoover: “Digital is the new media.”

Hoover is the host of “Firing Line With Margaret Hoover” on PBS.

Several panelists argued that shifts in how voters find information meant that politicians needed new strategies to reach them. Jones said that digital “is the new door knocking” and that on digital platforms, “there are people out there that are getting 14 million streams, and we’re on cable news getting one or two million.” Hoover pointed to another aspect of digital platforms: “Being able to see transparently on camera what is happening is part of the story.” She added:

“I do think digital isn’t not just the new door knocking; digital is the new media. I mean, digital is how we hold those in power to account.”

Thanks for reading! We’ll see you tomorrow.

We’d like your feedback. Please email thoughts and suggestions to [*dealbook@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/upshot/trump-election-victory.html).

PHOTO: The task force session “The 2024 Elections: What Happened and What’s Next?” at the DealBook Summit. (PHOTOGRAPH BY José A. Alvarado Jr. for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** December 18, 2024

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[***This House Democrat Keeps Winning in Trump Country. Here’s What She Knows.; Michelle Goldberg***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DGB-MY61-JBG3-633D-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** OPINION

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**Byline:** Michelle GoldbergMichelle Goldberg has been an Opinion columnist since 2017. She is the author of several books about politics, religion and women&amp;#8217;s rights, and was part of a team that won a Pulitzer Prize for public service in 2018 for reporting on workplace sexual harassment.

**Highlight:** Lessons from a Democratic winner in Trump country.

**Body**

I first met Marie Gluesenkamp Perez in 2022, when she was running what was widely seen as a [*long-shot*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/24/opinion/house-republican-elections.html) Democratic campaign for Congress in a solidly Republican, heavily rural part of Washington State. Shortly before the election, the polling aggregator FiveThirtyEight estimated her chance of victory at a mere 2 percent. But she won, defeating a burgeoning star of the MAGA movement named Joe Kent.

Gluesenkamp Perez, whose father emigrated from Mexico, ran an auto shop with her husband and lived in a house they’d built themselves. Her campaign emphasized both her blue-collar bona fides and her support for abortion rights, and she was frank in her denunciations of Donald Trump’s authoritarianism. After her victory, many Democrats hoped she’d found the secret to connecting with the sort of ***working-class***, small-town voters the party has been hemorrhaging.

But if many on the left were delighted by her victory, they were disappointed by how often she broke with her party once she was in office. Gluesenkamp Perez voted to scrap Joe Biden’s plan for student debt relief. She supported a Republican bill to bar the use of public lands to house migrants and a resolution censuring her colleague Rashida Tlaib for her anti-Israel rhetoric. Anger at her got so intense that Politico [*wondered*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/24/opinion/house-republican-elections.html) if “flak from progressives” could “eat into her razor-thin margin” in this year’s election.

It didn’t. In a largely brutal year for Democrats, Gluesenkamp Perez, again facing Kent, won re-election even as Trump once again carried her district. Her defiant moderation and intensely local focus paid off, leading to another round of glowing press.

Now, Gluesenkamp Perez is using some of her political capital in an unexpected way, teaming up with Maine’s Jared Golden, another Democrat who triumphed in a Trump district, to propose a task force to consider far-reaching electoral reforms. Among their ideas are several previously championed by progressives, including expanding the House of Representatives and adopting ranked-choice voting, which lets voters list candidates in order of preference, so that multiple candidates can run for the same seat without acting as spoilers. I spoke to her about what Democrats can do to win more districts like hers, and why she thinks Congress needs radical change. Our conversation has been edited for length and clarity.

What do you think Democrats can learn from your re-election?

I think people like me, people in rural communities, we don’t want people to talk for us. We want to speak for ourselves. We want to have our values and priorities reflected in D.C. We don’t want to see D.C. keep inflicting and replacing our culture and priorities.

What does that mean specifically? What values are we talking about?

Well, we believe in making and fixing things. We feel pride in knowing how to make things and making things that last, having a relationship with our woods and our rivers and oceans, that’s not just a terrarium or a recreational asset, but one of dependence and love and stewardship.

Wildfire is one of the largest emitters of CO₂ in my state. That’s a lot of timber that should have been harvested and built into houses to create abundance in the housing market and fund our schools. An entire county went down to a four-day school week in large part because of falling revenue from timber, and a school that my son would maybe hypothetically go to is talking about doing the same thing. Meanwhile, we’ve seen actual timber products being replaced with petroleum-based products.

Is the problem you’re talking about one of competition or overregulation?

It’s both. Every time a timber sale is held up in litigation for, you know, seven years, it means that the mom-and-pop operator can’t make their truck payment and they go bankrupt.

Having been in D.C. for two years, where do you see the disconnect between the people making the rules and the people in your community?

Without a very local perspective and a very diverse set of experiences at the legislative table, staffers who have not worked in the trades cannot anticipate the way these regulations will be implemented by a licenser or a regulator.

You know, I convened a meeting about the I-5 bridge replacement, and I was thinking that I would not have even been invited to this two years ago, or even likely read that it happened. If you’re working a couple of jobs and trying to make it to pick up your kid after day care, you don’t have time to attend a lot of these and be heard. It points to the urgency of having a different set of experiences baked into the process.

I’ve heard you say that there’s no “one weird trick” that will end the Democratic Party’s woes. But it seems like maybe the closest thing to one weird trick would just be recruiting more working- and middle-class people to run for office.

Yes. I don’t think more lawyers running for office is the solution here.

Given that you won in a Trump district, you must have won some percentage of Trump voters. When you talk to people who voted for both you and Donald Trump, what do they tell you? Where is the center of that Venn diagram?

Probably cost of living and border security.

Was it just that they felt like you both cared about those issues? Or did they feel like you both had solutions?

It has been a priority for me. The world I’m living in, I’m going to the grocery store and seeing people take stuff out of their cart. Fentanyl is just running rampant. A lot of us felt like Joe Biden’s administration did not take it seriously, and there was a very, very late pivot on the border.

I think there are voters who see Trump and I as real people who are candid. They don’t agree with us about everything, but they have a sense that I’m telling them what I actually think and am listening to them with curiosity and honesty.

I hear what you’re saying about Biden’s late pivot on the border. But what should he have been doing differently in terms of inflation, given that it spiked globally in response to the pandemic?

A lot of people were trying to talk people out of their lived experience. Like, there’s no spreadsheet that’s going to talk somebody out of watching the cost of eggs go up. And I had people asking me, “How do we explain to these people that the economy is great?” I’m like, why would they do that?

So what do you say to people? Obviously listening and empathy is the first part. But is that enough?

Well, you need to have the votes to back it up that you’re responding to them. I’ve heard people say, but Kamala Harris did try to talk about border security more than Biden did. But I think the two didn’t have the track record on these issues in the eyes of most Americans. People did not believe the late pivot. They weren’t seen as eager to solve these problems or prioritizing them, which I was asking them to do repeatedly, early on, as soon as I was sworn in. That left a real vulnerability that their opponents hammered them on to very real effect.

When I saw you on the campaign trail in 2022, I heard you speak about bread-and-butter issues like the cost of day care, the [*right-to-repair*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/24/opinion/house-republican-elections.html) and support for trade schools. But I also remember you talking about two issues that were at the center of Harris’s campaign: abortion and democracy. You spoke about Trump’s “march toward fascism.” Why do you think that message resonated for you in your district when you were first elected, and then seems to have fallen so flat on the national scale in 2024?

It was picked up, and that’s why we saw Trump pivot.

What do you mean?

He told everybody abortion was a states’ rights issue. He saw weakness and responded to it.

OK, you mean he pivoted on abortion. Do you still think he’s marching us toward fascism?

I think one of the dangerous things about that line of questioning is that democracy is not based on a binary vote for president. It is a muscle in normal, ordinary Americans who are showing up to volunteer at school, who are helping their neighbors out, who have a relationship with their community. It is all of these ways that we live our lives. And so when you say it’s just about one person, I think you damage the long-term muscle to resist a drift.

You’ve been forthright in support of the rights of trans people, which Joe Kent tried to use against you, especially when it came to things like trans women in sports. How did you navigate an issue that proved so difficult for Democrats nationally?

I do not think that is why Democrats lost the presidential race. He tried to come for me on it and it did not work.

Because it wasn’t a priority for your voters?

That’s right. In town halls and things like that, people are talking about, like, Spirit Lake and flooding in the Chehalis River Valley. I think views are nuanced on this, and there is some electoral liability for Democrats, but it’s not an Achilles’ heel.

I’m very intrigued by this new select committee that you and Jared Golden are proposing, which would explore ideas like expanding the House, ranked-choice voting, multimember districts and open primaries. If enacted, some of them, like ranked-choice voting, would probably allow for the emergence of third parties, since candidates could run without acting as spoilers. Multimember districts, in which each district gets several representatives who are elected proportionally, would give a voice to Democrats in solidly red districts and Republicans in solidly blue ones. What is it about your experience in Congress that has convinced you to take on these reforms?

I think 90 percent of Americans really do agree about 90 percent of the issues, and instead we are allowing 10 things to push us into camps that are not going to build a coalition that could actually pass laws. So power continues to accrue to the most senior members and the least representative districts.

The framework here is that it is a bipartisan, equally divided commission that is thinking in large terms about what will deliver the most utility, not something just for a particular area. If we want more normal, ***working-class*** people here, we need electoral systems that open the door to more people participating.

I think rural America has not been well served by single-party control, and I also think our current system means that the most bipartisan members in the middle are also the ones who have to fight for their lives every election. That’s a lot of energy, right? It’s exhausting. It’s hard on your family, and it eliminates the deal makers.

You live in a community where Trump won. How many people in your district do you think voted for him because they want him to do the things he promised, like set up immigrant detention camps and use the Justice Department to take revenge on his enemies? And how many do you think voted for him because they don’t believe he’ll do those things?

When you’re fixing a car, right, I would much rather have it make the same noise predictably. Like, it always clunks when I turn left. Whatever it is, a predictable problem is much better than an unpredictable one. And so that confidence that this person is not trying to make themselves acceptable to you. They’re not putting out celebrity surrogates. They’re just showing up, and you can take it or leave it.

It sounds like you’re saying that people felt like Trump offered voters a strange sort of stability. How do you think Democrats could do the same?

A veteran from the younger generation could do a lot to change the image of the Democratic Party. Someone that doesn’t mind upsetting people in the party, that doesn’t mind the elite professionals being mad at them, that knows and respects working people in rural communities. Someone who all the Americans who voted for Trump don’t feel like looks down on them. There are people who voted for Trump who would absolutely vote for Democrats in the future. I don’t know that we know who those people are yet, who those candidates are. But I can speak to the type of person who I think would be more popular in my district, who could maybe even win it. I know it’s not going to be a lawyer.

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY M. SCOTT BRAUER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A25.

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[***The Price We Pay for Rich Lawmakers***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BYG-W5M1-DXY4-X1BC-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Sunday Review Desk; Pg. 3; JAMELLE BOUIE

**Length:** 963 words

**Byline:** By Jamelle Bouie

**Body**

There is a coordinated, nationwide effort to roll back child labor laws, part of a broader campaign to concentrate even more power into the hands of employers.

''Since 2021,'' the left-leaning Economic Policy Institute notes, ''28 states have introduced bills to weaken child labor laws, and 12 states have enacted them.'' In 2024 alone, eight states have either introduced or taken new action on bills that would, for example, allow employers to schedule 16- and 17-year-olds for unlimited hours, allow nonprofits to hire 12- and 13-year-olds and eliminate work permits for young people.

One way to understand this fight to roll back labor laws is as a function of conservative ideology and a reflection of the views of the social base of Republican politics. It's almost axiomatic that a party dominated by reactionary business owners is going to support, as much as possible, the interests of reactionary business owners.

But this analysis can take us only so far. We also have to explain why it is, on a practical level, that this agenda has advanced so far and so fast. There is partisan control, of course -- Republicans are leading the assault on labor laws -- but there is also the class composition of our state legislatures.

Out of more than 7,300 state legislators in the country, 116 -- or 1.6 percent of the total -- currently work or last worked in manual labor, the service industry or clerical or union jobs, according to a recent study conducted by Nicholas Carnes and Eric Hansen, political scientists at Duke University and Loyola University Chicago. By contrast, about 50 percent of U.S. workers hold jobs in one of those fields.

This problem afflicts both parties. In the last legislative session, the study found, 1 percent of Republican lawmakers and 2 percent of Democratic lawmakers had ***working-class*** backgrounds. In 10 states -- Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oregon, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Utah and Virginia -- not a single state lawmaker works or has recently worked in an occupation that researchers would define as ***working class***. Three of those states, incidentally, are ones in which lawmakers recently loosened rules on child labor.

What explains the almost total absence of ***working-class*** people from elected positions in state government? It may have something to do with how we structure our legislatures. Let's look at Congress as a base line. The House and Senate are full-time legislatures with considerable staffs and resources at their disposal. Members work through the year and are paid accordingly: $174,000 per annum, with pay increases for those in leadership positions.

Now, there is a case to make that Congress needs more staff and higher pay -- that to attract the best candidates for federal office, compensation should be competitive with salaries in private-sector fields of similar power, prestige and responsibility. The main point, however, is that Congress is at least structured in a way that would make it possible for a ***working-class*** person to do the job without jeopardizing his or her financial security (although this still leaves us with the problem of actually winning a seat).

You cannot say the same for most of our state legislatures. According to the National Conference of State Legislatures, only 10 states have full-time legislatures, in which lawmakers spend at least 84 percent of their time engaged in the position, including on the legislative floor, in hearings and in committee meetings and doing constituent service. They are paid full-time salaries as well, with average annual compensation of about $82,000. On the other end, there are 14 states where the job is essentially part-time and lawmakers are paid accordingly, earning an average salary of just over $18,000 a year. The remaining states are classified as hybrid legislatures, in which lawmakers devote about 74 percent of their time to legislative duties, with an average annual salary around $41,000.

Setting aside the difficulty of getting elected -- the necessity of raising money from wealthy friends, family and acquaintances that most Americans simply do not have -- if ***working-class*** people of modest means somehow won state legislative positions, they would almost certainly have to sacrifice a large part of their incomes to do so. Our legislatures are not built to allow working people to participate as members. Neither, for that matter, is our political system writ large.

It is not too difficult to imagine the changes that might make our elected institutions, including Congress, more inclusive of working people. We would need, for example, a stronger and more robust system of campaign finance. We would need resources to move more legislatures to full-time status, including funds for more staff and higher salaries. And we would need the kinds of accommodations that, frankly, all Americans deserve: child care, housing and good health insurance.

The problem is that all of this runs counter to our ingrained hostility to politics and politicians -- our cynical distrust of, even contempt for, people who choose to make a career of elected office. We don't want to raise their pay or give them more of what they need to do their jobs well; we want to cut as much as we can and impose term limits while we're at it.

In this way, we get the legislatures -- and legislators -- that we pay for: a whole lot of wealthy people interested in pursuing their own goals and not much else.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/04/30/opinion/****working-class****-wealthy-legislators.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/04/30/opinion/working-class-wealthy-legislators.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY LEWIS W. HINE) This article appeared in print on page SR3.

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[***As French Rape Trial Nears End, Wife Speaks of ‘Banality’ and ‘Cowardice’***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DFR-NX51-JBG3-60DH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 19, 2024 Tuesday 05:00 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 960 words

**Byline:** Catherine PorterCatherine Porter is an international reporter for The Times, covering France. She is based in Paris.

**Highlight:** Gisèle Pelicot made her final address to the court, calling the things her husband allegedly did to her “unforgivable.”

**Body**

Gisèle Pelicot made her final address to the court, calling the things her husband allegedly did to her “unforgivable.”

For more than 10 weeks, [*Gisèle Pelicot*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/25/world/europe/france-rape-trial-gisele-pelicot.html) has sat in a courtroom in Avignon, France, quietly listening to the explanations of 50 men, including her now ex-husband, charged with raping, sexually assaulting or attempting to rape her while she was in an unconscious state, having been drugged by her husband.

She has heard most say that they were not guilty — that they went to her house lured by her husband, believing they were going for a threesome that she had consented to. She has heard some say they were trapped, played like checker pieces. She has heard some say they believe that he had drugged them, too.

Ms. Pelicot stayed in the courtroom while [*grim videos that her husband took of those encounters were played*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/25/world/europe/france-rape-trial-gisele-pelicot.html) — revealing the men, sitting on benches nearby, touching her inert body and engaging in sexual acts, with her husband in the background egging them on, often with vulgar words. (Ms. Pelicot divorced him just before the trial began.)

On Tuesday, a day before closing statements were set to begin, she was given the chance to address the court one last time.

She was tired, she said, standing small and poised at the microphone.

“It’s difficult for me to hear that it’s basically banal to have raped Madame Pelicot,” she said, referring to herself. “This is a trial of cowardice.”

[*The trial of 51 men*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/25/world/europe/france-rape-trial-gisele-pelicot.html) — one is on the run and being tried in absentia — has profoundly shaken the country since it began in September. Mr. Pelicot has pleaded guilty to crushing sleeping pills into his wife’s food and drink for almost a decade and then inviting strangers he met mostly on the internet to come to the house they had rented for retirement in southern France to join him in raping her.

The accused are a cross-section of middle- and ***working-class*** men — tradesmen, firefighters, truck drivers, a journalist, a nurse. They range in age from 26 to 74. Most live close to [*Mazan*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/25/world/europe/france-rape-trial-gisele-pelicot.html), the town that the Pelicots retired to in 2013. Many are married or in committed relationships. Most have children. The court has heard from their wives, their parents, their friends and children, who mostly have said they are wonderful, kind people.

About 15 of them, including Mr. Pelicot, have pleaded guilty. Mr. Pelicot has [*repeatedly insisted*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/25/world/europe/france-rape-trial-gisele-pelicot.html) that the others were perfectly aware of what was going on.

Ms. Pelicot has [*told the court*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/25/world/europe/france-rape-trial-gisele-pelicot.html) that the couple met as teenagers and mostly lived together happily for 50 years. She had no idea that he had been drugging her, though she suffered frightening symptoms including extended blackouts. She had visited many doctors, fearing that she had a brain tumor or Alzheimer’s disease.

The defense lawyers who pack the court alongside their clients questioned Ms. Pelicot for the last time on Tuesday and tested their theories of defense.

One noted that she had been under her husband’s control, steered and tricked for at least a decade. So how could she not think it was possible that he had tricked and controlled these men?

“He drugged me,” said Ms. Pelicot, 71. “He did not manipulate me daily. You think I would have stayed with a man who manipulated me for 50 years?”

Another lawyer said Ms. Pelicot seemed to have more sympathy for her ex-husband than the other accused. She posited that Ms. Pelicot was still under her husband’s control.

“That’s your analysis,” Ms. Pelicot said calmly. She added, “All my life, I have been a very positive person. I will keep with me the best of this man.”

Ms. Pelicot said she had been working through her anger and sorrow in sessions with a psychiatrist, as well as long walks, talking to her friends and eating chocolate.

Her ex-husband had always driven her to her medical appointments, searching for the cause of her health issues that, ultimately, he was causing. Ms. Pelicot had described those trips as support. One lawyer pointed out that it was another form of control and manipulation, with an aim to ensure that his secret was not discovered.

“It could be both at the same time,” she responded. “I always took it as an act of kindness. It could also have been a way for him to ensure they didn’t discover the facts.”

Ms. Pelicot recognized that her ex-husband was the “orchestra conductor” and that it was not only her family that had been destroyed in the fallout but also the families of the 50 other accused men. But while they might have been manipulated to get them to the house, once the men were in the bedroom and saw her state, they should have left and called the police, she said.

“I feel anger against those who are behind me who not for one moment thought of reporting it,” she said. “Not a single one reported it. It raises some real questions.”

Since she made the rare decision of opening the trial to the public, Ms. Pelicot has become a feminist hero. While her children and grandchildren had been ashamed of their name at the beginning of the trial, Ms. Pelicot said she believed they were now proud.

“Today I am known around the world, whether I like it or not,” she said. “People will remember Madame Pelicot, much less Monsieur Pelicot.”

Mr. Pelicot was also given a final chance on Tuesday to address the court and his family, who had all assembled on the other side of the courtroom from where he sat in his prisoner’s box. Many people had been asking why he had done this, he said. He pointed to sexual violence that he said he had suffered or witnessed as a child and teenager.

“It created a fissure that I have kept for life,” he said.

Ms. Pelicot had already addressed her ex-husband earlier in the day.

“Some think I have forgiven him,” she said. “I will never forgive him. The things he did to me are unforgivable.”

This article appeared in print on page A11.

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[***It’s His First Vote for President. He’s Torn. And It’s Crunch Time.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D85-B1F1-JBG3-62MS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US

**Length:** 1658 words

**Byline:** Jack Healy and Robert GebeloffJack Healy is a Phoenix-based national correspondent who focuses on the fast-changing politics and climate of the Southwest. He has worked in Iraq and Afghanistan and is a graduate of the University of Missouri&amp;#8217;s journalism school.

**Highlight:** Miguel Gomez, 21, leans Trump. His parents very much don’t. Their home is a miniature battleground, reflecting the fierce divides among Latino voters in Arizona.

**Body**

Miguel Gomez, 21, leans Trump. His parents very much don’t. Their home is a miniature battleground, reflecting the fierce divides among Latino voters in Arizona.

Miguel Gomez, 21, could never fathom supporting a Republican, until this election. He grew up in a solidly Democratic middle-class home in Phoenix, the oldest son of a Mexican-born father and a mother who planted a Kamala Harris sign in the front yard.

“For the longest time, I was a Democrat,” he said. “I didn’t look into it.”

But as Republicans have fought to peel away Latino voters in swing states, Mr. Gomez shocked his parents and close friends when he said he was leaning toward voting for former President Donald J. Trump. With his plans to forego college and become a welder, and his steady diet of right-leaning bro podcasters, Mr. Gomez did not feel as though he belonged in the Democratic Party anymore.

His parents were not having it. To them, voting against Mr. Trump was a statement about identity, not a transactional decision about food or gas prices.

“We grew up in our culture,” said his father, Miguel Sr., whose family brought him to the United States from Mexico City when he was a toddler. But his son? “Him, not so much.”

When the younger man’s early-voting ballot arrived in the mail last week, he agonized over choosing between the two empty bubbles facing him.

“Am I overthinking everything?” he asked.

Across Arizona, a state where about one in four voters is Latino, the 2024 election is dividing Latino voters like no other. Many families and friends who were once solidly Democratic say they now find themselves on opposing sides of America’s gaping political chasm.

Twenty years ago, half of the Latino adults living in Arizona were foreign-born, and the majority were not citizens and therefore ineligible to vote. Today, two-thirds are born in the U.S. and more than 40 percent of Latino immigrants in the state are naturalized citizens. While the immigrant population in the state continues to grow, the U.S.-born Latino population is growing much faster.

This mirrors a national trend. The children of Latino immigrants are aging into the electorate, and their political sentiments are less predictable than those of their parents.

In 2020, Latino voters nationally supported Joe Biden by huge margins, but in this election, awash as it is with fear and discontent, many of those voters are finding that family ties and old political loyalties are moving to the background.

Increasingly, they are divided along the same fault lines that splinter the rest of the electorate — men versus women, those with a college education versus those without, rural versus urban.

Even the immigration issue is cutting a little differently this election. In interviews, more than two dozen Latino voters in Phoenix expressed complicated feelings about Mr. Trump’s anti-immigrant rhetoric and deportation plans: Some were repelled, while others supported a crackdown on newly arrived migrants.

A small shift toward Republicans by Latino voters could imperil Democrats’ chances in Arizona. Latinos supported Mr. Biden by a roughly 30-point margin four years ago, helping him eke out a 10,500-vote win in the historically Republican state.

Recent surveys show Ms. Harris struggling to match that level of support.

A [*poll*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/09/23/us/elections/times-siena-arizona-crosstabs.html) last month by The New York Times and Siena College found her advantage with Hispanic voters in Arizona was just 11 points. Younger Latino voters say in surveys that Trump policies helped them while Biden policies did not.

The share of registered Democrats in Arizona has dropped to 29 percent from 32 percent over the past four years as more voters have registered as independents. The Republican share has held steady at about 35 percent, and recent polling shows that Republicans are making [*inroads*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/09/23/us/elections/times-siena-arizona-crosstabs.html) with Latino men like Mr. Gomez.

The stakes of this election feel deeply personal for many Latinos in Arizona.

One of Mr. Gomez’s close friends, Ariel Sanchez Perez, 20, worries that his undocumented parents could be swept up in Mr. Trump’s plans to carry out mass deportations. Mr. Sanchez Perez is planning to vote for Ms. Harris, and got a job over the summer knocking on doors with a pro-immigration Latino advocacy group.

“I feel like Miguel wouldn’t be able to understand that aspect,” Mr. Sanchez Perez said, referring to his fears for his parents.

The two friends have been close since fifth grade, bonding over online gaming and nights hanging out at a local pizza place. But their lives have grown increasingly distant. Mr. Sanchez Perez went to Johns Hopkins to study mechanical engineering. Mr. Gomez stayed in Phoenix, got a graduate equivalency degree and works at a QuikTrip gas station.

The election has injected friction into their friendship. Mr. Gomez said he was still troubled by Mr. Trump’s deportation promises. But he also said that he was distressed by the homelessness and addiction he sees while driving around Phoenix, and said he thought Democrats were to blame for the fentanyl pouring across the border. He said he could not vote for a candidate whose administration had presided over record numbers of migrants entering the country.

And Ms. Harris, he said, just did not seem tough enough.

If Mr. Trump is attracting young, ***working-class*** Latino men, Ms. Harris has her own cohort: women. A recent New York Times survey found that she had a [*30-point lead*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/09/23/us/elections/times-siena-arizona-crosstabs.html) among Hispanic women nationwide, but was just barely above water with Hispanic men.

That gender divide is evident in the Martinez family, who live in Maryvale, a ***working-class*** Latino neighborhood of Phoenix. The driveways in Maryvale are packed with pickups that leave every day for construction projects or home repair. On weekends, people sell warm churros and frozen fruit ices from their front yards to earn a little extra money.

Julio Martinez, 50, a truck driver, said he wanted to be a “team player” four years ago, and voted for Mr. Biden because his wife and daughter could not stand his opponent.

This year, though, he is fed up with the cost of housing and food. He is on Team Trump.

Political discussions at home have gotten so heated that the family had to watch the presidential debate last month in separate bedrooms.

Politics, however, is inescapable. The family is battered by political ads while watching Cardinals football games. Mr. Martinez drives past billboards on his predawn commute to haul wastewater, and his daughter, Julissa, sees ads as she flicks through social media.

On one blistering late-summer Sunday, arguments started up — again — about why Julissa had embraced Ms. Harris.

“Because Taylor Swift endorsed her,” Mr. Martinez said.

“I don’t like Taylor Swift,” she retorted. Explaining her support for Ms. Harris, she said: “I just like what she stands for — women’s rights and everything. It’s empowering for a woman to be so powerful.”

Julissa glanced at her father. “A man will never know what a woman goes through,” she said.

Arizona Democrats opened a field office last December on a commercial strip in Maryvale, where volunteers gather regularly to fan out through the neighborhood, knock on doors and get voters engaged. But at the barbershop next to the campaign office, the men on duty said they were not planning to vote. On residential streets, there are few political yard signs.

Robert Fernandez’s house, a few blocks away from the Martinez family, is one exception. A Harris-Walz flag flapped outside. But in that home, too, there is conflict.

Mr. Fernandez, 38 and an interior decorator, said his relatives used to all be Democrats. His mother voted for President Obama and Mr. Biden, and supported Mr. Fernandez after he told her he was gay.

But starting with the pandemic, and continuing through the Biden administration, his mother’s political views began to align more with her friends and neighbors in the conservative exurb of Phoenix where she lives. This year, she is supporting Mr. Trump.

Mr. Fernandez’s mother, Lucy, a retired retail worker, repeated some familiar conspiracy theories. She now saw the Democrats as puppets of the investment company BlackRock, “Hollywood idiots” and the liberal financier George Soros. She said she was not impressed with Ms. Harris’s accomplishments, and was unconvinced by efforts to win back support from voters like her without college degrees.

“I’m not well-educated, but I’m not that stupid,” she said.

When she visited Mr. Fernandez to help prepare elaborate Halloween decorations at his home, they spent much of the time fighting about the election.

“I’m more distant now with them,” Mr. Fernandez said, referring to the Trump-supporting wing of his family. “I care about my family, but I feel stabbed in the back.”

Mr. Fernandez’s mother said he simply did not want to understand the other side.

“I love my son and would do anything for him,” she said, “but when we get together, I have to tell him, ‘No politics.’”

There was no such luck for Miguel Gomez, the dissident Trump supporter. He said he had tried to avoid discussing the election with his parents, and bristled at his mother’s outspoken opposition to Mr. Trump.

“I try to get him to understand where we’re coming from,” said his mother, Elizabeth Pedraza-Gomez, whose family has lived in Arizona for six generations.

As they filled out their mail-in ballots together — Miguel’s first in a presidential election — his mother said she told him the decision was up to him. She left him alone at the kitchen island to finish, so she could get the ballots into the mail.

He cast an ambivalent vote for Ms. Harris. He said that he just wanted it to be over.

PHOTOS: Julio Martinez’s choice to vote for Donald J. Trump has put him at odds with his wife and daughter.; Miguel Gomez surprised his parents and friends when he said he was leaning toward Mr. Trump.; Robert Fernandez, right, and his husband, Marco Sanchez, are supporting Democratic candidates. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANNA WATTS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A16.

**Load-Date:** November 6, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Teamsters Won’t Endorse a Candidate for President in 2024***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D0J-19G1-DXY4-X1KD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 18, 2024 Wednesday 21:39 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1170 words

**Highlight:** The Teamsters president, Sean O’Brien, has shown an openness to former President Donald J. Trump, dividing the powerful union. Neither candidate will be the beneficiary of its considerable organizing muscle.

**Body**

The Teamsters president, Sean O’Brien, has shown an openness to former President Donald J. Trump, dividing the powerful union. Neither candidate will be the beneficiary of its considerable organizing muscle.

The leadership of the 1.3-million-member International Brotherhood of Teamsters said in a statement Wednesday it would not back a presidential candidate, a blow to Vice President Kamala Harris, who has the endorsement of the country’s other powerful labor unions.

The decision by the Teamsters board, while short of an endorsement for former President Donald J. Trump, vindicated Mr. Trump’s strategy of wooing the union’s president, Sean O’Brien, a leader who has repeatedly signaled his willingness to chart his own path. The board’s vote was 14 for not endorsing and three for Ms. Harris. No board member backed Mr. Trump.

“Unfortunately neither major candidate was able to make serious commitments to our union to ensure the interests of working people are always put before Big Business,” Mr. O’Brien said in the statement issued by the board.

Mr. O’Brien’s equivalence between the two candidates could be seen as a boost for Mr. Trump, especially considering the same statement noted that Ms. Harris backed pro-organizing legislation, known as the PRO Act, while Mr. Trump refused to commit to vetoing so-called right-to-work legislation, which would prohibit mandatory union dues payments from workers who opt out of a unionized workplace.

But the former president worked hard to curry Mr. O’Brien’s favor, inviting him to his private club and residence, Mar-a-Lago, this summer and then granting him his wish for a [*prime-time speaking slot*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/19/us/politics/teamsters-speech.html) at the Republican National Convention in July. The Democratic convention rebuffed him.

Mr. O’Brien’s openness to Mr. Trump — who angered other unions by appointing anti-labor members to the National Labor Relations Board and praising Elon Musk recently for a willingness to fire striking workers — has [*badly divided the union*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/19/us/politics/teamsters-speech.html).

The Teamsters’ National Black Caucus, more than a half-dozen Teamsters locals, and members of the union’s national leadership have endorsed Ms. Harris over Mr. O’Brien’s objections. Opponents of the former president have organized a [*Teamsters Against Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/19/us/politics/teamsters-speech.html) effort that has undermined Mr. O’Brien two years into his first term as president. After the national union declined to endorse on Wednesday, two Teamsters joint governing councils in the West, which cover 300,000 workers including those in the swing state of Nevada, announced they would back Ms. Harris. A number of other locals followed suit, including union locals in Michigan and Wisconsin.

The union endorsed President Biden in 2020, as well as the Democrats Hillary Clinton in 2016 and Barack Obama in 2008 and 2012.

“I’m very disappointed that our international leadership has chosen not to stand up to a bully and an anti-union candidate,” James Curbeam, chairman of the Teamsters’ National Black Caucus, said in an interview Wednesday.

On Monday, Ms. Harris held a round table with Teamsters leaders that was at times tense. Allies of Mr. O’Brien pushed her on the role President Biden played in [*averting a rail strike*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/19/us/politics/teamsters-speech.html) in late 2022 and the ways the White House could have been more helpful in a [*Teamsters dispute last summer with United Parcel Service*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/19/us/politics/teamsters-speech.html).

Ms. Harris said she would like the union’s endorsement, but she also said she would win in November and would treat the Teamsters fairly with or without it. Declining to endorse in the presidential election leaves the union officially on the sidelines, depriving both candidates of organizing muscle in the final weeks of the campaign.

The union’s membership was clearly divided. Earlier this year, when Mr. Biden was still in the race, Mr. O’Brien asked each Teamsters local to hold a straw poll. The Teamsters [*released those results on Wednesday*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/19/us/politics/teamsters-speech.html): Mr. Biden had won a plurality, 44 percent to Mr. Trump’s 36 percent. But the union released two other surveys as well, an “electronic member poll” that showed Mr. Trump crushing Ms. Harris, 60 percent to 34 percent, and a “research phone poll” with a similar Trump lead, 58 percent to 31 percent.

The Trump campaign hailed those numbers: “The vast majority of rank-and-file working men and women in this important organization want President Donald Trump back in the White House,” it said in a statement.

But the release of those polls, with their stark shift in opinion, prompted additional disagreement. Mr. Curbeam said the latter numbers were gleaned from an unscientific survey printed on the back of the union’s magazine.

And the Harris campaign took an unexpected swipe at Teamsters leaders after the decision.

“As the vice president told the Teamsters on Monday, when she is elected president, she will look out for the Teamsters rank-and-file no matter what,” Lauren Hitt, a Harris campaign spokeswoman, said, leaving out the top brass.

Ahead of the decision, the Harris campaign tried to mitigate the blow, noting that of the 10 largest unions in the country, only the Teamsters had not backed her, and that the umbrella labor organization, the A.F.L.-C.I.O., represents about 10 times the number of workers in the Teamsters and is working hard on Ms. Harris’s behalf.

Still, with its diffuse membership and its ***working-class*** credibility among truck drivers, rail workers and freight haulers, the Teamsters union could have bolstered the Democrats’ ground game in battleground states this fall.

The decision not to endorse reflected the divisions within the union’s rank-and-file. Leaders who backed Ms. Harris noted that the Biden administration had done much to like. Mr. Biden’s Covid relief bill, the American Rescue Plan, included the one measure that Teamsters leaders wanted the most — [*a huge bailout of pension plans*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/19/us/politics/teamsters-speech.html) that will restore retirement accounts at the union for three decades.

“When we were all worried about what was going to happen with our pensions, I remember watching Kamala Harris cast that vote, and there was nothing but applause all around,” said Michelle Espinoza, 51, a member of Teamsters Local 135 in Indianapolis who drives a semi-truck cross country with her husband every week. (Ms. Harris broke the tie on the American Rescue Plan.)

The [*$1 trillion infrastructure bill*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/19/us/politics/teamsters-speech.html), the [*$280 billion measure to rekindle a domestic semiconductor industry*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/19/us/politics/teamsters-speech.html) and the [*Inflation Reduction Act*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/19/us/politics/teamsters-speech.html) and its $370 billion for clean energy to combat climate change all had pro-union provisions, including measures that mandated union-scale wages and tilted toward union apprenticeship and training programs.

But ***working-class*** voters, especially white men, have favored Mr. Trump, a point Ms. Harris conceded on Monday when she told Teamsters leaders that she understood the union’s rank-and-file was looking at issues beyond labor, such as immigration. She implored Teamsters officials to tell members that she had backed a bipartisan border security bill that was negotiated in the Senate and then killed at the behest of Mr. Trump.

This article appeared in print on page A16.

**Load-Date:** September 19, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Along U.S. Route 441, Scenes of the Demoralizing American Grind; Up Close***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CT0-3271-DXY4-X1TW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 23, 2024 Friday 10:33 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 350 words

**Byline:** Walker Mimms

**Highlight:** In “Orange Blossom Trail,” the photographer Joshua Lutz and the author George Saunders pay tribute to the hard living across one stretch of American highway.

**Body**

In “Orange Blossom Trail,” the photographer Joshua Lutz and the author George Saunders pay tribute to the hard living across one stretch of American highway.

With an austere frankness, the 62 photos by Joshua Lutz in ORANGE BLOSSOM TRAIL (Image Text Ithaca Press, $40) document the hard living, low-wage jobs and big-box landscapes along a single stretch of highway that runs 400 miles from Georgia to Miami, cutting right through Orlando, Fla.

High shutter speeds hide road workers’ faces in shadow. Corporate storefronts and commercial vans appear without ceremony, as if snapped from a camera phone. Commuters wait for a bus, reduced and sad, while a sign for “Mighty Wings” floats mockingly above them.

Though not without dignity — see Lutz’s portraits of fruit inspectors, as they glance up from a conveyor belt of tumbling oranges — his photos lack any social agenda. They find an unlikely manifesto in the three previously published texts by George Saunders, our Chekhov of suburban realism, threaded through the book.

Saunders’s 2022 allegory of death and hope, “My House,” casts a certain entropy over Lutz’s close-ups of oranges — the region’s alleged cash crop — overtaken by rot and snails. In “Exhortation” (2013), a story told in the voice of an embarrassing middle manager trying to psych up his employees, Saunders expertly confuses the objects of our allegiances. In a sincerely Buddhist essay from 2007, he asks us to view misfortune “with clarity, rather than judging.” It’s almost a caption for Lutz’s images, as attuned to ironically pleasing harmonies of shades of orange — across workers’ safety vests, loan shark signs, a child’s slightly tragic coloring book — as they are to any drama of the ***working class***. Mindfulness, often prescribed for happiness, can be brutal.

Not quite an illustrated Saunders, nor an annotated Lutz, this bizarre almost-collaboration confronts the demoralizing American grind with an attitude between sympathy and resignation. An attitude that’s rare in art because we seldom admit it to ourselves.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Joshua Lutz FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 26, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Malört's Rise Tests Its Midwestern Roots***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DHD-5KF1-JBG3-62JF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 27, 2024 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section D; Column 0; Dining In, Dining Out / Style Desk; Pg. 10

**Length:** 1094 words

**Byline:** By Charlie Kolodziej

**Body**

Malört is, in one word, unforgiving. Made from neutral spirits, wormwood and sugar, it tastes a little like sucking dandelion juice through a straw made of car tires. It is also kind of good. Intensely bitter, it's herbaceous and a touch citrusy, as if you were to bite a grapefruit like an apple.

It is also, in five words, the unofficial liquor of Chicago.

Carl Jeppson, a Swedish immigrant to the city, peddled Jeppson's Malört as a digestif as early as the 1930s. ''It was the only liquor to survive Prohibition because no one believed that a human being would drink that on purpose, and that it had to be medicinal,'' said J.W. Basilo, the manager of the Promontory and a bartender in Chicago for more than 20 years.

Around a decade ago, career bartenders like Mr. Basilo began embracing Malört as a symbol of industry cool. They liked that it was only 35 percent alcohol by volume, so you could down several shots in a shift and still manage to count change.

Locals liked that it had an unfriendly edge, and that you could get it only in Chicago. Tasting of citrus pith and pencil shavings, it became the designated initiation shot, something you downed to prove your Midwest mettle -- a difficult drink for a difficult place to live.

But in recent years, Malört has built a following in seemingly unlikely locales, popping up in cities like Seattle, New Orleans and Denver, as a devoted group of Malört evangelists takes the dispiriting spirit a little more seriously.

In just over a decade, the drink has gone from being sold exclusively in Illinois to checkering back bars across 33 states. Malört was first distributed outside of Illinois in 2013, to Wisconsin, and then to four more states and the District of Columbia five years later when CH Distillery bought the brand from Pat Gabelick, who owned it for 20 years. In 2018, distribution outside of Illinois accounted for only 6 percent of total Malört sales. Today, that number is 37 percent.

But some bartenders and fans are concerned that the liquor is losing the down-home energy that made it popular. ''When it went national, it stopped being a quirky local secret,'' Mr. Basilo said, ''and turned into the kind of thing annoying tourists ask about.'' You can take Malört out of the Midwest, but can you take the Midwest out of Malört?

At Pepp's Pub in New Orleans, the only self-described ''Malört-centric bar'' in the United States, everyone gets a free Malört initiation shot. Hundreds of Malört die-hards flock to the pub each July for ''Malörtigras,'' a Mardi Gras parody event the owner Sam Wurth has hosted for five years.

Mr. Wurth, who tended bar in Chicago for 10 years before moving down South, takes Polaroids of Malört first-timers and asks them to write descriptions of the drink on the border. Hundreds of snapshots plaster the walls of the bar's two bathrooms. A sampling of their tiny captions: ''Swamp grass in July,'' ''Pain'' and, Mr. Wurth's favorite, ''The powder inside of a balloon.'' Malört turns even the most prosaic into unexpected poets.

The seltzer revolution has significantly altered bar culture's DNA, he said, as customers are drinking less and choosing prepackaged beverages more often. As a consequence, bars have lost some of the charm that once made them communal spaces. Malört inspires the sort of Schadenfreude that gets people talking again. ''One of my favorite things is when people try Malört for the first time, all of the other bar regulars will look at them and then laugh or react,'' Mr. Wurth said. ''It just makes people a part of a community.''

Even as the Malört diaspora grows, its reputation as a conversation starter would seem to cement it as a uniquely Midwestern liquor. What could be more Heartland than wanting to chat up every patron at the bar?

For most of its lifetime, Malört was known only as something your grandfather knocked back with his buddies at the local dive. It is a type of Swedish besk, and for years it survived on the paychecks of Chicago's large communities of Scandinavian and Eastern European immigrants, according to Josh Noel, a journalist and author of the book ''Malört: The Redemption of a Revered and Reviled Spirit.''

This association with an old-school, ***working-class*** slice of the Midwest is one reason Malört has done so well in Seattle, said Dustin Haarstad, who owns the punk and metal bar Black Cat there. ''Ever since this massive gentrification of my hometown, I think there's been this cry out for some sort of attachment to a more roughneck, blue collar mentality that was Seattle for so long,'' he said. ''I think that Malört just really sings that song.''

Black Cat has the somewhat dubious distinction of being the first bar in the country to feature a Malört tap designed by CH Distillery. Still, you won't find many ordering a Malört cocktail in Seattle -- or anywhere else for that matter. Despite Malört's rise, it remains a shot you down alongside a cold, local beer -- a pairing known as a Chicago Handshake.

Despite worries that the drink would lose its edge as it went national, Malört continues to cut through the cocktail cacophony, offering a bitter but refreshingly relaxed counterpoint to the highbrow mixology popularized over the last two decades.

Outside of Chicago, Honore Club in Bushwick, Brooklyn, may be the only place you can try the closest thing to a signature Malört cocktail: the Hard Sell, a mix of Malört, gin, lemon and elderflower liqueur.

Stepping inside Honore Club is like stumbling into your hometown's V.F.W. hall, all wood paneling and Formica countertops. The Bushwick bar is emblematic of a sort of Midwest cultural renaissance. It seems no coincidence that Malört's star is rising as Chappell Roan, one of the year's biggest pop stars, claims the title of ''Midwest princess,'' and ''The Bear'' spawns myriad Italian beef pop-ups. In uncertain times, people crave coziness and a Midwest sincerity. People want Malört.

Mr. Wurth, the bar owner in New Orleans, doesn't seem too concerned about the drink losing its Midwestern ethos as it crosses state lines, nor does he worry about it fully breaking into the mainstream. Malört's unique astringency will weed out fake fans, he said, and keep the drink on the back bar and off the cocktail menu. ''Malört isn't Taylor Swift. Malört is the Ramones. Both are awesome, but they're different awesome.''

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**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Clockwise from far left: Dustin Haarstad, the owner of Black Cat in Seattle, pouring from the bar's Malört tap

it is served at Honore Club in Brooklyn as part of the Hard Sell, a cocktail

Sam Wurth, the owner of Pepp's Pub in New Orleans, takes Polaroids of customers' reactions

and a Black Cat regular sports a Malört pin on his overalls. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHONA KASINGER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

MARISSA ALPER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

BRYAN TARNOWSKI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

CHONA KASINGER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page D10.

**Load-Date:** November 28, 2024

**End of Document**



[***In Global Finale, Biden Hopes Rail Project Defines Africa Legacy***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DJY-RF01-DXY4-X2XK-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 4, 2024 Wednesday 23:21 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; africa

**Length:** 1219 words

**Byline:** Peter Baker and Zolan Kanno-YoungsPeter Baker is the chief White House correspondent for The Times. He has covered the last five presidents and sometimes writes analytical pieces that place presidents and their administrations in a larger context and historical framework.

**Highlight:** In his last announced trip abroad as president, Mr. Biden relished touring a U.S.-financed train line in Angola intended to transport goods and critical minerals to port.

**Body**

In his last announced trip abroad as president, Mr. Biden relished touring a U.S.-financed train line in Angola intended to transport goods and critical minerals to port.

On the final day of perhaps [*his final trip overseas*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/01/us/politics/biden-africa-angola-economic-strategy.html) as commander in chief, President Biden celebrated his foreign policy agenda by turning to a piece of infrastructure at the [*heart of his identity*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/01/us/politics/biden-africa-angola-economic-strategy.html): a train.

It was not the Amtrak train Mr. Biden rode [*frequently as a senator*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/01/us/politics/biden-africa-angola-economic-strategy.html) or chose as the setting for the kickoff of his first presidential campaign nearly four decades ago. Mr. Biden instead toured a section of an 800-mile railway project in Angola that his administration hopes will be the key to expanding U.S. economic influence in Africa, [*a continent rich with critical minerals.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/01/us/politics/biden-africa-angola-economic-strategy.html)

“I’m coming back to ride on the train from end to end,” Mr. Biden told President João Lourenço of Angola during a round table with African leaders in the port city of Lobito. “We’re not just laying tracks. We’re laying the groundwork for a better future for our people.”

Mr. Biden was spotlighting what is known as the Lobito Corridor, a railway project that his aides say is the [*proof behind the president’s commitment*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/01/us/politics/biden-africa-angola-economic-strategy.html) to be [*“all in on Africa’s future,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/01/us/politics/biden-africa-angola-economic-strategy.html) amid growing concern the United States has neglected the continent over the years and allowed [*China to gain economic dominance*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/01/us/politics/biden-africa-angola-economic-strategy.html) in the region.

The project, funded in part by the United States, runs from Angola’s border with the Democratic Republic of Congo to Lobito, which sits on the Atlantic Ocean. Mr. Biden has said it will help connect Angola’s economy to nearby markets, including in Zambia. But it is also a means to expand U.S. access to a region rich with critical minerals, like copper and cobalt, used to make batteries for various products, including cellphones and electric vehicles.

Once the railway is complete, it would mean minerals could be more easily shipped to the United States, allowing the country to make progress on its goal of diversifying its supply chains.

But despite Mr. Biden’s victory lap on Wednesday, the United States is still facing an uphill climb when it comes to competing with China for access to critical minerals in the continent, according to foreign policy analysts.

Beijing helped Angola rebuild after a devastating civil war that ended in 2002, and since then, Angola has accumulated more than $42 billion in Chinese debt, more than any other African nation. And while Mr. Biden hopes the new rail line expands access to critical minerals, China currently has firm control over critical minerals in Congo.

Chinese-based mining companies own or have a major stake in most cobalt-producing sites in Congo, which [*produced 76 percent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/01/us/politics/biden-africa-angola-economic-strategy.html) of the world’s supply of the metal last year. The last large American-owned mining company pulled out of Congo in 2020, just as the [*electric vehicle revolution was taking off*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/01/us/politics/biden-africa-angola-economic-strategy.html).

“We have never leveraged our economic commercial power the way other nations have,” said Tibor P. Nagy Jr., who was appointed by President Bill Clinton twice to serve as an ambassador in Africa and then by the Trump administration to serve as assistant secretary of state for African affairs. He said “the Biden administration talked a really good game,” but “they have not delivered.”

Mr. Biden has said the railway project would not only diversify the economies of African nations, but also entice manufacturers to build factories along the railway because they can use it to transport goods. As the president traveled to Lobito on Wednesday, his administration announced $560 million in new funding for infrastructure projects along the railway, bringing total U.S. investments by the administration for the project to $4 billion.

The project will also encourage more investment into the region from the private sector, according to the White House. Mr. Biden’s administration is helping to fund the project with federal grants and direct loans that his aides say do not have the kind of high interest rates offered by their Chinese counterparts, which have left African nations crippled with debt, according to the White House.

Edu Xiong, the spokesman for the Chinese Embassy in Luanda, the capital of Angola, has countered that few on the ground in Angola have yet to actually feel the economic benefits of the Lobito Corridor.

It is unclear when African nations will be able to reap the full benefits of the project. A senior U.S. official, speaking on the condition of anonymity to discuss specific details of the Lobito Corridor, said the rail line in Angola would not be complete until “next year-ish.” Construction of the rail line in Zambia will then begin.

Still, African leaders meeting with Mr. Biden on Wednesday praised the project as a means for benefiting their local economies.

“The political commitment of all engaged people in the materialization of this project is a milestone,” Mr. Lourenço said at the round table inside a food processing factory after Mr. Biden finished touring the yellow shipping containers, giant cranes and railway cars at the Lobito Port Terminal.

Speaking to the leaders at the round table, President Hakainde Hichilema of Zambia said the project would help more than the countries along the route of the railway.

“Not just us — it’s good for Africa,” he said. “I must say, this project is a huge opportunity.”

But some Angolan officials were concerned that the investment into the railway would be siphoned off by corruption, and not make its way to the ***working class***.

“Lobito Corridor is a very big project. It’s important. But we want transparency, accountability,” said Olívio Nkilumbo, a parliamentarian with the opposition UNITA party in Angola. “Where is the transparency and accountability? It’s a big problem.”

Despite Mr. Biden’s commitments, some foreign policy experts still questioned how enduring the White House’s focus on Africa would be. Mr. Biden’s trip to the continent, his last announced trip overseas, came with just weeks left in his presidency after multiple delays. The trip was also overshadowed by his decision to pardon his son, Hunter Biden, of tax and gun convictions.

The Trump campaign did not answer questions about what strategy President-elect Donald J. Trump would pursue on the continent. But J. Peter Pham, an Africa policy expert who worked in the first Trump administration, [*has said*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/01/us/politics/biden-africa-angola-economic-strategy.html) the Lobito project was likely to appeal to Mr. Trump.

In the final moments of perhaps his final round table with foreign leaders overseas, Mr. Biden appeared tired at times.

While some of the African leaders spoke in the hot room, the 82-year-old occasionally put his head down in his hand and closed his eyes before popping up to turn to his peers.

But he said his love for trains would bring him back to the continent in the future, even though he will no longer be president.

Mr. Biden recalled that when President Abraham Lincoln retired, he said he wanted to take a ride on the transcontinental railroad.

“I want to take a trip on this rail line, if I can,” Mr. Biden said.

Eric Lipton contributed reporting from Washington.

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PHOTO: President Biden at the Lobito Port Terminal in Angola, on Wednesday, in what is likely his last announced trip abroad as president. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIC LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A7.

**Load-Date:** December 4, 2024

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[***Seeing a Populist Champion in Both Sanders and a Billionaire***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DM5-XR11-JBG3-646J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 10, 2024 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 16

**Length:** 1388 words

**Byline:** By Claire Cain Miller

**Body**

For some young men in particular, the populist pitches from Mr. Sanders and Mr. Trump aligned with their attitudes about the ruling class.

They feel frustrated by the status quo, and they're fed up with the system. They don't trust politicians, and they want revolutionary change.

They are men, many of them younger, who are looking for a champion. Once, they liked Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont as a presidential candidate. This election, they voted for Donald J. Trump.

The number of Sanders supporters who have gone MAGA is most likely a sliver of the electorate. But they illustrate an important pattern in American politics, political scientists say, one that might help explain Mr. Trump's success with young men in particular. For certain voters, political preferences are defined not by party, but by their attitudes about the ruling class -- whether they trust people in power, or think they've rigged the system against ordinary people.

In the final New York Times/Siena College national poll in late October, nearly two-thirds of voters said the government was ''mostly working to benefit itself and the elites,'' rather than ''the people and the country.'' Eighty-two percent of Trump voters said so, twice as many as Kamala Harris voters.

The idea resonated in particular with men and younger voters, the poll found -- groups that Mr. Trump especially courted in this election and that Mr. Sanders did well with in his Democratic primary campaigns in 2016 and 2020.

''The connective tissue from Trump to Sanders is something akin to populism -- the ruling class sucks -- and that rhetoric plays well among a certain class of people who don't feel the government works for them,'' said Joshua Dyck, a political science professor at the University of Massachusetts Lowell.

''The politics of anti-elite grievance is not just popular in the United States and it's not just popular on the right,'' he said. ''It is the story of politics right now.''

Perhaps the highest-profile Sanders-to-Trump supporter is Joe Rogan, the popular podcaster, especially among young men. He endorsed Mr. Sanders in 2020, and while he once disavowed Mr. Trump, this year he had him on his show and endorsed him.

In interviews, young men who once supported Mr. Sanders and voted for Mr. Trump this election said they wanted drastic change. They didn't necessarily consider themselves to be very conservative -- they had voted for Democrats in the past, identified as independents or were liberal on social issues.

But they distrusted politicians and wanted candidates who could relate to ordinary people. They wished the United States spent more money helping working Americans, and less on helping other countries fight wars or supporting immigrants.

''A lot of the established political class has kind of forgotten what it's like to be a regular person,'' said Matthew Michels, 24, a mechanical engineer in Hancock, Mich.

Mr. Michels said he liked economic policy ideas Mr. Trump had mentioned, like using tariffs to bring more manufacturing back to the United States and eliminating income taxes. But mostly, he appreciated that Mr. Trump and Mr. Sanders, along with Vice President-elect JD Vance, ''understood what it's like to not be in that sort of upper crust of society position,'' he said.

''Trump obviously didn't start life as a regular person, he was wealthy from the start, but everything I heard him say, he got the sense of what it's like to be an average person a lot more,'' he said.

''If Democrats had somebody like Bernie, who was very focused on working people, with a track record,'' he said, ''they could probably win me back.''

The idea that the interests of ordinary people and elites are fundamentally opposed is the key tenet of populism, according to the commonly used definition by Cas Mudde, a Dutch political scientist. These groups are vaguely defined, but populism holds that elites use their power to their advantage. Research has shown that this message is particularly powerful with men, especially those in the ***working class***, who may feel marginalized by economic and cultural changes.

For all their differences in policy and personality, Mr. Trump and Mr. Sanders sound very similar when they speak to these concerns.

Mr. Trump, at a rally in June, said President Biden was ''fighting for all of the corrupt interests that get rich off the suffering of the middle class,'' while he was ''fighting for the working people.''

Mr. Sanders, on ''The Daily'' podcast last month, said Americans living paycheck to paycheck are rightfully angry, while ''the very wealthiest people in this country have never ever had it so good.''

They disagree on whom to blame for voters' anger -- Mr. Sanders largely blames billionaires, while Mr. Trump focuses on undocumented immigrants -- but both politicians provide an enemy.

In some cases, they also differ on how to help these voters. Medicare for all, abortion rights and taxes on the rich, for example, are all liberal policies that Mr. Sanders supports and that Mr. Trump doesn't.

But in other areas, like their opposition to free trade and to intervention in foreign conflicts, they sound similar. Mr. Trump's populist streak has led to a blurring of traditional party lines.

He unnerved some Republicans when he picked a pro-union secretary of labor. When he spoke earlier this year about expanding the child tax credit, a traditionally Democratic goal, he said, ''I do things that aren't necessarily Republican.''

The biggest concern for Jose Rodriguez Vazquez, 37, an iron welder in Lakeland, Fla., is ''making sure that citizens get taken care of before anyone else, before outsiders,'' he said, something he thought that both candidates seemed to understand.

He said he appreciated Mr. Trump's promise to cut off aid to Ukraine: ''Instead of just throwing money away on a war that has nothing to do with us, why not say, hey, maybe we should raise the tax credits for the families that work throughout the year?''

Gideon Smith, 39, a crane operator outside Tacoma, Wash., is a veteran with a political science degree, but he left the field because he was fed up with government. ''I met one too many politicians and despised all of them,'' he said. But he likes Mr. Sanders and Mr. Trump, and their opposition to war and support of unions.

''I'm a union man, so making things American-made is huge, and this is Bernie and Trump,'' he said. ''Trump has been the best president for union workers we had in ages.''

Mr. Biden was the first president to join a picket line, and dozens of unions endorsed Ms. Harris for president. Mr. Trump has offered some proposals to help unionized workers, but he also weakened labor regulations in his first term, and during the campaign he said striking workers should be fired.

Mr. Smith said he was aware of Mr. Trump's reputation for being anti-worker, but said, ''Union members' pocketbooks looked pretty good when he was president.''

Tim Chapman is the president of Advancing American Freedom, a political advocacy group started by former Vice President Mike Pence that hews to traditional Republican priorities of limited government and free markets. ''I think Donald Trump is far closer to Bernie Sanders than a lot of Republicans might be comfortable admitting, especially on economic policy,'' he said.

Still, he and other analysts said, the young men who have supported both candidates may have been motivated less by specific policies and more by a feeling of being left behind. Economic changes, like the falling relative income of men without college degrees, and cultural forces, like cancel culture, have made it seem harder to be a man. They might also have been motivated by sexism, said Brian Schaffner, a political scientist at Tufts, given that both candidates ran against women.

These voters may not be aligned with a party as much as an anti-establishment ethos -- one that is fostered online, sometimes in a conspiratorial vein, on social media, gaming platforms and podcasts.

''Right now I don't even think young men are clamoring for policy,'' Mr. Chapman said. ''Young men feel the world closing in. They're looking for recognition. And they get recognition from the Joe Rogans of the world, they get recognition from Trump, they get recognition from Bernie Sanders.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/09/upshot/voters-trump-bernie-sanders.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/09/upshot/voters-trump-bernie-sanders.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Bernie Sanders has little in common with Donald J. Trump, but some sought drastic change. (PHOTOGRAPH BY STEVEN FERDMAN/GC IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page A16.

**Load-Date:** December 10, 2024

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[***J.D. Vance's Vision Of a Populist America***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C9Y-F5D1-DXY4-X066-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 23, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Sunday Review Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 1490 words

**Body**

The Ohio senator J.D. Vance is championing an American version of populist politics that is gaining traction in this year's elections. For the podcast ''Matter of Opinion,'' four Times Opinion writers discussed populism today, and its history. This conversation has been edited for length and clarity.

Lydia Polgreen: Ross, you had a fascinating interview with J.D. Vance. He's now on the Trump shortlist. He's the junior senator from Ohio. He's someone who I think has a very bright political future. Why did you want to talk to him, and what makes him so interesting in this particular moment as we're thinking about populism, both at home and abroad?

Ross Douthat: He's first very culturally interesting because he's someone who rose to prominence as a memoirist of white ***working-class*** life who was taken up, after he wrote his memoir ''Hillbilly Elegy,'' by the liberal intelligentsia in 2016, 2017, as someone who explained the pathologies and cultural disarray that led to Trumpism. But he then became a leading Trumpist himself. That is a fascinating transformation of his place in American culture.

But he's also interesting because he is much more than most Republican politicians who have adopted populism. He's really interested in the policy dilemmas around populism -- the question of if populism can actually offer solutions to the economic and cultural problems it's interested in. So to the extent that there is a place where a populist agenda might come from in a second Trump term or over the next 10 or 15 years, it's probably going to come from someone like Vance.

Lydia: What are the ideas that are driving Vance these days?

Ross: I spent a lot of time talking to him about populist economic policy. The populist economic argument with Trump was, ''Republicans need to stop worrying all the time about cutting entitlements, leave Medicare and Social Security alone and just try and restructure the American economy in ways that get especially ***working-class*** men back into the work force.''

This was basically the argument that Vance gave me when I asked for a populist vision for the next 10 years: We're going to use industrial policy, tariffs and immigration restrictions to make it easier to get a job as a ***working-class***, native-born, blue-collar American, and there's going to be a big economic dividend from both getting those workers back into the work force and also forcing companies to innovate more rather than just relying on cheap labor.

What I was trying to push him on, and which I think is going to be a problem for a second Trump administration's economic policy, is that the right-wing coalition in America is built on saying, ''We're not going to cut a lot of social spending on entitlements and so on, but we're still in an alliance with the, let's say, rich wing of the Republican Party. So we're also not going to raise taxes that much, or at all.'' But under conditions of inflation, you start facing hard choices quickly. And if you're a populist and you can't either cut spending or raise taxes, then you get inflation.

It's not clear to me that a second Trump administration has a way out of that trap. But I think that part of the populist agenda is really important. Because it's actually where populist governments are likely to succeed or fail.

Carlos Lozada: Is he a true believer in this ''champion of the ***working class***'' stuff, or is he a convenient one?

Ross: Oh, I think he's completely sincere, having known him a long time. And I think the psychology of it, which he himself says at the outset of the interview, makes sense. He wrote a book that included a pretty sharp cultural critique of white ***working-class*** Middle America. But it's one thing to critique your own family, let's say. It's another thing to hear that critique offered back to you from elites.

Michelle Cottle: So I haven't known Vance for many years, but I followed him on the trail, and I have sat down with him. He's very good at explaining the economic aspects of his populism. I think he's genuine. With the other aspect of populism, the us-versus-them demagoguing, he's much slipperier. And he's not so convincing when he tries to justify these and what Trumpism has become, whether we're talking about the great replacement theory that he flirts with or whether we're talking about his absurd justifications for trafficking in the stop-the-steal election nonsense.

Lydia: Let's back up, because I do want to think a little bit about the tradition in which these ideas sit. Trump didn't invent populism. It has been a strain of American politics for a very, very long time.

Michelle: Huey Long, baby!

Lydia: Carlos, maybe you could situate us a bit in that history as we think about the figures who are emerging.

Carlos: There's a long history of American populism and the populist style in American politics. It's as much a style as a substantive policy program. But probably the first major standard-bearer was William Jennings Bryan, a chronic failed presidential candidate, Nebraska Democrat, anti-imperialist antimonopolist. Michelle mentioned Huey Long, an ''every man a king,'' anticorporate, into wealth redistribution, supercorrupt Louisiana governor and U.S. senator. Then there's George Wallace, who painted himself the champion of the common man, Alabama governor, ''segregation now, tomorrow, and forever,'' also chronic presidential candidate.

You see the mix of left and right in American populism. Ross Perot, another failed presidential candidate, got close to 19 percent of the vote. If you basically combine the beliefs of Ross Perot and the culture-war vibe of Pat Buchanan, you get proto-Trumpism.

Occasionally, you have movement politics, right? The Tea Party, which is a mix of like, you know, race and economics; Occupy Wall Street from the left. But more often than not, it's these very personalistic movements -- Bernie Sanders and Trump are the most recent iterations of that.

What I find most interesting about Vance is that it feels like he is trying to put more substance around populism than in many prior iterations. I don't quite see enough to buy it yet. But that's the tradition that this moment comes out of.

Ross: I think the norm, though, in American history has been that you have outsider figures, weirdos, cranks, oddballs and so on, who are the standard-bearers of populist movements. And then you have establishment figures who succeed in taking parts of that outsider movement and bringing them into effective governance. This was F.D.R.'s relationship to Huey Long and Charles Coughlin, right? A successful pulling of ideas from populism while marginalizing certain actual populists. I think you can say the same thing about Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan with populism on the right.

The challenge now is that there isn't an establishment figure who's trying to channel populism. You have Trump, who is the outsider who has taken over. And then you have other figures -- Vance and others -- trying to make something out of populism in that shadow.

I think that's what Biden also wanted to do, draw some of the Trump energy on trade and national greatness and confronting China and create a center-left governing strategy. That's how populist eras turn into so-called ''normal eras.''

Michelle: One of the reasons that these movements tend to be, if not fragile, then at least very fraught is because central to them, you have to have the policy elements or the delivery elements, but you also just almost always have a charismatic central figure. Trump fits that bill. But my question remains: What happens when he's gone? Figures like Vance don't really have that sparkle. Maybe they'll grow into it, maybe somebody will emerge. But going back to Huey Long -- he absolutely terrified F.D.R.'s people.

Long was the basis for Robert Penn Warren's Pulitzer Prize-winning novel ''All the Kings' Men,'' and Warren once said of Long that without this gift for attracting myth, he would not have been the power he was, for good or evil. And this gift was fused with a dramatic sense and, ultimately, with the atmosphere of violence that he generated.

This is Trump in a nutshell. He has got this huge myth surrounding him, which is really, really, really hard to do. He is a generational defining figure who we're not going to see again. And so, populism will be around. It will percolate. You will have people like Vance or whoever. But post-Trump, if it hasn't kind of dug in by then, it has missed its moment.

Carlos: Populism is always about possibilities more than realities. It's about assigning blame more than taking responsibility. That's the appeal but also its built-in limitation. There's a lot of debate about whether populism is a threat to democracy. I think that gets it backward. I think that the emergence of the resonance of populist forces is a signal that something is going wrong in the regular functioning of democracy already.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/21/opinion/jd-vance-and-americas-populist-future.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/21/opinion/jd-vance-and-americas-populist-future.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL REYNOLDS/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK) (SR5) This article appeared in print on page SR4, SR5.

**Load-Date:** June 23, 2024

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[***How Some Voters Moved From Bernie Sanders to Donald Trump***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DM0-5CG1-JBG3-63J4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 9, 2024 Monday 00:05 EST

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**Section:** UPSHOT

**Length:** 1399 words

**Byline:** Claire Cain MillerClaire Cain Miller is a Times reporter covering gender, families and education.

**Highlight:** For some young men in particular, the populist pitches from Mr. Sanders and Mr. Trump aligned with their attitudes about the ruling class.

**Body**

For some young men in particular, the populist pitches from Mr. Sanders and Mr. Trump aligned with their attitudes about the ruling class.

They feel frustrated by the status quo, and they’re fed up with the system. They don’t trust politicians, and they want revolutionary change.

They are men, many of them younger, who are looking for a champion. Once, they liked Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont as a presidential candidate. This election, they voted for Donald J. Trump.

The number of Sanders supporters who have gone MAGA is [*most likely*](https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2017/8/24/16194086/bernie-trump-voters-study) a sliver of the electorate. But they illustrate an important pattern in American politics, political scientists say, one that might help explain Mr. Trump’s success with young men in particular. [*For certain voters, political preferences are defined*](https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2017/8/24/16194086/bernie-trump-voters-study) not by party, but by their attitudes about the ruling class — whether they trust people in power, or think they’ve rigged the system against ordinary people.

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“The politics of anti-elite grievance is not just popular in the United States and it’s not just popular on the right,” he said. “It is the story of politics right now.”

Perhaps the highest-profile Sanders-to-Trump supporter is Joe Rogan, the popular podcaster, especially among young men. He [*endorsed Mr. Sanders in 2020*](https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2017/8/24/16194086/bernie-trump-voters-study), and while he [*once disavowed Mr. Trump*](https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2017/8/24/16194086/bernie-trump-voters-study), this year he had him on his show and [*endorsed him*](https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2017/8/24/16194086/bernie-trump-voters-study).

In interviews, young men who once supported Mr. Sanders and voted for Mr. Trump this election said they wanted drastic change. They didn’t necessarily consider themselves to be very conservative — they had voted for Democrats in the past, identified as independents or were liberal on social issues.

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“Trump obviously didn’t start life as a regular person, he was wealthy from the start, but everything I heard him say, he got the sense of what it’s like to be an average person a lot more,” he said.

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The idea that the interests of ordinary people and elites are fundamentally opposed is the key tenet of populism, [*according to the commonly used definition by Cas Mudde*](https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2017/8/24/16194086/bernie-trump-voters-study), a Dutch political scientist. These groups are vaguely defined, but populism holds that elites use their power to their advantage. Research has [*shown*](https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2017/8/24/16194086/bernie-trump-voters-study) that this message is particularly powerful with men, especially [*those in the* ***working class***](https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2017/8/24/16194086/bernie-trump-voters-study), who may feel marginalized by economic and cultural changes.

For all their differences in policy and personality, Mr. Trump and Mr. Sanders [*sound very similar*](https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2017/8/24/16194086/bernie-trump-voters-study) when they speak to these concerns.

Mr. Trump, [*at a rally in June*](https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2017/8/24/16194086/bernie-trump-voters-study), said President Biden was “fighting for all of the corrupt interests that get rich off the suffering of the middle class,” while he was “fighting for the working people.”

Mr. Sanders, [*on “The Daily” podcast last month*](https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2017/8/24/16194086/bernie-trump-voters-study), said Americans living paycheck to paycheck are rightfully angry, while “the very wealthiest people in this country have never ever had it so good.”

They disagree on whom to blame for voters’ anger — Mr. Sanders largely blames billionaires, while Mr. Trump focuses on undocumented immigrants — but both politicians provide an enemy.

In some cases, they also differ on how to help these voters. Medicare for all, abortion rights and taxes on the rich, for example, are all liberal policies that Mr. Sanders supports and that Mr. Trump doesn’t.

But in other areas, like their opposition to [*free trade*](https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2017/8/24/16194086/bernie-trump-voters-study) and to intervention in foreign conflicts, they sound similar. Mr. Trump’s populist streak has led to a blurring of traditional party lines.

He [*unnerved*](https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2017/8/24/16194086/bernie-trump-voters-study) some Republicans when he picked a pro-union secretary of labor. When he spoke earlier this year about expanding the child tax credit, [*a traditionally Democratic goal*](https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2017/8/24/16194086/bernie-trump-voters-study), he said, “I do things that aren’t necessarily Republican.”

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Mr. Biden was the first president to join a picket line, and dozens of unions endorsed Ms. Harris for president. Mr. Trump has [*offered some proposals*](https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2017/8/24/16194086/bernie-trump-voters-study) to help unionized workers, but he also [*weakened labor regulations*](https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2017/8/24/16194086/bernie-trump-voters-study) in his first term, and during the campaign he [*said*](https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2017/8/24/16194086/bernie-trump-voters-study) striking workers should be fired.

Mr. Smith said he was aware of Mr. Trump’s reputation for being anti-worker, but said, “Union members’ pocketbooks looked pretty good when he was president.”

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These voters may not be aligned with a party as much as [*an anti-establishment ethos*](https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2017/8/24/16194086/bernie-trump-voters-study) — one that is fostered [*online*](https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2017/8/24/16194086/bernie-trump-voters-study), sometimes in a conspiratorial vein, on social media, gaming platforms and podcasts.

“Right now I don’t even think young men are clamoring for policy,” Mr. Chapman said. “Young men feel the world closing in. They’re looking for recognition. And they get recognition from the Joe Rogans of the world, they get recognition from Trump, they get recognition from Bernie Sanders.”

PHOTO: Bernie Sanders has little in common with Donald J. Trump, but some sought drastic change. (PHOTOGRAPH BY STEVEN FERDMAN/GC IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page A16.

**Load-Date:** December 10, 2024

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[***Tuesday Briefing: Trump’s Criminal Cases Likely to Be Dismissed***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DH2-9V41-DXY4-X3VJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 25, 2024 Monday 15:55 EST

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1179 words

**Byline:** Justin PorterJustin Porter is Times editor working on the Newsletters desk.

**Highlight:** Plus, a possible cease-fire deal in Lebanon.

**Body**

Plus, a possible cease-fire deal in Lebanon.

Prosecutor moved to dismiss criminal charges against Trump

Jack Smith, the special counsel, asked a federal judge in Washington and a court in Atlanta yesterday to [*dismiss two indictments against President-elect Donald Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/jack-smith-trump-election-documents-charges.html?smid=url-share): one accusing him of attempting to overturn the 2020 election and one accusing him of illegally holding classified documents.

In his requests, Smith made clear that the moves had nothing to do with the strength of the cases against Trump, but rather the Justice Department’s policy that sitting presidents may not be prosecuted. “Based on the department’s interpretation of the Constitution,” Smith wrote, “the government moves for dismissal without prejudice of the superseding indictment.”

The requests were Smith’s final acknowledgment that after two years of courtroom drama, prosecutors will not be able to hold Trump accountable for trying to undo the 2020 election, or for accusations that he illegally kept scores of classified documents after he left office. But both filings left open the possibility that the charges could be refiled after Trump completes his term.

More on Trump

* Trump has named two [*billionaires*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/jack-smith-trump-election-documents-charges.html?smid=url-share) to important economic posts. Will they help the ***working class***?

1. Steven Witkoff, Trump’s special envoy to the Middle East, [*has prior ties to oil-rich nations in the area.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/jack-smith-trump-election-documents-charges.html?smid=url-share)
2. Natalie Harp, a devoted Trump aide, is poised to become [*the primary conduit for information to and from the president*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/jack-smith-trump-election-documents-charges.html?smid=url-share).
3. Mitch McConnell, the longest-serving Senate leader, is giving up his post in the next Congress. [*His plans could put him at odds with Trump.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/jack-smith-trump-election-documents-charges.html?smid=url-share)
4. Here’s [*the latest on the next U.S. administration*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/jack-smith-trump-election-documents-charges.html?smid=url-share) and [*a list of Trump’s cabinet picks so far*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/jack-smith-trump-election-documents-charges.html?smid=url-share).

A decision on a cease-fire for Lebanon is close, officials said

Israel’s prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, was scheduled to meet with his cabinet today to decide on a proposal for [*a cease-fire with Hezbollah*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/jack-smith-trump-election-documents-charges.html?smid=url-share), officials said. U.S. officials have been putting pressure on Israel to finalize a deal before Thursday.

Under the proposal, Israeli forces would withdraw from Lebanon within 60 days. Hezbollah would move north, away from the Israeli border, officials said. Then the Lebanese Army would deploy south, effectively creating a buffer zone along the Israeli border.

Sticking points: One remaining hurdle appears to be that Israel wants the ability to take military action if Hezbollah militants break the truce or if the Lebanese Army fails to keep them away from the border, according to two Israeli officials. Hard-line factions in Netanyahu’s coalition have also opposed a deal, with Israel’s national security minister saying it would be a “big mistake.”

On the ground: Every night, dozens of people gather on a hillside on the outskirts of Beirut [*to watch Israeli airstrikes rain down*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/jack-smith-trump-election-documents-charges.html?smid=url-share).

Thousands protested for Khan’s release in Pakistan

Thousands of supporters of Imran Khan, the jailed former prime minister, marched to the outskirts of Islamabad yesterday [*to demand his release*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/jack-smith-trump-election-documents-charges.html?smid=url-share), despite a government lockdown and violent police opposition. At least one officer was killed, and several officers and demonstrators were injured, the government said.

Context: Khan has been in jail since August 2023 and faces more than 150 criminal cases, but he remains hugely popular despite the effort by the military-backed civilian government to suppress his support. His party says the cases are politically motivated.

MORE TOP NEWS

* Russia: State media reported that Russian forces captured a British volunteer for the Ukrainian Army [*during fighting in the Kursk region*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/jack-smith-trump-election-documents-charges.html?smid=url-share).

1. Philippines: Political turmoil escalated after Vice President Sara Duterte claimed to have [*arranged for President Ferdinand Marcos Jr. to be assassinated if she were slain*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/jack-smith-trump-election-documents-charges.html?smid=url-share).
2. U.A.E.: The authorities announced [*the arrests of three Uzbek nationals*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/jack-smith-trump-election-documents-charges.html?smid=url-share) in connection with the kidnapping and murder of an Israeli-Moldovan rabbi.
3. Uruguay: Yamandú Orsi, a onetime mayor and history teacher, [*won the presidential election.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/jack-smith-trump-election-documents-charges.html?smid=url-share)
4. Haiti: A surge in gang violence over the past two weeks has led international aid organizations [*to rethink their staff levels*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/jack-smith-trump-election-documents-charges.html?smid=url-share).
5. Romania: The country was thrown into political disarray by the surprise victory of a little-known ultranationalist [*in the first round of a presidential election held this weekend*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/jack-smith-trump-election-documents-charges.html?smid=url-share).
6. Lithuania: A DHL cargo plane crashed in a residential area near Vilnius Airport, [*killing one person on board*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/jack-smith-trump-election-documents-charges.html?smid=url-share).
7. Britain: At least [*three people were killed in England and Wales*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/jack-smith-trump-election-documents-charges.html?smid=url-share) amid sweeping floods.

* Baseball: The Los Angeles Angels [*agreed to a three-year, $63 million deal with Yusei Kikuchi*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/jack-smith-trump-election-documents-charges.html?smid=url-share), a left-handed pitcher.

1. Maui Invitational: The beloved men’s college basketball tournament [*returns this week*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/jack-smith-trump-election-documents-charges.html?smid=url-share) to a local economy still recovering from the 2023 wildfires.
2. Soccer: Here are 16 reasons Manchester City [*has lost five matches in a row*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/jack-smith-trump-election-documents-charges.html?smid=url-share).

MORNING READ

The Southeast Asian island of Borneo is home to some of the world’s strangest creatures, including orangutans, pygmy elephants and proboscis monkeys. For a growing number of “mammal watchers,” the island is the perfect place to chase the thrill of discovery.

But this is an endangered Eden: Palm oil plantations are replacing large swaths of rainforest, and the wildlife is paying the price. My colleague Mihir Zaveri, an avid mammal watcher, recently traveled there with his father. [*This is what he saw*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/jack-smith-trump-election-documents-charges.html?smid=url-share).

Lives lived: Charles Dumont, who wrote “Non, Je Ne Regrette Rien” and other enduring songs for Édith Piaf, [*died at 95*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/jack-smith-trump-election-documents-charges.html?smid=url-share).

CONVERSATION STARTERS

* A writer’s secret muse: Debate is swirling over Cormac McCarthy’s relationship with a girl he met when she was 16 — and just [*how much she influenced his work*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/jack-smith-trump-election-documents-charges.html?smid=url-share).

1. Flying nightmares: For travelers who have experienced blown-out doors, engines on fire and other [*in-air emergencies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/jack-smith-trump-election-documents-charges.html?smid=url-share), the pain lingers.
2. Dating app fatigue: Old-school personal ads are thriving in Vermont, where they have proved to be a [*surprisingly effective way to find love*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/jack-smith-trump-election-documents-charges.html?smid=url-share).

ARTS AND IDEAS

The comedy of pain, and Korean food

The comedian Youngmi Mayer is fearless and unfiltered on her podcast “[*Feeling Asian*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/jack-smith-trump-election-documents-charges.html?smid=url-share)” and on TikTok, where she riffs about her Korean American identity and foodie culture.

But her new memoir, “I’m Laughing Because I’m Crying,” is less about making jokes and more about unpacking generational trauma. Mayer, however, sees that as foundational for comedy.

“I come from the strongest people, who have been through the worst of humanity, and the jokes were what made it possible for us to continue,” she wrote. [*Read more here*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/jack-smith-trump-election-documents-charges.html?smid=url-share).

RECOMMENDATIONS

Cook: Meet the bite-size [*appetizer cousin of the grilled cheese*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/jack-smith-trump-election-documents-charges.html?smid=url-share).

Read: These 10 picture books will help kids (and adults) [*celebrate gratitude*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/jack-smith-trump-election-documents-charges.html?smid=url-share).

Shop: Don’t knock the monochrome. [*Black and white clothes can be festive, too*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/jack-smith-trump-election-documents-charges.html?smid=url-share).

Play: [*Spelling Bee*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/jack-smith-trump-election-documents-charges.html?smid=url-share), the [*Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/jack-smith-trump-election-documents-charges.html?smid=url-share), [*Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/jack-smith-trump-election-documents-charges.html?smid=url-share) and [*Sudoku*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/jack-smith-trump-election-documents-charges.html?smid=url-share). Find [*all our games here*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/jack-smith-trump-election-documents-charges.html?smid=url-share).

That’s it for today. See you next time. — Justin

We welcome your feedback. Send us your suggestions at [*briefing@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/25/us/politics/jack-smith-trump-election-documents-charges.html?smid=url-share).

PHOTO: Jack Smith, the U.S. prosecutor who investigated and charged Donald Trump. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Doug Mills/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 25, 2024

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[***Liberals and Oliver Anthony’s Working-Class Lament, ‘Rich Men North of Richmond’; letters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:694B-C1M1-JBG3-62GB-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 8, 2023 Friday 21:58 EST

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**Section:** OPINION; letters

**Length:** 1211 words

**Highlight:** Responses to a column by Nicholas Kristof. Also: Assessing politicians’ health; talks on Ukraine; censorship in prisons; senior ballet classes.

**Body**

To the Editor:

Re “[*Liberals on Their High Horse About ‘Rich Men,’*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/30/opinion/oliver-anthony-liberals.html)” by Nicholas Kristof (column, Aug. 31):

Thank you, Mr. Kristof, for once again opening eyes with your column about Oliver Anthony’s song “Rich Men North of Richmond.”

I will admit to being one of those “liberals” ready to dismiss the song without listening to it. After reading the column I did listen to it, and I recognize it as continuing the tradition of protest songs that many in my generation embraced wholeheartedly in the ’60s, expressing the frustration of the ***working class*** in its struggle for the dignity and respect we all crave.

It is time that those of us who have had the privilege of higher education and rewarding career paths put ourselves in the shoes of those who have had neither. We need to recognize the resulting widespread anguish and despair as a failing of our society, and embrace our own responsibility to proactively work toward healing these widening cracks in our democracy before it is too late.

Barbara Wilson

Altadena, Calif.

To the Editor:

Nicholas Kristof writes, “Liberals are properly attentive to [*racial injustice*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/03/opinion/sunday/when-whites-just-dont-get-it-part-6.html) but have a blind spot about class, driven in part by unfair stereotypes that members of the white ***working class*** are invariably bigots.”

It strikes me as somewhat ridiculous to use stereotypes about liberals in order to accuse liberals of indulging in stereotypes.

I’m a member of the white ***working class***, a high school dropout who has spent decades fighting poverty, addiction and the impossibility of surviving on minimum wage. I also have very liberal political views.

Living a life beset with constant financial worries does not afford one the right to indulge in bigotry any more than living a life of success and luxury does. Bigotry and reliance on stereotypes bloom in many socioeconomic classes and stations in life.

Tor Larsen

Melbourne, Australia

To the Editor:

I commend Nicholas Kristof for reminding us about the extreme inequalities produced by the current structure of the capitalist economy, but the key to Oliver Anthony’s sudden success is not a general critique of capitalism but the direction of his anger northward.

Whether intended or not by Mr. Anthony, this makes “Rich Men North of Richmond” a convenient distraction from the profound inequalities that characterize most of the Southern states.

Should anyone be curious about the way rich men (and women) south of Richmond use the levers of political power to enrich themselves and impoverish the poor, Black and white, I recommend the stunning July 2022 Opinion guest essay by Robin Kaiser-Schatzlein, with the online headline “[*Alabama Takes From the Poor and Gives to the Rich*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/07/27/opinion/alabama-fines-fees.html).”

Alas, I doubt that a song with that title would soar to the top of the charts.

Barbara Weinstein

New York

The writer is a professor of history at New York University.

When Doctors Assess a Politician’s Health at a Distance

To the Editor:

The New York Times has seen as fit to print the [*opinions of doctors*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/01/health/mitch-mcconnell-health-seizures.html?searchResultPosition=9) regarding the medical condition of a politician whom they have not examined: Senator Mitch McConnell, the minority leader. Of course, a proviso is given that they are rendering opinions based on observations and have not done an examination.

In the meantime, the American Psychiatric Association continues to prohibit psychiatrists from giving such opinions, based on the [*Goldwater Rule*](https://www.psychiatry.org/news-room/goldwater-rule). However, many psychiatrists have opined on Donald Trump’s mental health, believing that it is unethical to withhold information indicative of dangerousness.

Many of the psychiatrists who courageously contributed to the 2017 book “The Dangerous Case of Donald Trump” believe that subsequent events have demonstrated the validity of their claims.

Indeed, Mr. Trump continues to show evidence of what many (not just psychiatrists) suggest is a severe personality disorder, including his refusal to accept that he lost the 2020 election.

And if in fact Mr. Trump truly believes that he won the election, then perhaps he suffers from an even more serious disorder. It is time for the American Psychiatric Association to drop or revise the Goldwater Rule.

Fredric N. Busch

New York

The writer is a clinical professor of psychiatry at Weill Cornell Medical College.

Time for Ukraine Talks

To the Editor:

Re “[*Ukraine’s Forces Try to Punch Second Hole in Russian Lines*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/05/world/europe/ukraine-counteroffensive-zelensky.html?searchResultPosition=1)” (news article, Sept. 6):

When will the U.S. stop fueling its proxy war with Russia? As your article suggests, Ukraine’s ongoing counteroffensive will likely require “several more months” and “heavy casualties on both sides.”

[*Vladimir Putin’s apparent recourse to North Korea*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/04/us/politics/putin-kim-meeting-russia-north-korea-weapons.html?searchResultPosition=1) suggests that he needs more weapons. President Biden may have already achieved his stated goal of degrading the Russian military.

With Ukraine also running low on ammunition, now is the time for international mediators to begin shuttle diplomacy. The objective should be to secure first a cease-fire and then a long-term peace agreement. Continuing arms shipments to Ukraine can only delay that process and cost more lives.

L. Michael Hager

Eastham, Mass.

The writer is a co-founder and former director general of the International Development Law Organization in Rome.

Censorship in Prisons

To the Editor:

“[*Finding Clarity and Inspiration in Writing, While Incarcerated*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/06/us/jail-free-writing.html)” (news article, Sept. 7) details the enormous benefits that incarcerated people gain from writing programs of this kind. It’s important to note, though, how rare such programs are inside U.S. prisons and jails.

In fact, prisons and jails actively prevent people from reading and writing much more than they encourage it. Thousands of books are banned in individual states; New York alone has banned 5,356 separate titles.

I’ve tried to start reading discussion groups in prisons and have been met with red tape and bureaucratic stalling. In my work, I’ve found that reading and writing are not largely understood by prison authorities to be beneficial but rather are met with suspicion. This is true despite the fact that both reading and writing are demonstrated to reduce recidivism.

On Sept. 14, the [*exhibit*](https://www.projectspace-efanyc.org/return-to-sender) “Return to Sender: Prison as Censorship” opens at the EFA Project Space in Manhattan. There, visitors can see the ways that prisons and jails prevent people from the learning, self-expression and creativity that reading and writing offer.

Moira Marquis

New York

The writer is senior manager of the Freewrite Project, part of the Prison and Justice Writing Program at PEN America.

Senior Ballet Classes

To the Editor:

“[*In an Artful Workout for Aging Bodies, Failure Is an Option*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/30/well/move/ballet-workout-aging.html?searchResultPosition=1)” (Science Times, Sept. 5), about senior ballet classes, absolutely delighted and resonated with me. As an 88-year-old, I qualify for “an artful workout.”

Growing up in Manhattan, a balletomane from my childhood, I was determined to be a ballerina from the age of 3. Life intervened; this did not happen. So in addition to attending performances, I have started taking ballet lessons for the sheer love of the art.

The beauty of movement with music and the grace of the positions, even with all the attendant imperfections, are simply thrilling for me. Fortunately New Haven has an excellent ballet school — New Haven Ballet, where I take lessons — that is welcoming to all ages.

Paula Armbruster

New Haven, Conn.

This article appeared in print on page A19.

**Load-Date:** September 8, 2023

**End of Document**



[***Tyler Perry Blasts Trump in Passionate Speech at Harris’s Atlanta Rally***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D8B-6B11-JBG3-635X-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 24, 2024 Thursday 17:18 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 720 words

**Byline:** Maya KingMaya King is a politics reporter covering the Southeast, based in Atlanta. She covers campaigns, elections and movements in the American South, as well as national trends relating to Black voters and young people.

**Highlight:** The actor and filmmaker, who built his career in the Georgia capital, said he had realized that in the former president’s America, “there is no dream that looks like me.”

**Body**

The actor and filmmaker, who built his career in the Georgia capital, said he had realized that in the former president’s America, “there is no dream that looks like me.”

In underlining his support for Vice President Kamala Harris at a rally in Atlanta on Thursday night, the filmmaker and entertainment mogul Tyler Perry assailed former President Donald J. Trump in direct and somber terms.

Mr. Perry, who built an expansive career in Atlanta with an array of popular movies and television shows depicting Black life in America, told a crowd of 23,000 gathered in a high school football stadium that he knew he could never support Mr. Trump after learning of the full-page ad he had purchased calling for the Central Park Five to be put to death and of his promotion of lies concerning former President Barack Obama’s birthplace.

“I’ve watched him, from the Central Park Five to Project 2025,” Mr. Perry said of Mr. Trump, before formally endorsing Ms. Harris, “and what I realized is that in this Donald Trump America, there is no dream that looks like me.”

Mr. Perry’s speech stood in sharp contrast to the lighter talking points about voting and community organizing that have often defined Democratic events this election cycle. He has donated millions to local causes in Atlanta, such as paying for students’ college tuition and purchasing homes for low-income people, and he said that Ms. Harris’s promises to lower health care costs made her “a candidate that I can stand with.”

Onstage on Thursday night, Mr. Perry discussed a litany of policies around immigration, health care and housing. He also marked a contrast between his life story and that of Mr. Trump, who he said had “a father who had millions of dollars” and could not understand the struggles of lower- and ***working-class*** Black voters.

“If you are like me,” said Mr. Perry, who was once homeless in Atlanta, “I worked my ass off to buy my first house, to build my business and take care of my family.”

Still, Mr. Perry’s most pointed argument perhaps came through his most recognizable character, Madea, a no-nonsense maternal figure whom he has portrayed in some of his most popular movies. Referring to Mr. Trump’s statement at the presidential debate last month that he has “concepts of a plan” for health care policy, he invoked one of Madea’s catchphrases: “What the hell?”

Mr. Perry’s remarks, which he said he was delivering just after casting his ballot for Ms. Harris, underscore the urgency that Georgia Democrats are feeling in the final weeks of the presidential campaign. Over two million voters have already cast ballots in the state, more than the early voting record of roughly 1.8 million, set around this time in 2020. Democrats are especially eager to increase enthusiasm in the Atlanta metropolitan area, the deep-blue engine of the battleground state. Mr. Perry encouraged those in the crowd to vote, reminding them of Joseph R. Biden Jr.’s razor-thin margin of victory in 2020.

“I stand here, full-throated, with my full chest, begging you, imploring you: Let’s get out and make Kamala Harris the 47th president of the United States,” he said.

In addition to Mr. Perry, the filmmaker Spike Lee and the actor Samuel L. Jackson also spoke at Ms. Harris’s rally, and Bruce Springsteen performed. The vice president has attracted considerable star power during her campaign. She has also appeared with Stevie Wonder, Lizzo and Usher, and Beyoncé is set to appear at a rally for her in Texas on Friday.

Morgan Ackley, Mr. Trump’s spokeswoman in Georgia, criticized Thursday’s event in a statement, saying that “a free concert and an Obama visit isn’t going to convince Georgians to vote for another four years of open borders, rising prices and disaster at home and abroad.” Mr. Obama also spoke at Ms. Harris’s rally.

In his remarks, Mr. Perry celebrated the country’s diversity. “We are all shapes, sizes and colors, but we are one,” he said. “It was so important for me to stand with a candidate who understands that we, as America, we are a quilt. And I could never stand with a candidate who wants us to be a sheet.”

PHOTO: Tyler Perry speaking at a campaign event for Vice President Kamala Harris in James R. Hallford Stadium in Clarkston, Ga., on Thursday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY David Walter Banks for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 25, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Economic Maverick Reins In Inflation, but Not Without Hardship***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DMT-N9Y1-JBG3-63PM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 13, 2024 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 1511 words

**Byline:** By Daniel Politi, Lucía Cholakian Herrera and Ana Ionova

**Body**

A year after becoming president, Javier Milei has been praised inside and outside Argentina for reining in galloping inflation. But his economic policies have inflicted widespread hardship.

At home and abroad, Argentina's president, Javier Milei, is a man with plenty of fans. And not just any fans.

Mr. Milei, a right-wing libertarian, may not have been an obvious choice as the first world leader to meet President-elect Donald J. Trump after his election victory. Yet there he was, at Mar-a-Lago in Florida last month, being showered with praise by Mr. Trump.

''The job you've done is incredible,'' Mr. Trump told Mr. Milei at a gala for a right-wing research institute. ''You've done a fantastic job in a very short period of time.''

Many Argentines seem to agree. A year after taking office, Mr. Milei is viewed favorably by about 56 percent of Argentines, according to a recent poll, making him one of the most popular presidents in the country's recent history.

''This is the president that God brought for the Argentines,'' said Marcelo Capobianco, 54, a butcher in Buenos Aires. ''He brought back hope.''

While a cascade of brutal cuts to everything from soup kitchens to bus fare subsidies have pushed more than five million Argentines into poverty, they have also helped Mr. Milei make remarkable progress on a daunting task: reining in the world's highest inflation rate.

Before Mr. Milei was sworn in, monthly inflation was 12.8 percent; now it is 2.4 percent, the lowest in four years.

Mr. Milei has followed through on bold promises to bring Argentina's budget under control, firing more than 30,000 government workers and applying deep cuts to spending on health, welfare and education.

Before he took office, Mr. Milei's critics questioned whether a former television pundit, who describes himself as an anarcho-capitalist, could lift Argentina out of its decade-long crisis.

In some ways, their concerns have been borne out. Mr. Milei's unorthodox governing approach has plunged Argentina into a chaotic new chapter, as poverty rates have jumped and people have taken to the streets in protest.

''Every day, we have more people who come to eat,'' said Margarita Barrientos, 63, who runs a soup kitchen in a ***working-class*** neighborhood in Buenos Aires.

But there are also signs that Mr. Milei's strategy is working. In addition to plunging inflation, government revenue exceeds spending for the first time in 16 years and preliminary data suggest that the economy, after contracting for three straight quarters, is stabilizing and may be on track to slowly start growing.

''Happy times are coming in Argentina,'' Mr. Milei said this week during an address commemorating his first year in office. He promised ''sustained growth'' in 2025, vowing that the country's sacrifice ''will not be in vain.''

Global investors have cheered Mr. Milei's actions, with Bank of America declaring in a financial report that his ''stabilization plan is working better than expected.''

The International Monetary Fund predicted that Argentina's yearly inflation would fall to a more manageable 45 percent in 2025 from a record peak of 211 percent in 2023 and commended Mr. Milei on his ''impressive progress.''

Argentina's inflation figures have sometimes been questioned after past administrations were caught fudging the numbers. But the national statistics agency was overhauled in 2015 so today the figures are widely seen as credible and hew to independent estimates.

For many ordinary Argentines, however, Mr. Milei's economic triage has been painful. His government has cut state spending by about a third, eliminating price controls and subsidies that made public transit, heating bills and groceries cheaper, leaving more people struggling to make ends meet.

Still, many see a silver lining to the government's austerity measures.

Miguel Valderrama, who owns a small market in Buenos Aires, said he's relieved to no longer have to endure the unchecked inflation that defined daily life before Mr. Milei's presidency.

''There was a price in the morning, and at noon everything increased again -- and again two days later,'' said Mr. Valderrama, 40, who voted for Mr. Milei.

Now, with greater stability, he is able to plan his inventory without worrying about sudden price shocks. ''Before,'' he said, ''we didn't know how much money we would spend, how much things would cost.''

Mr. Milei's rise to power followed decades of boom-and-bust cycles. Argentina was among the world's wealthiest countries, but years of government mismanagement emptied its public coffers, led to multiple defaults on tens of billions of dollars in international loans and left the economy limping.

''Argentina stopped growing in 2012,'' said Marina Dal Poggetto, executive director of EcoGo, a consultancy based in Argentina.

Mr. Milei, casting himself as an outsider, blamed Argentina's economic travails on corrupt politicians who spent recklessly, describing political opponents as ''thieves'' who live like ''monarchs.''

He warned that if he were elected president things would most likely get worse before they got better. Still, his promises appealed to many Argentines hungry for change.

Mr. Milei's more radical plans as a candidate included closing Argentina's central bank and abandoning the peso in favor of the U.S. dollar. But once in power, he did neither, and his policies have been far less drastic than many expected.

''The initial outlines of Milei's program were much more reasonable than his campaign rhetoric,'' Ms. Dal Poggetto said. ''They were pragmatic, very pragmatic.''

But Mr. Milei's work to tackle the country's long-running financial challenges has angered many Argentines, sparking large demonstrations over pension cuts, rising prices and slashed university budgets.

Roberto Bejerano, 68, a retired taxi driver, said he could afford only the bare essentials on his monthly pension payments and had to give up small pleasures like dining out and buying books.

''They're laughing in our faces when they say we're better off'' because of the government's tough economic medicine, Mr. Bejerano said. ''You don't see it in your wallet.''

He said it troubled him that Mr. Milei ''is so popular when there are so many of us who are suffering.''

Outside Argentina, Mr. Milei's economic policies and his outspoken style have elevated his international profile. He has mercilessly mocked ''woke'' ideology and attacked his critics on social media, dismissing them as ''socialists.'' His brash style and unruly hair often draw comparisons to Mr. Trump.

Mr. Milei, in fact, has frequently expressed admiration for Mr. Trump, cheering his ''formidable electoral victory'' on social media.

The feeling seems to be mutual. ''You're my favorite president,'' Mr. Trump said to Mr. Milei during a call last month, according to a spokesman for Argentina's president. Two spokesmen for Mr. Trump did not respond to requests for comment.

Echoing Mr. Trump's catchphrase, Mr. Milei has vowed to ''Make Argentina Great Again.''

Elon Musk, who will help lead a new agency dedicated to reducing the size and spending of the U.S. government, has also lauded Mr. Milei. ''Impressive progress in Argentina!'' Mr. Musk said on X, sharing a lengthy podcast where Mr. Milei was a guest and boasted about his accomplishments.

Vivek Ramaswamy, who will help Mr. Musk lead the new agency, mused that ''Milei-style cuts, on steroids'' could offer ''a reasonable formula to fix the U.S. government.''

But back home, Ms. Barrientos, the soup kitchen operator, said the Milei government had inflicted far too much suffering.

The country's poverty rate rose to 53 percent from 40 percent in the first six months of the year, according to government figures.

''Right now it's as if we don't have a future,'' said Ms. Barrientos, adding that the government was ''insensitive to people's needs.''

Many Argentines have cut back spending on basics like milk and bread. Consumption of beef in Argentina, one of the world's top meat exporters, has fallen to its lowest level in 28 years.

Some analysts cautioned that Mr. Milei's financial policies, including controls on foreign exchange rates, have helped prop up the peso but were making Argentina's exports, like metals, soy and beef, less competitive.

Critics also warned that Mr. Milei's aggressive cuts could ultimately stifle growth. Less investment in universities, research centers and hospitals could ''weaken Argentina's social and economic foundation in the long run,'' said Martín Kalos, director of EPyCA Consultores, an economic consultancy.

Still, experts say Mr. Milei has succeeded in achieving the most pressing task: averting a deeper inflation spiral. And, for now, many Argentines appear to be willing to give Mr. Milei time to continue his sweeping economic overhaul.

''People feel there are certain things that had to be done,'' said Mariel Fornoni a political analyst who runs Management and Fit, a polling firm. ''Then, there's the question of how much their wallets can take.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/world/americas/argentina-president-milei-inflation-economy.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/world/americas/argentina-president-milei-inflation-economy.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Before President Javier Milei was sworn in, monthly inflation was 12.8 percent

now it is 2.4 percent. Still, his economic triage has been painful for many Argentines. Left, a soup kitchen in Buenos Aires

and a food market that offers senior discounts on Saturdays, above.

''The job you've done is incredible,'' Presidentelect Donald J. Trump told Mr. Milei, left, who visited Mar-aLago last month.

Miguel Valderrama said that he was glad he no longer had to worry about prices changing.

Roberto Bejerano, a retiree, said he has been forced to stop eating out to stretch his pension. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SARAH PABST FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A4.

**Load-Date:** December 13, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Paperback Row***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CTC-KP11-DXY4-X2DG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 25, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 20

**Length:** 406 words

**Byline:** By Shreya Chattopadhyay

**Body**

Forbidden Notebook, by Alba de Cespedes. Translated by Ann Goldstein. (Astra House, 288 pp., $18.) Originally serialized in an Italian magazine in the early 1950s, this novel follows Valeria, a housewife whose life is upended by her spontaneous decision to buy a diary. ''I was wrong to buy this notebook, very wrong,'' the book begins. Our reviewer described it as''intoxicating to look deeply within, even if she wounds herself in the process.''

The Marriage Question: George Eliot's Double Life, by Clare Carlisle. (Picador, 400 pp., $22.) Marian Evans, the author of ''Middlemarch'' who is better known as George Eliot, spoke of the ''great experience'' of matrimony, despite living for 24 years with an already-married man. Carlisle's book interrogates the impact of the institution of marriage on both Eliot's life and work.

Live to See the Day: Coming of Age in American Poverty, by Nikhil Goyal. (Metropolitan, 352 pp., $19.99.) Ryan, Giancarlos and Emmanuel grew up navigating educational, political and interpersonal obstacles in their ***working class*** Philadelphia neighborhood. Connecting their lives to conditions and policies nationwide, Goyal shows how ''the safety net is in tatters,'' our reviewer wrote, ''and poverty is a tightrope walk with no room for error.''

Black Sheep, by Rachel Harrison. (Berkley, 304 pp., $19.) While recommending Harrison's novel as one of the Best Horror Books of 2023, our columnist Gabino Iglesias called it ''irreverent and hilarious but also spine-chilling and dark.'' While it takes place at a family wedding, secrets, Satanism and the shadow of stardom are also involved.

I Can Give You Anything But Love, by Gary Indiana. (Seven Stories,, 240 pp., $16.95.) Described in The Times last year as ''the author of eight novels and hundreds of essays that revel in the seedier depravitities of American decline,'' Indiana turns to his own life in this memoir, first published in 2015, recounting his years in the gay communities of San Francisco, Los Angeles, Cuba and more.

A Grandmother Begins the Story, by Michelle Porter. (Algonquin, 352 pp., $19.99.) ''Isn't it funny how we all think we know why when we do a thing?'' Mamé asks from the afterlife as she watches her descendants reckon with curiosities, fees, curses and ''the crookedness of time.'' They might not know why, but the five generations of Indigenous Métis women in this novel narrate all that they do with fire and wit.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/06/books/review/new-paperbacks.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/06/books/review/new-paperbacks.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS This article appeared in print on page BR20.

**Load-Date:** August 25, 2024

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[***How a Cultural Shift Favors Harris***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CYD-5221-JBG3-61BW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 13, 2024 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 23; DAVID BROOKS

**Length:** 1194 words

**Byline:** By David Brooks

**Body**

American culture changes with astonishing speed. Nearly every decade, there are shifts in values, fashions and norms -- in the whole atmosphere of national life. Sometimes when you're watching a presidential campaign, it is best to ask: What year is it? What values and moods are dominant in America right now? Which candidate just seems right for this moment, and which candidate is simply out of step with the zeitgeist?

Right now, I'd say, Kamala Harris is benefiting from the beginning of a cultural shift and is beginning to have the cultural winds at her back. Donald Trump is beginning to be slapped in the face by those winds.

Trump emerged in the 1970s and 1980s. It was the tail end of the culture of narcissism, or what Tom Wolfe called the Me Decade. It was the era of the unchained self -- self-esteem, self-expression, self-promotion. In the '80s, especially in Manhattan, there was an unabashed fascination with wealth, self-display, ego, the lifestyles of the rich and famous.

Trump was the cartoon epitome of all that decade's extravagances. The Trump Tower on Fifth Avenue opened to the public on Feb. 14, 1983, with all its gild and glitz. His book ''The Art of the Deal'' came out in 1987, with its braying and panting over money, money, money. In that cultural moment, gold-plated narcissism made Trump a celebrity.

Then came the 1990s, the end-of-history decade -- the end of the Cold War, the end of apartheid. In this decade of big events and low conflict, Trump was out of step. He was there, but in the background.

Then came the 2000s and the war on terror. Trump's show ''The Apprentice'' went on the air in 2004. It was popular but didn't drive the conversation. There was a real war going on, and the men and women serving in Iraq and Afghanistan represented a kind of heroism that put the casino owner's tinsel machismo in the shade.

But then came the 2010s, the age of indignation. On May 15, 2011, street protests broke out in Spain led by people who called themselves ''los indignados'' -- the outraged. Their rallying cry was ''They don't represent us!'' The protesters were disgusted with their nation's ruling class. Before long, a moral convulsion swept across the Western world and Latin America. Groups on the right (the rural white ***working class***) and the left (B.L.M.) that had been marginalized by the establishment demanded new power and representation. Disgust with established power was high. Social trust dropped.

Trump was perfect for this moment. Disdained and scorned by the Manhattan elite, he'd built up a lifetime of anti-establishment resentments that dovetailed with the ***working class***'s pervasive contempt. He began a hostile takeover of the Republican Party and then the federal government. The key word in that sentence is ''hostile.'' Hostility was in vogue, on the left and the right.

Then, in 2018, the group More in Common released a survey of the American electorate in which it popularized the phrase ''the exhausted majority.'' Many people were tired of the bitterness, the endless Trumpian and culture war psychodrama. There was an intense desire to leave all that behind. In a relatively tight election, Joe Biden rode to victory promising decency and normalcy.

What followed was a struggle between what you might call the forces of indignation and the forces of exhaustion. Trump still dominates the G.O.P. because his people still want a guy who can take a sledgehammer to the ruling class and its power centers. A couple of weeks ago I wrote a column trying to describe the fundamental strengths of American populism -- the pervasive hostility toward the educated class, the distrust of institutions. But there are also an increasing number of people tired of living in an endless atmosphere of tribalism, enmity and conflict -- even in the Republican camp.

Harris enjoyed a surge in the polls as she became the nominee, in part because she projected a new emotional tone -- the politics of joy, as Democrats kept saying during their convention. During Tuesday's debate she converted that emotional shift into a campaigning and governing style.

During the debate, I thought Harris did a poor job of laying out her vision for the next four years. But she did a brilliant job rebutting the cultural values embodied by Trump.

For example, no debate opponent before Harris has known how to handle Trump's narcissism. Harris seemed to understand that narcissism is fundamentally fragile. She poked it. She pricked it. She induced Trump to lash out feebly -- with his talk about crowd sizes and how much world leaders like Vladimir Putin allegedly respect him.

She scorned the moral inversion that Trump represents. Most Americans revere military valor, represented by people like John McCain, whom Trump has denigrated. Harris called Trump a disgrace to his face while he stood there smiling weakly.

She repeated her mantra of change: It's time to turn the page and move forward. This cry is not persuasive on policy grounds. Her agenda is a shrunken version of the unfinished Biden agenda. Biden has been pioneering a new form of industrial policy that represents a fundament shift in the role of government in the American economy. Harris doesn't talk about the scope of what her administration is doing.

But Harris was very compelling when portraying herself as an agent of cultural change. Her smiling equipoise is a statement of self-confident power against his sour fuming. Her ''I care about you'' is a stark foil to his narcissistic ''I care about me.'' Her good cheer and compassion contrasts with the atmosphere of bitterness and indignation that has enveloped us for a decade.

Some people dismiss all this as vibes. I don't. This is culture. What sort of people do we want to be? What sort of values and manners do we want to see reflected in our national leaders? Who do we want shaping the nation's social atmosphere? As Daniel Patrick Moynihan famously noted, culture matters most, but government can change culture.

There is a rhythm to cultural change, with periods of public turmoil giving way to periods when people want to turn inward. World War I gave way to the carefree hedonism of the flappers during the 1920s. World War II gave way to the domesticity of the 1950s. The days of rage in the late 1960s gave way to the New Age mellowness of the mid-1970s. People can be up in arms for only so long. The wearier we grow with American carnage catastrophizing, Trump seems not just monstrous but, worse, stale.

We're still an exhausted and battered nation, but if history is a guide, then just over the horizon there is some new cultural moment coming. I suspect that Harris's happy strength gives us a glimpse of the zeitgeist of tomorrow. This spirit alone won't propel her to victory, but it will help.

Source Photograph by Damon Winter/The New York Times

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/opinion/trump-harris-joy.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/opinion/trump-harris-joy.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY IOULEX FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A23.

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[***Trump's Treasury Pick Isn't Alarming, but He's Odd***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DKH-VC21-JBG3-61NJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 7, 2024 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 23; PETER COY

**Length:** 1352 words

**Byline:** By Peter Coy

**Body**

Scott Bessent, Donald Trump's pick for Treasury secretary, has some pretty unorthodox views. Unorthodoxy can be a good thing at times, and it's conceivable that Bessent will end up a big success at Treasury. But deviation from the norm is not necessarily what you look for in a Treasury secretary, who is responsible for formulating the nation's economic, financial and tax policies.

What Bessent stands for hasn't gotten a lot of attention yet because he is a levelheaded, stable, congenial person, which puts him way above some of the other Trump picks. He's also smart and knows his way around financial markets, a plus for the job. He became a billionaire by working for the prominent investors George Soros, Jim Chanos and Jim Rogers, and later founding Key Square Capital Management, a hedge fund.

But when you listen to him closely, you hear some surprising things. Let me take you through one fireside chat that Bessent had on Oct. 2 -- that is, before Trump chose him, but while he was in contention for the job -- with Michael Green, the chief strategist of Simplify Asset Management.

At one point, the conversation turned to Japan. Its central bank has kept interest rates low to stimulate its economy, going by the conventional economic wisdom that raising rates discourages borrowing by consumers and businesses, chilling growth. After two increases earlier this year, it has been reluctant to raise rates further. But Bessent told Green, ''I believe that the Bank of Japan is actually going to stoke growth when they raise rates.''

Bessent's logic is that Japanese households are big savers, and keep a lot of their money in bank accounts, so when rates go up, their interest income rises, allowing them to spend more. Himino Ryozo, a deputy governor of the Bank of Japan, said something along those lines in a speech last year, although that was back when its key interest rate was still negative. It's also a tenet of modern monetary theory, a heterodox school of economics.

There's no question that savers benefit from higher interest rates, but to say that higher rates stimulate the Japanese economy overall remains a minority view, even within the Bank of Japan. (Otherwise they would have raised rates sooner and faster, right?)

Maurice Obstfeld, an economist at the University of California, Berkeley, who was the chief economist of the International Monetary Fund from 2015 to 2018, pointed out to me that households that owe money tend to live more paycheck to paycheck, so the hit to their spending from higher interest payments is greater than the lift to spending by saving households, which will just put most of the extra interest back into the bank.

Bessent also told Green that China can accomplish its military buildup only because it has a gigantic surplus in trade and income from investments -- the current account, in economics lingo. ''If they didn't do the gigantic current account surplus, the savings of the Chinese people are not enough to finance this,'' he said.

This is precisely backward. China's having a surplus in its current account means that it is actually sending savings abroad, not adding to national savings that could be used for the military or anything else. The surplus indicates that instead of importing foreign goods in exchange for its exports, China is acquiring foreign stocks, bonds, real estate and the like. That, in fact, is the complaint that the current Treasury secretary, Janet Yellen, has been making about China ever since she took office -- that China is overproducing and over-saving, so ''the global market is flooded by artificially cheap Chinese products.''

Perhaps Bessent's argument is that China's current account surplus and its military buildup are two symptoms of deeper problems in economic management, rather than the former enabling the latter. I'm not sure I buy that either, but in any case it's not what he said.

One more surprising argument. Late in the fireside chat, Bessent floated an idea for how to get NATO countries to pay their fair share for defense, without threatening to withdraw from the alliance, as Trump has privately talked about. His idea was to ask Germany and other allies to buy U.S. ''military bonds.''

It sounds reasonable at first, but think about what it entails. It's Europe buying a new form of U.S. government debt. Instead of using its money to buy jets, tanks and the like (a lot of it American-made), Europe would be turning the United States into even more of a net debtor to the rest of the world than it already is. How does that help Europe defend itself or benefit America's finances?

There's also Bessent's 3-3-3 plan, which helped him get Trump's nod for the job. It would involve cutting the budget deficit to 3 percent by 2028, from roughly 6 percent today, boosting economic growth to 3 percent a year, and encouraging additional energy production of three million barrels of oil a day or the equivalent. Its goals are good but I think it's overoptimistic, especially if Trump follows through on his vows to impose higher tariffs and to expel millions of undocumented immigrants. To his credit, Bessent has expressed concerns about high tariffs, saying they should be used more as threats to gain concessions from other nations rather than as permanent fixtures.

All that said, Bessent is better prepared to serve as Treasury secretary than some of his predecessors. I remember when Paul O'Neill, a former chief executive of the aluminum producer Alcoa, who served under President George W. Bush, said that one of his top priorities as Treasury secretary would be workplace safety. (That's more the Labor Department's department.) Bessent may turn out just fine. Some of his ideas, however, could use a little more thinking through.

The Readers Write

You wrote about organizations that help get people into good jobs. My thought is to have companies hire part-time workers. As a senior with a doctorate in biostatistics, I would be happy to work only 20 or 25 hours per week, even at lower pay, if I can use my skills. I have Medicare so I don't need benefits. At the same time, hire a young person at least part-time and let me job-share. I can show them how to do the work and be a mentor.

David OlsenHouston

All those applicants mentioned who ''didn't get a nibble'' are probably not victims of qualitative individual decisions but the faulty quantitative systems that are today's gatekeepers into corporate hiring (alluded to in your inclusion of fear of ''lemons'').

Blane CoxReno, Nev.

One of the best things people can do to help others get jobs is help them practice interviewing. This takes time, a Zoom link or a cup of coffee at the local coffee shop. Do this three or four times and the person will show dramatic improvement.

Robin HurleyHighlands Ranch, Colo.

Any day we are talking about Frank Knight is a good day for me (working on trying to understand Knight since before my 1980 Ph.D.). I agree absolutely with Amar Bhidé's desire to change the Knightian intuition into something workable. Anything we can do here is huge.

John-Christopher SpenderManhattan

You wrote about a theory for why Donald Trump was elected. The ***working class*** is looking to Trump to give them a proportionately bigger piece of the American pie. Ironically, this has been Bernie Sanders's message for years.

Whit ManterWoodstock, Vt.

My theory is that the ''good economy'' of the past four years was mostly enjoyed by those who were already in the well-off to wealthy segment. Those less privileged lost ground and they know it and they are upset. They turned against the party that is in power since it is easy to blame and hasn't shown much empathy for the ''average Joe.''

Branch WatkinsSarasota, Fla.

Quote of the Day

''When it comes to governing the digital economy, it is not the E.U. that will be forced to choose between China and the U.S., but rather the U.S. that must choose between joining forces with the E.U. or allowing China's influence to further grow.''

-- Anu Bradford, ''Digital Empires: The Global Battle to Regulate Technology'' (2023)

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/06/opinion/scott-bessent-treasury-trump.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/06/opinion/scott-bessent-treasury-trump.html)

**Graphic**

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[***The Races for Congress***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D9W-CHX1-JBG3-64GC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 1, 2024 Friday 07:32 EST

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1984 words

**Byline:** David LeonhardtDavid Leonhardt runs , The Times&amp;#8217;s flagship daily newsletter. Since joining The Times in 1999, he has been an economics columnist, opinion columnist, head of the Washington bureau and founding editor of the Upshot section.

**Highlight:** We preview next week’s elections and what a divided or united government might mean for each party.

**Body**

We preview next week’s elections and what a divided or united government might mean for each party.

Every president of the past 30 years has taken office with his party in control of both the Senate and the House. That combination has allowed presidents to pass major legislation early in their terms — including deficit reduction by Bill Clinton, tax cuts by George W. Bush and Donald Trump, an expansion of health insurance by Barack Obama, and a major climate law by Joe Biden.

The next president may end the streak.

Even if Kamala Harris wins, a Democratic-controlled Senate looks improbable. If Trump wins, his party has a better chance to enjoy a so-called trifecta — controlling the White House, Senate and House of Representatives — but it isn’t assured. “Control of the House is on a knife’s edge,” Maya Miller, who’s been covering the campaign for The Times, told me.

In today’s newsletter, my colleagues and I will preview the race for congressional control. We’ll also explain what a divided government might get done and what each party hopes to accomplish if it does win a trifecta.

The Senate

The Senate math is daunting for Democrats. Their caucus now has 51 senators, meaning they can lose only one seat and retain control in a Harris presidency. (The vice president breaks 50-50 Senate ties.) And Democrats are vulnerable in several states.

West Virginia is all but lost because Joe Manchin is retiring and other Democrats tend to lose badly there. In Montana, Jon Tester, the Democratic incumbent, trailed by eight points in the most recent Times/Siena College poll. A few other Senate Democrats, like Sherrod Brown in Ohio and Tammy Baldwin in Wisconsin, are in tight races.

To keep Senate control, Democrats would need to win all those races but West Virginia — or pull off at least one upset elsewhere. Their best hopes are in either Texas, where Colin Allred, a House Democrat, is only a few points behind Ted Cruz in the polls, or Nebraska, where Dan Osborn, an industrial mechanic who’s running as an independent, is trying to unseat Deb Fischer, the Republican incumbent. Osborn’s views on the economy and abortion suggest he will often side with Democrats.

(To understand why the Nebraska race is close, I recommend [*Maya’s recent story*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html) — or [*this feisty Osborn ad*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html).)

The House

The party that wins the presidential race is also likely to control the House. But the race is so close that the presidency and the House could go in opposite directions for the first time since 1988.

How can Republicans keep their House majority even if Harris wins? Partly by taking districts in deep-blue states like California and New York. Some voters there have been unhappy with these states’ [*“leftward lurch,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html) as my colleagues Nicholas Fandos and Catie Edmondson put it. Education, immigration and criminal justice are among the disputed issues.

And how can Democrats win the House even if Trump wins? One, Harris may win the popular vote even if she loses the Electoral College, which could help Democratic candidates. Two, incumbent House Republicans must defend 17 seats in districts that Biden won four years ago (such as [*a suburban district in Orange County, Calif.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html), home to many Vietnamese Americans). Only five House Democrats are running in districts that Trump won.

“All five of them are appealing heavily to ***working-class*** people and separating themselves from the Democratic Party on tricky issues like immigration and policing,” Maya said. Among those five: [*a rural Maine district that she recently profiled*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html).

Three scenarios for 2025

In a divided government, sweeping legislation is unlikely. Trump probably couldn’t pass the large tax cut he wants, nor could Harris pass abortion protections. Either would need to pursue the least ambitious agenda of any new president in decades.

Of course, bills would still pass. Possibilities include a compromise extension of some Trump tax cuts (which are set to expire in December) and a border-security bill modeled after the bipartisan plan from this past summer.

If there is a Democratic trifecta, Harris could accomplish a lot on economic policy (because many budget-related provisions are not subject to a filibuster and can pass with 51 votes). Democrats could extend tax cuts for the middle class and the poor while raising taxes on the rich, for instance. They could also pass Harris’s proposed housing subsidies. A big question would be whether the party would vote to scrap the filibuster for other bills, such as on abortion access or statehood for Washington, D.C., and Puerto Rico.

Under a Republican trifecta, the priorities would likely include large tax cuts; a tough immigration bill; expansions of oil-and-gas production; restrictions on transgender rights and diversity programs; and reductions in aid to Ukraine and other allies. Catie Edmondson, who covers Congress, said that she expected the recent infighting among House Republicans to continue, which would complicate their ability to pass some bills. Trump’s proposed tariffs might be one area of disagreement; China policy (on which many Republicans now seem more hawkish than Trump) could be another.

Overall, though, Republicans seem poised to get much more done than at the start of Trump’s first term, when much of the party was still critical of him. As Carl Hulse, The Times’s chief Washington correspondent, writes, “This time, Republicans would be much better prepared to take advantage of their consolidated power.”

To go deeper, I recommend [*Carl’s preview of a potential Republican trifecta*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html).

THE LATEST NEWS

Democratic Campaign

* Harris campaigned in suburban Las Vegas [*with the singer Jennifer Lopez*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html). Lopez criticized Trump’s recent rally at Madison Square Garden, where a comedian called Puerto Rico “garbage.”

1. Harris criticized Trump for saying that he would protect women as president [*“whether the women like it or not.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html) She said it revealed “how he thinks about women and their agency.”
2. Inflation is basically back to normal and the job market is strong. [*Read why voters are still feeling pessimistic*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html).
3. Many economists say Harris’s plans, when compared with Trump’s, would do more to help ***working-class*** Americans. [*Those voters are skeptical*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html).

Republican Campaign

* Trump campaigned in New Mexico yesterday and will visit Virginia this weekend, two [*reliably blue, but close, states*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html).

1. Trump and JD Vance are sowing doubts about election security in Pennsylvania. Trump [*accused the state of cheating*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html), while Vance reposted false claims that Democrats are impersonating election workers.
2. Howard Lutnick, who leads Trump’s White House transition team, said that Robert F. Kennedy Jr. [*has made him a vaccine skeptic*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html). Lutnick echoed the false claim that childhood vaccines cause autism.
3. Vance, in an interview with Joe Rogan, predicted that Trump [*would win “the normal gay guy vote”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html) because of transgender issues.
4. Elon Musk pledged political neutrality when he bought Twitter. Instead, he’s used the platform [*to spread pro-Trump misinformation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html).
5. Many Republicans are predicting a Trump landslide [*based on skewed polls*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html). If he loses, they could fuel claims of a rigged election.
6. As president, Trump set foreign policy impulsively, often tweeting changes that sent his officials scrambling. A Trump win could revive that approach [*at a moment of international peril*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html).

More on 2024

* Algoma, Wis., a town that Biden won by just six votes in 2020, is among the most politically split communities in the nation. [*Tensions are rising there*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html).

1. Both parties are running ads [*inviting voters to cross party lines*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html). In one, a Jewish woman admits she “never cared for” Trump, “but at least he’ll keep us safe.” Another urges women to vote differently from their Trump-supporting husbands.
2. An ad for Senator Deb Fischer of Nebraska, a Republican in a tight race against a populist independent candidate, [*used stock footage from New England*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html). A Fischer spokesman blamed a vendor.

Middle East

* [*Israel struck a hospital in northern Gaza*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html), destroying recently delivered medical supplies, Palestinian officials said. The Israeli military, which claims Hamas operates within the hospital, said it was unaware of the strike and was reviewing reports.

1. Two top Iranian officials said that Tehran [*planned to respond*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html) to Israel’s recent attacks.
2. After more than a year of war in Gaza, farmers — who once tended eggplants and tomatoes — have [*lost land and sometimes their lives*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html).

More International News

* In the Spanish town of Paiporta, residents are reckoning with death and destruction [*caused by recent floods*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html). “We are alive,” one resident said. “But we have lost everything.”

1. Wagner, the Russian mercenary group, suffered a major defeat in Mali this summer. It showed that [*its capabilities might be overstated*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html).
2. The party that has governed Botswana since 1966 lost its [*majority in Parliament for the first time*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html). The nation is facing an economic slump.
3. Last month, Russia made its [*largest territorial gains in Ukraine in two years*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html).

Other Big Stories

* American communities that suffered the most factory closures in recent decades are now receiving a large share of [*investment from cutting-edge industries*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html).

1. The Biden administration will invest hundreds of millions to place a semiconductor research facility [*in upstate New York*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html).
2. The rapper Young Thug pleaded guilty to participating in criminal street gang activity, ending his role in Georgia’s longest ever trial. [*He was sentenced to time served*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html), plus 15 years probation.

Opinions

With maps, Doug Sosnik explains the [*best paths to an Electoral College win*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html) for both Harris and Trump.

Trump’s unraveling language and cursing isn’t a sign of cognitive decline. [*It’s a sign he’s bored*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html), John McWhorter argues.

Here are columns by Paul Krugman on [*Trump voters’ future remorse*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html) and Michelle Goldberg on [*Trump and fascism*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html).

MORNING READS

Layover: How a British Airways pilot [*spent 24 hours in Mumbai*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html).

Mental health: Libraries have become public stages for social problems. The people who work there [*are burning out*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html).

Global affairs: Counting [*the number of continents*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html) is surprisingly difficult.

Big babies: The oldest known tadpole fossil is [*the size of a hot dog*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html).

Lives Lived: The artist and designer Isabelle de Borchgrave made life-size paper recreations of period garments including Elizabethan court gowns and the flapper fashions of Coco Chanel. She [*died at 78*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html).

SPORTS

N.F.L.: New York Jets receiver Garrett Wilson made what could be the catch of the year in a 21-13 win over the Houston Texans. [*Read a recap*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html).

M.L.B.: The announcer Bob Costas [*has retired from calling play-by-play*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html) after 44 years.

N.B.A.: San Antonio Spurs center Victor Wembanyama recorded [*a 5x5 game*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html) in a matchup against the Utah Jazz, the second of his young career and just the 23rd in league history.

ARTS AND IDEAS

The start of a pigeon racing competition, writes Tracey Tully, can be as tense as it is spectacular, with birds soaring and hooking across the sky. The sport is an old one — its roots that can be traced to ancient Egypt — but it is threatened by dwindling open spaces and [*fading traditions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html). Animal rights activists would not be sad to see it go.

More on culture

* The chief executive of PEN America [*is stepping down*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html). The organization has faced criticism over its response to the war in Gaza.

1. Late night hosts joked about Trump’s campaign appearance inside a garbage truck. “And right at the buzzer, a new Halloween costume has emerged,” [*Jimmy Fallon said*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html).

THE MORNING RECOMMENDS …

Make a [*five-star turkey chili*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html) for dinner tonight.

Relieve pain [*with a massage chair*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html).

Exercise on [*a treadmill*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html) at home.

Take [*our news quiz*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html).

GAMES

Here is [*today’s Spelling Bee*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html). Yesterday’s pangram was thoughtful.

And here are [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html), [*Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html), [*Sudoku*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html), [*Connections*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html) and [*Strands*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html).

Thanks for spending part of your morning with The Times. See you tomorrow. — David

[*Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html). Reach our team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/23/us/politics/nebraska-senate-osborn-fischer.html).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Shuran Huang for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***New Jersey's Governor Race Is Wide Open, With Wild Cards and a Crowded Field***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DPS-91J3-RS49-X2B9-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 22, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 21

**Length:** 1762 words

**Byline:** By Tracey Tully

**Body**

At least 10 candidates are vying for attention, including two members of Congress, two mayors, a far-right radio host and a former state senator known as ''Ed the Trucker.''

With no incumbent in the race, next year's contest to replace Philip D. Murphy as governor of New Jersey was never going to be dull.

But wild-card factors that might have seemed far-fetched a year ago have combined to unleash something rare in the state: a competitive race with an unpredictable outcome.

The list of well-known contenders for the seat already includes two members of Congress, the mayors of New Jersey's two largest cities, the longest-serving State Senate president and the head of a powerful teachers' union. Two other candidates cut their teeth in the State Legislature. There is also a popular far-right radio host and a former state senator running as ''Ed the Trucker.''

President-elect Donald J. Trump's surprisingly strong showing in November in reliably Democratic New Jersey and a sweeping change to the rules for conducting primary elections have undone many of the state's old political assumptions, leaving even seasoned observers riveted.

''It sure is different from the script we're used to,'' said Peter J. Woolley, director of the School of Public and Global Affairs at Fairleigh Dickinson University.

The field of candidates is unlikely to thin significantly before June's Democratic and Republican primaries, where the winning margins are expected to be narrow.

''There's an incentive in this race for people to stay in,'' Professor Woolley said, ''because there's going to be an element of luck.''

At this point eight years ago, Mr. Murphy, a political novice with few allies in Trenton, had secured enough support among county Democratic Party bosses that his election seemed all but assured.

But the 2025 election will play out in a vastly different political atmosphere. Mr. Murphy is prohibited by law from immediately seeking a third term, and a court-ordered overhaul of the state's primary election ballots has made it more difficult for party leaders to quickly anoint a favored candidate.

That change, which prohibited party officials from giving their preferred candidates a prominent spot on the ballot, was pushed by New Jersey's new U.S. senator, Andy Kim. Mr. Kim's victory was fueled in part by anti-corruption sentiment after his predecessor, Bob Menendez, was indicted and ultimately convicted of trading political favors for bribes.

The backlash also ensnared the state's first lady, Tammy Murphy, who was assailed by claims of nepotism as she competed for Mr. Menendez's Senate seat. Her candidacy's early air of inevitability collapsed under pressure, and she dropped out before a federal judge ordered county clerks to redesign the state's primary ballots, depriving party leaders -- and their favored candidates -- of a pathway that for decades had reliably led to victory.

Next year's primaries will be the first statewide contests held under the new system.

And the outcomes are likely to echo far beyond New Jersey.

New Jersey and Virginia are the only states with races for governor next year, and their results are often scrutinized for clues about voter sentiment ahead of midterm congressional contests.

Adding to the uncertainty are the gains that Mr. Trump, a Republican, made in New Jersey compared with 2020. Though he did not win the state, he lost by far less than he did against President Biden that year.

Mr. Trump even managed to earn more votes than Vice President Kamala Harris in 12 of the state's 21 counties, up from the seven counties he won in 2020 -- a potentially encouraging sign for Republicans in 2025.

There is no shortage of pressing state-based policy concerns, including how to increase racial equity within the state's highly segregated public school system and where to build desperately needed affordable housing.

Still, because of its timing, the race for governor is often overshadowed by national issues and interpreted as a referendum on the party in charge in Washington. In 2021, for example, unpopular policies tied to the Covid-19 pandemic contributed to Mr. Murphy's relatively narrow, three-point re-election margin.

With Mr. Trump laying groundwork for what is likely to be a highly polarizing return to the White House, Democrats are hopeful they will benefit in a left-leaning state where they hold a 900,000-voter advantage.

''He casts sort of a spell on everything,'' said Ruthi Zinn Byrne, who runs a marketing firm in New Jersey and was married to a former Democratic governor, Brendan Byrne, of Mr. Trump's ability to energize supporters -- and detractors.

Still, candidates on both sides of the aisle are for now struggling to find ways to break away from the 10-person pack as voter fatigue from November's presidential contest lingers.

''There seems to be a general sense of exhaustion,'' said Jean Sinzdak, associate director of the Center for American Women and Politics at Rutgers University.

''It's hard to break through the noise,'' she added.

Early attempts to attract attention six months ahead of the primaries have offered bursts of political theater.

Two candidates began buying billboard advertising more than a year before the race and at least one created a bogus website using an opponent's name in order to disparage him. The drone hysteria gripping the state has proved fertile ground for other contenders. One even faked a Spotify playlist to amp up his street cred with Bruce Springsteen fans.

Here are 10 of the most prominent candidates, in their order of entry into the Democratic and Republican primaries:

The Democrats

Steven Fulop

Mr. Fulop, 46, has been mayor of Jersey City, a booming urban hub opposite Manhattan, since 2013. He has rolled out a series of policy papers since April 2023, when he became the first candidate to enter the race.

In ads, he has emphasized his service in the Marine Corps, his leadership of the state's second-largest city and his willingness to break with party bosses in the fight to abolish the primary ballot design.

Stephen Sweeney

Mr. Sweeney, 65, was the State Senate's longest-serving president until he lost re-election in 2021 to an underfunded challenger in a stunning upset. Mr. Sweeney, the only Democratic candidate who lives outside of northern New Jersey, has since founded a public policy center at Rowan University.

An ironworker by trade, Mr. Sweeney became known in the Senate for his focus on fully funding the state pension system and for his leadership in passing a law that restructured public school funding.

Ras Baraka

Mr. Baraka, 54, has spent a decade as mayor of Newark, the state's largest city, where he has led a push to boost development without gentrification. He is running as an unabashed progressive with a focus on housing affordability and what he calls tax equity.

He has proposed lowering taxes for poor and ***working-class*** residents of New Jersey and adding additional taxes for the state's wealthiest families, including a ''mansion tax'' on sales of homes valued at $3 million or more.

Sean Spiller

Mr. Spiller, 49, a former mayor of Montclair, N.J., has been president of a powerful teachers' union, the New Jersey Education Association, since 2021. A super PAC with ties to the union has committed $35 million to the race and has for months been flooding mailboxes with literature about Mr. Spiller and buying billboard and print ads.

Mr. Spiller, who was born in Jamaica, played hockey at Rutgers before becoming a science teacher.

Josh Gottheimer

In 2016, Mr. Gottheimer, 49, won a seat in the House of Representatives that for decades had been held by Republicans. He was elected to represent a district that at the time straddled some of the most conservative and liberal parts of New Jersey.

Mr. Gottheimer, a lawyer who has worked for the Federal Communications Commission and Microsoft, is a chairman of the bipartisan Problem Solvers Caucus and has been a leading opponent of New York's congestion pricing plan. He promised to be New Jersey's ''lower taxes, lower costs'' governor during his campaign announcement event, held at a diner.

Mikie Sherrill

In 2018, Ms. Sherrill, 52, was part of a so-called blue wave of Democrats who won a majority of House seats in the midterm elections after Mr. Trump became president. A former Navy helicopter pilot and lawyer who worked for the U.S. attorney's office in New Jersey, Ms. Sherrill has focused on defending reproductive rights.

Ms. Sherrill was the first member of New Jersey's congressional delegation to publicly urge Mr. Biden to step aside and not run for re-election.

The Republicans

Jon Bramnick

Mr. Bramnick, 71, a moderate state senator who moonlights as a stand-up comedian, has for years been open about his disapproval of Mr. Trump. He has stressed the importance of civility and sponsored legislation requiring lessons on coping with grief in high school.

He has represented a largely affluent suburban district in the Legislature since 2003 and has argued that only a centrist like himself has a shot at winning in November, given the Democrats' enrollment edge.

Jack Ciattarelli

Mr. Ciattarelli, 63, a former state assemblyman who was known as a moderate, is running his third campaign for governor after coming within about three points of unseating Mr. Murphy in 2021.

He beat primary candidates further to his right that year to win the nomination, and he is again trying to appeal to Mr. Trump's most ardent supporters without alienating the party's more centrist base in New Jersey.

Edward Durr Jr.

Mr. Durr, 61, served for two years in the State Senate after his stunning 2021 defeat of Mr. Sweeney, then the Senate president, during an election in which Republican turnout surged as voters angered by pandemic-related rules flocked to the polls.

Mr. Durr, who drives a truck for a furniture store, embraced the label ''Ed the Trucker'' as he ran unsuccessfully for re-election in 2023. His opponent highlighted sexist and anti-Islamic comments he made years ago on social media.

Bill Spadea

Mr. Spadea, 55, a conservative radio host, is making his third run for office. A former Marine who has also hosted a Fox television show, has said that Mr. Trump failed during his first term by not firing Dr. Anthony Fauci, one of the lead members of the White House's coronavirus task force, and not shutting down the F.B.I.

He is now working to cast himself as a standard-bearer for the president-elect -- ''pro-life, pro-Second Amendment and pro-Trump.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/18/nyregion/new-jersey-governors-race.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/18/nyregion/new-jersey-governors-race.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Gov. Philip D. Murphy, a Democrat, is unable to run for a third term. Republicans saw encouraging signs in New Jersey this year. (PHOTOGRAPH BY RACHEL WISNIEWSKI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A21.

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[***The Rise of Progressivism Among the Educated Elite***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C9Y-F5D1-DXY4-X044-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 23, 2024 Sunday

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**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 11; LETTERS

**Length:** 1025 words

**Body**

Readers discuss a column by David Brooks about ''The Sins of the Educated Class.''

To the Editor:

Re ''The Sins of the Educated Class,'' by David Brooks (column, June 7):

Mr. Brooks's insightful column omits one problem. Many ''elite'' parents and students have never really interacted with ''real'' average Americans. I went to the same university as Mr. Brooks, and I believe that my education about people was greatly enhanced by what I did not learn in class.

Especially important were the facts that I grew up on the South Side of Chicago, spent my summers working in an automobile body shop (where I learned many things, including that you take a shower after, not before, work) and spent time in the Army. All these experiences brought me into regular daily contact with people dealing with survival issues -- living paycheck to paycheck, not being able to ever afford decent housing, worried about inflation, etc.

Don't only blame the students for their attitudes and behaviors; they are built into our societal structure. Current scholars at elite schools are deprived of the great daily lessons and educational opportunities that I had. Possible solutions include required gap years, duty in the military, a required year of national service (good luck getting that through Congress) or interrupting their college careers with a real job for a year.

Those who take advantage of such experiences would benefit greatly, and so would the country.

Jim WebsterShelter Island, N.Y.

To the Editor:

In his anguished attempt to place the country's woes at the doorstep of progressives, David Brooks ignores the single greatest creation of inequality in the U.S. today -- the tax code. Progressives did not pass the Reagan tax cuts of 1981, nor the Bush tax cuts of 2001, nor the Trump tax cuts of 2017, which have shifted enormous wealth from the middle class to the very wealthy -- a shift that shows no signs of abating anytime soon.

The economic divide in this country has not been unwittingly created. The divide is the result of concerted effort by a greedy class, not the educated class. The educated class, though, has been better at navigating the resulting system than the ***working class***, an effect that the wealthy class has used to divide and conquer to insure that the educated and working classes do not finally work together to create a more just society.

John Q. GaleHartford, Conn.The writer is a member of the Hartford City Council.

To the Editor:

I hardly know how to begin to express my deep discomfort with David Brooks's column. On its surface, it appears to be a reasoned critique of elite wokeness. But underneath it, throughout, there's a contempt for those at prestigious universities who hold liberal or progressive values -- which, to me, translates into a deep empathy for the poor, the underprivileged and the wretched of the earth.

Here's an example, when he writes: ''Imagine you're a social justice-oriented student or a radical sociologist, but you attend or work at a university with a $50 billion endowment, immense social power and the ability to reject about 95 percent of the people who apply. For years or decades, you worked your tail off to get into the most exclusive aeries in American life, but now you've got to prove, to yourself and others, that you're on the side of the oppressed.''

That's just so denigrating and unfairly disrespectful of anyone who made it to a first-rate university, and whose excellent education has then led them to identify with and/or really feel the pain of the poor, the marginalized and those crushed by the powerful.

If readers have any doubts that Mr. Brooks is really using his apparent critique of the privileged woke to discredit the recent campus protests, consider this snarky insult: ''Student activists stage messy protests on campus but don't even see the custodial staff who will clean up afterward.'' If Mr. Brooks might be compared to an intellectual boxer, I think that counts as a really cheap shot and low blow.

Richard EversBrattleboro, Vt.

To the Editor

It would take a letter much longer than David Brooks's article to describe all my agreements and disagreements with his column. I would only like to make a plea that we drop the word ''elite'' in reference to colleges and universities, a badge that serves no purpose other than to exalt those who wear the badge and denigrate all of the other fine schools around the country and the students who go to them.

Also, please drop the term ''***working class***,'' another meaningless badge that serves only to divide and denigrate. Hopefully, we are all ''***working class***.''

John T. DillonWest Caldwell, N.J.

To the Editor:

David Brooks is both right and wrong. He's right that virtue-signaling actions by universities have scant corrective effect by themselves. He's right about what ought to happen. He fails to recognize that it sometimes does.

At Syracuse University we fly the Haudenosaunee flag beside our own and regularly acknowledge that we are on their land. We also work with Indigenous people to provide dedicated scholarships for them, expand culturally informed support services, and introduce new courses and programs -- such as the minor in Native American and Indigenous studies -- to educate students about Indigenous history as essential to an understanding of American history.

This requires substantial financial investment and unwavering commitment. It is what we do.

Samuel GorovitzSyracuse, N.Y.

To the Editor:

David Brooks may be right that ''performative self-validation'' as progressive warriors is the reason that students at elite universities have been at the vanguard of social and political activism of late. But that is a surprising and uncharacteristically cynical view for Mr. Brooks.

The other interpretation is that these students feel an extra burden of responsibility to speak out on behalf of the oppressed, precisely because of their elite status in society. But that would require attributing to them a moral compass, a virtue that Mr. Brooks seems reluctant to grant them.

David J. AndersonAltadena, Calif.The writer is a professor at Caltech.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/22/opinion/progressive-educated-elite.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/22/opinion/progressive-educated-elite.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page SR11.

**Load-Date:** June 23, 2024

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[***Bryan Ferry Savors Some Time Outside***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DB9-R021-JBG3-60GG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 3, 2024 Sunday

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**Length:** 821 words

**Byline:** By Rob Tannenbaum

**Body**

As the Roxy Music frontman readies a boxed set of his solo work, he reflects on the cultural inspirations that keep him fueled with glamour and drama.

While Bryan Ferry was picking songs for ''Retrospective: Selected Recordings 1973-2023,'' -- a new boxed set recapping his long solo career apart from Roxy Music, the pioneering British art-rock band he led -- the singer noticed a recurring theme. ''There's a lot of love songs, a lot of romantic songs,'' he said, speaking by video from his London recording studio.

Ferry's love songs, though, tend to be fraught with anxiety and blue with longing. The boy doesn't get the girl; instead, the boy pines for the girl and can't get her out of his mind. ''But those are always the best love songs, aren't they?'' he asked with a chuckle. ''I do like music that's introspective, and a bit on the sad side.''

The set begins with material from ''These Foolish Things'' (1973), on which Ferry brashly covered a broad array of songs, including one of Bob Dylan's prolix metaphorical rambles and ''It's My Party,'' Lesley Gore's campy teen heartbreak lament. Ferry had studied at art school with the British Pop Art provocateur Richard Hamilton, who believed there was no hierarchical distinction between high and low culture, an idea the singer has sustained throughout his work.

Last month, Ferry turned 79, and he'll have a new album next year, but indicated that his touring days might be over: ''As you get older, the travel is a bit tiring.'' The singer grew up ***working class*** outside Newcastle -- his father tended to horses that worked in local coal mines -- but as Roxy Music gained popularity and cultural cachet in the 1970s, he developed appreciations for all things luxe. His list of 10 essential inspirations mixes the urban and the rural, the modern and the old-fashioned, with a consistent eye for glamour and drama. These are edited excerpts from the conversation.

His own recording studio

I've worked in a lot of studios and it's great to finally have this place. Prince used this studio for an album he did with a girl band [''Plectrumelectrum,'' by Prince and 3rdEyeGirl], and they were really good. I like to think some of it might've rubbed off.

His garden

On weekends, I get out of London and go to the country for fresh air. If you're a musician, you can be trapped indoors for days on end and it's nice to have some respite from that. I've got a beautiful garden with an apple orchard, and at this time of the year, the fruit is getting ready to pick.

Charlie Parker

When I started collecting records, they were 78s -- Little Richard, Fats Domino, some early Elvis. The first EP I bought was ''The Magnificent Charlie Parker.'' I still have it. I was amazed because he seemed so free, and there was a kind of angularity about his saxophone playing. It was spiky, yet he could do wonderful, fluid runs.

Seville, Spain

I went to Seville last week for my birthday. It's still relatively unspoiled and old-fashioned -- you can take a horse and carriage around the park. I like flamenco music for the spectacle of it -- incredible guitar players, dancing, singing, all in very small spaces.

Books

I like being surrounded by piles of books. I've never read them on an iPad -- I like to have physical things. I loved poetry when I was at school and I'm still very into Sylvia Plath. I just started ''Three-Martini Afternoons at the Ritz,'' a book about Plath and a contemporary of hers, Anne Sexton. It's a good title, isn't it?

American football

All the times I toured America, I enjoyed watching football with the sound turned off. I like the spectacle of it -- the cinematography is fantastic. Kansas City is a really good team that's been doing very well the last couple of years. I like their outfits, too.

Art galleries

On tour, I got to see all the great galleries and museums. My favorites in America are the Frick in New York, which has wonderful Gainsboroughs in a beautiful old building, and the Philadelphia Museum of Art, because they have the Duchamp. Whenever I have a day off on tour, I go to a museum and then find a good restaurant, because I love eating and drinking. Old-fashioned stuff.

American cars

There's a lot of American stuff in this list, isn't there? The music, of course, has shaped my life. When I was at college, I had a beautiful Studebaker Champion, a sleek American car. And I had an extravagant Cadillac DeVille on the second Roxy album cover. With the Studebaker, I had to push it when I drove it, but it looked so cool.

Ballet

With ballet, you get choreography, music, you see the orchestra playing in the pit, great dancers, costumers, set design, lighting. It all combines to make something magical.

Persol sunglasses

Finally, I wanted to include something trite. I like the shape of old-fashioned Persol sunglasses. When I put them on, I can pretend for a minute that I'm an Onassis or someone like that.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/26/arts/music/bryan-ferry-favorites.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/26/arts/music/bryan-ferry-favorites.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY ASTRID STAWIARZ/GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page AR3.

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**End of Document**



[***In Milei’s Argentina, Economic Albatross Is Tamed but Life Is Much Harder***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DMM-2KP1-JBG3-62D5-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 12, 2024 Thursday 21:44 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; americas

**Length:** 1600 words

**Byline:** Daniel Politi, Lucía Cholakian Herrera and Ana Ionova

**Highlight:** A year after becoming president, Javier Milei has been praised inside and outside Argentina for reining in galloping inflation. But his economic policies have inflicted widespread hardship.

**Body**

A year after becoming president, Javier Milei has been praised inside and outside Argentina for reining in galloping inflation. But his economic policies have inflicted widespread hardship.

At home and abroad, Argentina’s president, Javier Milei, is a man with plenty of fans. And not just any fans.

Mr. Milei, a right-wing libertarian, may not have been an obvious choice as the first world leader to meet President-elect Donald J. Trump after his election victory. Yet there he was, at Mar-a-Lago in Florida last month, being showered with praise by Mr. Trump.

“The job you’ve done is incredible,” Mr. Trump told Mr. Milei at a gala for a right-wing research institute. “You’ve done a fantastic job in a very short period of time.”

Many Argentines seem to agree. A year after taking office, Mr. Milei is viewed favorably by about 56 percent of Argentines, according to a recent [*poll*](https://www.lanacion.com.ar/politica/encuesta-exclusiva-a-un-ano-de-asumir-milei-conserva-un-nivel-alto-de-aprobacion-pero-su-estilo-nid08122024/), making him one of the most popular presidents in the country’s recent history.

“This is the president that God brought for the Argentines,” said Marcelo Capobianco, 54, a butcher in Buenos Aires. “He brought back hope.”

While a cascade of brutal cuts to everything from soup kitchens to bus fare subsidies have pushed more than five million Argentines into poverty, they have also helped Mr. Milei make remarkable progress on a daunting task: reining in the world’s highest inflation rate.

Before Mr. Milei was sworn in, monthly inflation was 12.8 percent; now it is 2.4 percent, the lowest in four years.

Mr. Milei has followed through on bold promises to bring Argentina’s budget under control, firing more than 30,000 government workers and applying deep cuts to spending on health, welfare and education.

Before he took office, Mr. Milei’s critics questioned whether a former television pundit, who describes himself as an anarcho-capitalist, could lift Argentina out of its decade-long crisis.

In some ways, their concerns have been borne out. Mr. Milei’s unorthodox governing approach has plunged Argentina into a chaotic new chapter, as poverty rates have jumped and people have taken to the streets in protest.

“Every day, we have more people who come to eat,” said Margarita Barrientos, 63, who runs a soup kitchen in a ***working-class*** neighborhood in Buenos Aires.

But there are also signs that Mr. Milei’s strategy is working. In addition to plunging inflation, government revenue exceeds spending for the first time in 16 years and preliminary data suggest that the economy, after contracting for three straight quarters, is stabilizing and may be on track to slowly start growing.

“Happy times are coming in Argentina,” Mr. Milei said this week during an address commemorating his first year in office. He promised “sustained growth” in 2025, vowing that the country’s sacrifice “will not be in vain.”

Global investors have cheered Mr. Milei’s actions, with Bank of America declaring in a financial report that his “stabilization plan is working better than expected.”

The International Monetary Fund predicted that Argentina’s yearly inflation would fall to a more manageable 45 percent in 2025 from a record peak of 211 percent in 2023 and commended Mr. Milei on his “impressive progress.”

Argentina’s inflation figures have sometimes been questioned after past administrations were caught fudging the numbers. But the national statistics agency was overhauled in 2015 so today the figures are widely seen as credible and hew to independent estimates.

For many ordinary Argentines, however, Mr. Milei’s economic triage has been painful. His government has cut state spending by about a third, eliminating price controls and subsidies that made public transit, heating bills and groceries cheaper, leaving more people struggling to make ends meet.

Still, many see a silver lining to the government’s austerity measures.

Miguel Valderrama, who owns a small market in Buenos Aires, said he’s relieved to no longer have to endure the unchecked inflation that defined daily life before Mr. Milei’s presidency.

“There was a price in the morning, and at noon everything increased again — and again two days later,” said Mr. Valderrama, 40, who voted for Mr. Milei.

Now, with greater stability, he is able to plan his inventory without worrying about sudden price shocks. “Before,” he said, “we didn’t know how much money we would spend, how much things would cost.”

Mr. Milei’s rise to power followed decades of boom-and-bust cycles. Argentina was among the world’s wealthiest countries, but years of government mismanagement emptied its public coffers, led to multiple defaults on tens of billions of dollars in international loans and left the economy limping.

“Argentina stopped growing in 2012,” said Marina Dal Poggetto, executive director of EcoGo, a consultancy based in Argentina.

Mr. Milei, casting himself as an outsider, blamed Argentina’s economic travails on corrupt politicians who spent recklessly, describing political opponents as “thieves” who live like “monarchs.”

He warned that if he were elected president things would most likely get worse before they got better. Still, his promises appealed to many Argentines hungry for change.

Mr. Milei’s more radical plans as a candidate included closing Argentina’s central bank and abandoning the peso in favor of the U.S. dollar. But once in power, he did neither, and his policies have been far less drastic than many expected.

“The initial outlines of Milei’s program were much more reasonable than his campaign rhetoric,” Ms. Dal Poggetto said. “They were pragmatic, very pragmatic.”

But Mr. Milei’s work to tackle the country’s long-running financial challenges has angered many Argentines, sparking large demonstrations over pension cuts, rising prices and slashed university budgets.

Roberto Bejerano, 68, a retired taxi driver, said he could afford only the bare essentials on his monthly pension payments and had to give up small pleasures like dining out and buying books.

“They’re laughing in our faces when they say we’re better off” because of the government’s tough economic medicine, Mr. Bejerano said. “You don’t see it in your wallet.”

He said it troubled him that Mr. Milei “is so popular when there are so many of us who are suffering.”

Outside Argentina, Mr. Milei’s economic policies and his outspoken style have elevated his international profile. He has mercilessly mocked “woke” ideology and attacked his critics on social media, dismissing them as “socialists.” His brash style and unruly hair often draw comparisons to Mr. Trump.

Mr. Milei, in fact, has frequently expressed admiration for Mr. Trump, cheering his “formidable electoral victory” on [*social media*](https://www.lanacion.com.ar/politica/encuesta-exclusiva-a-un-ano-de-asumir-milei-conserva-un-nivel-alto-de-aprobacion-pero-su-estilo-nid08122024/).

The feeling seems to be mutual. “You’re my favorite president,” Mr. Trump said to Mr. Milei during a call last month, according to a spokesman for Argentina’s president. Two spokesmen for Mr. Trump did not respond to requests for comment.

Echoing Mr. Trump’s catchphrase, Mr. Milei has vowed to “Make Argentina Great Again.”

Elon Musk, who will help lead a new agency dedicated to reducing the size and spending of the U.S. government, has also lauded Mr. Milei. “Impressive progress in Argentina!” Mr. Musk said on X, sharing a lengthy podcast where Mr. Milei was a guest and boasted about his accomplishments.

Vivek Ramaswamy, who will help Mr. Musk lead the new agency, mused that “Milei-style cuts, on steroids” could offer “a reasonable formula to fix the U.S. government.”

But back home, Ms. Barrientos, the soup kitchen operator, said the Milei government had inflicted far too much suffering.

The country’s poverty rate rose to 53 percent from 40 percent in the first six months of the year, according to government figures.

“Right now it’s as if we don’t have a future,” said Ms. Barrientos, adding that the government was “insensitive to people’s needs.”

Many Argentines have cut back spending on basics like milk and bread. Consumption of beef in Argentina, one of the world’s top meat exporters, has fallen to its lowest level in 28 years.

Some analysts cautioned that Mr. Milei’s financial policies, including controls on foreign exchange rates, have helped prop up the peso but were making Argentina’s exports, like metals, soy and beef, less competitive.

Critics also warned that Mr. Milei’s aggressive cuts could ultimately stifle growth. Less investment in universities, research centers and hospitals could “weaken Argentina’s social and economic foundation in the long run,” said Martín Kalos, director of EPyCA Consultores, an economic consultancy.

Still, experts say Mr. Milei has succeeded in achieving the most pressing task: averting a deeper inflation spiral. And, for now, many Argentines appear to be willing to give Mr. Milei time to continue his sweeping economic overhaul.

“People feel there are certain things that had to be done,” said Mariel Fornoni a political analyst who runs Management and Fit, a polling firm. “Then, there’s the question of how much their wallets can take.”

PHOTOS: Before President Javier Milei was sworn in, monthly inflation was 12.8 percent; now it is 2.4 percent. Still, his economic triage has been painful for many Argentines. Left, a soup kitchen in Buenos Aires; and a food market that offers senior discounts on Saturdays, above.; “The job you’ve done is incredible,” Presidentelect Donald J. Trump told Mr. Milei, left, who visited Mar-aLago last month.; Miguel Valderrama said that he was glad he no longer had to worry about prices changing.; Roberto Bejerano, a retiree, said he has been forced to stop eating out to stretch his pension. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SARAH PABST FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A4.

**Load-Date:** December 12, 2024

**End of Document**



[***The Rise of Progressivism Among the Educated Elite; letters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C9R-78H1-JBG3-600X-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 22, 2024 Saturday 20:40 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1018 words

**Highlight:** Readers discuss a column by David Brooks about “The Sins of the Educated Class.”

**Body**

Readers discuss a column by David Brooks about “The Sins of the Educated Class.”

To the Editor:

Re “[*The Sins of the Educated Class*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/06/opinion/elites-progressives-universities.html),” by David Brooks (column, June 7):

Mr. Brooks’s insightful column omits one problem. Many “elite” parents and students have never really interacted with “real” average Americans. I went to the same university as Mr. Brooks, and I believe that my education about people was greatly enhanced by what I did not learn in class.

Especially important were the facts that I grew up on the South Side of Chicago, spent my summers working in an automobile body shop (where I learned many things, including that you take a shower after, not before, work) and spent time in the Army. All these experiences brought me into regular daily contact with people dealing with survival issues — living paycheck to paycheck, not being able to ever afford decent housing, worried about inflation, etc.

Don’t only blame the students for their attitudes and behaviors; they are built into our societal structure. Current scholars at elite schools are deprived of the great daily lessons and educational opportunities that I had. Possible solutions include required gap years, duty in the military, a required year of national service (good luck getting that through Congress) or interrupting their college careers with a real job for a year.

Those who take advantage of such experiences would benefit greatly, and so would the country.

Jim Webster

Shelter Island, N.Y.

To the Editor:

In his anguished attempt to place the country’s woes at the doorstep of progressives, David Brooks ignores the single greatest creation of inequality in the U.S. today — the tax code. Progressives did not pass the Reagan tax cuts of 1981, nor the Bush tax cuts of 2001, nor the Trump tax cuts of 2017, which have shifted enormous wealth from the middle class to the very wealthy — a shift that shows no signs of abating anytime soon.

The economic divide in this country has not been unwittingly created. The divide is the result of concerted effort by a greedy class, not the educated class. The educated class, though, has been better at navigating the resulting system than the ***working class***, an effect that the wealthy class has used to divide and conquer to insure that the educated and working classes do not finally work together to create a more just society.

John Q. Gale

Hartford, Conn.

The writer is a member of the Hartford City Council.

To the Editor:

I hardly know how to begin to express my deep discomfort with David Brooks’s column. On its surface, it appears to be a reasoned critique of elite wokeness. But underneath it, throughout, there’s a contempt for those at prestigious universities who hold liberal or progressive values — which, to me, translates into a deep empathy for the poor, the underprivileged and the wretched of the earth.

Here’s an example, when he writes: “Imagine you’re a social justice-oriented student or a radical sociologist, but you attend or work at a university with a $50 billion endowment, immense social power and the ability to reject about 95 percent of the people who apply. For years or decades, you worked your tail off to get into the most exclusive aeries in American life, but now you’ve got to prove, to yourself and others, that you’re on the side of the oppressed.”

That’s just so denigrating and unfairly disrespectful of anyone who made it to a first-rate university, and whose excellent education has then led them to identify with and/or really feel the pain of the poor, the marginalized and those crushed by the powerful.

If readers have any doubts that Mr. Brooks is really using his apparent critique of the privileged woke to discredit the recent campus protests, consider this snarky insult: “Student activists stage messy protests on campus but don’t even see the custodial staff who will clean up afterward.” If Mr. Brooks might be compared to an intellectual boxer, I think that counts as a really cheap shot and low blow.

Richard Evers

Brattleboro, Vt.

To the Editor

It would take a letter much longer than David Brooks’s article to describe all my agreements and disagreements with his column. I would only like to make a plea that we drop the word “elite” in reference to colleges and universities, a badge that serves no purpose other than to exalt those who wear the badge and denigrate all of the other fine schools around the country and the students who go to them.

Also, please drop the term “***working class***,” another meaningless badge that serves only to divide and denigrate. Hopefully, we are all “***working class***.”

John T. Dillon

West Caldwell, N.J.

To the Editor:

David Brooks is both right and wrong. He’s right that virtue-signaling actions by universities have scant corrective effect by themselves. He’s right about what ought to happen. He fails to recognize that it sometimes does.

At Syracuse University [*we fly the Haudenosaunee flag*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/06/opinion/elites-progressives-universities.html) beside our own and regularly acknowledge that we are on their land. We also work with Indigenous people to provide dedicated scholarships for them, expand culturally informed support services, and introduce new courses and programs — such as the minor in Native American and Indigenous studies — to educate students about Indigenous history as essential to an understanding of American history.

This requires substantial financial investment and unwavering commitment. It is what we do.

Samuel Gorovitz

Syracuse, N.Y.

To the Editor:

David Brooks may be right that “performative self-validation” as progressive warriors is the reason that students at elite universities have been at the vanguard of social and political activism of late. But that is a surprising and uncharacteristically cynical view for Mr. Brooks.

The other interpretation is that these students feel an extra burden of responsibility to speak out on behalf of the oppressed, precisely because of their elite status in society. But that would require attributing to them a moral compass, a virtue that Mr. Brooks seems reluctant to grant them.

David J. Anderson

Altadena, Calif.

The writer is a professor at Caltech.

This article appeared in print on page SR11.

**Load-Date:** June 22, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Trump’s Treasury Pick Isn’t Alarming, but He Is Unusual; Peter Coy***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DKC-WGT1-DXY4-X3XY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 6, 2024 Friday 20:43 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1345 words

**Byline:** Peter CoyPeter Coy is a writer for the Opinion section of The Times, covering economics and business. Email him at .

**Highlight:** Some of Scott Bessent’s economic views are outside the mainstream. But at least he’s qualified.

**Body**

Scott Bessent, Donald Trump’s pick for Treasury secretary, has some pretty unorthodox views. Unorthodoxy can be a good thing at times, and it’s conceivable that Bessent will end up a big success at Treasury. But deviation from the norm is not necessarily what you look for in a Treasury secretary, who is [*responsible*](https://home.treasury.gov/subfooter/faqs/duties-and-functions-faqs) for formulating the nation’s economic, financial and tax policies.

What Bessent stands for hasn’t gotten a lot of attention yet because he is a levelheaded, stable, congenial person, which puts him way above some of the other Trump picks. He’s also smart and knows his way around financial markets, a plus for the job. He became a billionaire by working for the prominent investors George Soros, Jim Chanos and Jim Rogers, and later founding Key Square Capital Management, a hedge fund.

But when you listen to him closely, you hear some surprising things. Let me take you through one [*fireside chat*](https://home.treasury.gov/subfooter/faqs/duties-and-functions-faqs) that Bessent had on Oct. 2 — that is, before Trump chose him, but while he was in contention for the job — with Michael Green, the chief strategist of Simplify Asset Management.

At one point, the conversation turned to Japan. Its central bank has kept interest rates low to stimulate its economy, going by the conventional economic wisdom that raising rates discourages borrowing by consumers and businesses, chilling growth. After two increases earlier this year, it has been [*reluctant*](https://home.treasury.gov/subfooter/faqs/duties-and-functions-faqs) to raise rates further. But Bessent told Green, “I believe that the Bank of Japan is actually going to stoke growth when they raise rates.”

Bessent’s logic is that Japanese households are big savers, and keep a lot of their money in bank accounts, so when rates go up, their interest income rises, allowing them to spend more. Himino Ryozo, a deputy governor of the Bank of Japan, said something along those lines in [*a speech*](https://home.treasury.gov/subfooter/faqs/duties-and-functions-faqs) last year, although that was back when its key interest rate was [*still negative*](https://home.treasury.gov/subfooter/faqs/duties-and-functions-faqs). It’s also a tenet of modern monetary theory, a heterodox school of economics.

There’s no question that savers benefit from higher interest rates, but to say that higher rates stimulate the Japanese economy overall remains a minority view, even within the Bank of Japan. (Otherwise they would have raised rates sooner and faster, right?)

Maurice Obstfeld, an economist at the University of California, Berkeley, who was the chief economist of the International Monetary Fund from 2015 to 2018, pointed out to me that households that owe money tend to live more paycheck to paycheck, so the hit to their spending from higher interest payments is greater than the lift to spending by saving households, which will just put most of the extra interest back into the bank.

Bessent also told Green that China can accomplish its military buildup only because it has a gigantic surplus in trade and income from investments — the current account, in economics lingo. “If they didn’t do the gigantic current account surplus, the savings of the Chinese people are not enough to finance this,” he said.

This is precisely backward. China’s having a surplus in its current account means that it is actually sending savings abroad, not adding to national savings that could be used for the military or anything else. The surplus indicates that instead of importing foreign goods in exchange for its exports, China is acquiring foreign stocks, bonds, real estate and the like. That, in fact, is the complaint that the current Treasury secretary, Janet Yellen, has been making about China ever since she took office — that China is [*overproducing and over-saving*](https://home.treasury.gov/subfooter/faqs/duties-and-functions-faqs), so “the global market is flooded by artificially cheap Chinese products.”

Perhaps Bessent’s argument is that China’s current account surplus and its military buildup are two symptoms of deeper problems in economic management, rather than the former enabling the latter. I’m not sure I buy that either, but in any case it’s not what he said.

One more surprising argument. Late in the fireside chat, Bessent floated an idea for how to get NATO countries to pay their fair share for defense, without threatening to withdraw from the alliance, as Trump has [*privately talked about*](https://home.treasury.gov/subfooter/faqs/duties-and-functions-faqs). His idea was to ask Germany and other allies to buy U.S. “military bonds.”

It sounds reasonable at first, but think about what it entails. It’s Europe buying a new form of U.S. government debt. Instead of using its money to buy jets, tanks and the like (a lot of it American-made), Europe would be turning the United States into even more of a net debtor to the rest of the world than it already is. How does that help Europe defend itself or benefit America’s finances?

There’s also Bessent’s [*3-3-3*](https://home.treasury.gov/subfooter/faqs/duties-and-functions-faqs) plan, which helped him get Trump’s nod for the job. It would involve cutting the budget deficit to 3 percent by 2028, from roughly 6 percent today, boosting economic growth to 3 percent a year, and encouraging additional energy production of three million barrels of oil a day or the equivalent. Its goals are good but I think it’s overoptimistic, especially if Trump follows through on his vows to impose higher tariffs and to expel millions of undocumented immigrants. To his credit, Bessent has expressed concerns about high tariffs, saying they should be used more as threats to gain concessions from other nations rather than as permanent fixtures.

All that said, Bessent is better prepared to serve as Treasury secretary than some of his predecessors. I remember when Paul O’Neill, a former chief executive of the aluminum producer Alcoa, who served under President George W. Bush, said that one of his top priorities as Treasury secretary would be workplace safety. (That’s more the Labor Department’s department.) Bessent may turn out just fine. Some of his ideas, however, could use a little more thinking through.

The Readers Write

You wrote about organizations that help [*get people into good jobs*](https://home.treasury.gov/subfooter/faqs/duties-and-functions-faqs). My thought is to have companies hire part-time workers. As a senior with a doctorate in biostatistics, I would be happy to work only 20 or 25 hours per week, even at lower pay, if I can use my skills. I have Medicare so I don’t need benefits. At the same time, hire a young person at least part-time and let me job-share. I can show them how to do the work and be a mentor.

David Olsen

Houston

All those applicants mentioned who “didn’t get a nibble” are probably not victims of qualitative individual decisions but the faulty quantitative systems that are today’s gatekeepers into corporate hiring (alluded to in your inclusion of fear of “lemons”).

Blane Cox

Reno, Nev.

One of the best things people can do to help others get jobs is help them practice interviewing. This takes time, a Zoom link or a cup of coffee at the local coffee shop. Do this three or four times and the person will show dramatic improvement.

Robin Hurley

Highlands Ranch, Colo.

Any day we are [*talking about Frank Knight*](https://home.treasury.gov/subfooter/faqs/duties-and-functions-faqs) is a good day for me (working on trying to understand Knight since before my 1980 Ph.D.). I agree absolutely with Amar Bhidé’s desire to change the Knightian intuition into something workable. Anything we can do here is huge.

John-Christopher Spender

Manhattan

You wrote about a theory for [*why Donald Trump was elected*](https://home.treasury.gov/subfooter/faqs/duties-and-functions-faqs). The ***working class*** is looking to Trump to give them a proportionately bigger piece of the American pie. Ironically, this has been Bernie Sanders’s message for years.

Whit Manter

Woodstock, Vt.

My theory is that the “good economy” of the past four years was mostly enjoyed by those who were already in the well-off to wealthy segment. Those less privileged lost ground and they know it and they are upset. They turned against the party that is in power since it is easy to blame and hasn’t shown much empathy for the “average Joe.”

Branch Watkins

Sarasota, Fla.

Quote of the Day

“When it comes to governing the digital economy, it is not the E.U. that will be forced to choose between China and the U.S., but rather the U.S. that must choose between joining forces with the E.U. or allowing China’s influence to further grow.”

— Anu Bradford, “Digital Empires: The Global Battle to Regulate Technology” (2023)

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[***Trump's Idea Of No Taxes On Tips Catches On***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CJ3-PD51-JBG3-6169-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 22, 2024 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section B; Column 0; Business/Financial Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1141 words

**Byline:** By Andrew Duehren

**Body**

The sudden popularity of exempting tips from taxes is a reminder of the improvisational nature of economic policymaking under Donald Trump.

In Donald J. Trump's telling, the idea was born over dinner at his Las Vegas hotel, where the waitress serving his table complained about the burden of paying taxes on her tips.

''I was actually surprised to hear it,'' Mr. Trump said last month at a rally in Virginia, adding that he quickly decided to address the waitress's problem with a new campaign pledge: ''No taxes on tips!''

The proposal has rapidly become more than just a rally talking point. The Republican Party has officially embraced it in its platform, and House Speaker Mike Johnson, Republican of Louisiana, has said he would ''pass it as soon as we can.'' Some Democrats are also warming to making tipped income tax-free, with the two senators representing Nevada, a swing state with large restaurant and casino industries, endorsing it.

The sudden popularity of exempting tips from taxes is a reminder of the improvisational nature of economic policymaking under Mr. Trump. Several economists involved in advising the Trump campaign said they hadn't heard of the idea until Mr. Trump announced it publicly. But Republicans now see it as a key way to appeal to ***working-class*** Americans during the campaign against President Biden.

Mr. Trump has encouraged his supporters to leave a note on restaurant tabs telling service staff that a Trump victory in November means no taxes on tips. Roughly four million Americans work in jobs where tips are common, according to an estimate by the Budget Lab at Yale.

''It's not like a gang of economists sitting around a table came up with that,'' Stephen Moore, a Trump economic adviser, said. ''I thought, 'I don't know if he's being serious or not', but as a political matter it's a home run.''

Eileen Scott is a cocktail waitress on the floor of Harrah's Las Vegas, a casino where she makes much of her money in cash tips. Under an agreement she said Harrah's had with the Internal Revenue Service, her employer withholds taxes from her paycheck based on an estimate for how much she earns in tips.

The arrangement meant that she and other employees did not have to record each of their tips, but Ms. Scott said it also seemed that the I.R.S. assumed she made more than she actually did -- and therefore she owed more tax.

''We want to pay our fair share, but we also don't want to be taken advantage of,'' she said. ''I say it's like the mob: They take what they want from us. We are pissed off about this.''

Although Ms. Scott said she was glad Mr. Trump proposed a fix, she still favored Democrats. ''I just want the conversation to be started, so we can get to the point where we can take care of our families and pay our bills and not pay something we're not making,'' she said.

The four-word slogan Mr. Trump has put forward -- ''no taxes on tips'' -- still leaves several important details unaddressed. Namely: whether the exemption applies to all taxes. In the Senate, Ted Cruz, a Republican from Texas, introduced a bill that would spare tips only from income taxes. Since many ***working-class*** Americans do not make enough money to owe much in income taxes, the savings for low-wage waiters and waitresses could be limited.

In the House, two Republicans have a broader bill that would exempt tips from income taxes as well as payroll taxes, which are collected from Americans' wages to fund Social Security and Medicare. Such a move could cost as much as $250 billion in lost tax revenue over a decade, according to the nonpartisan Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget.

Because low-income workers generally owe more in payroll taxes, the House version could give more money back to waitresses, barbers and others, but potentially at a cost. By paying less in payroll taxes, those workers may not be able to claim as many retirement benefits from Social Security and Medicare.

''Exempting tips from payroll tax actually would increase their take home pay,'' Howard Gleckman, a senior fellow at the Tax Policy Center, a think tank. ''The downside is they wouldn't pay into Social Security and Medicare, and so they would get fewer benefits or maybe no benefits at all.''

Then there are broader questions. Some economists wonder whether the federal government should offer such a juicy tax break just to workers who depend on tips, leaving other low-wage employees without a similar benefit. Doing so could also create an incentive for all types of Americans, especially ones with sophisticated accountants, to try to classify their income as tips to avoid owing taxes. Investment managers, for example, could try to solicit gigantic, tax-free tips from clients instead of collecting taxable fees.

''Anytime you have a category that's untaxed, some of your tax base will slip into that category,'' said Casey Mulligan, an economist who worked in the Trump White House and helped write this year's Republican platform.

The I.R.S. has in recent years taken steps to try to collect more taxes owed on tipped income. The tax agency said that Americans appeared to underreport earnings in cash tips, and it started a new voluntary compliance program last year for employers. Americans reported roughly $38 billion in tipped income in 2018, according to I.R.S. data.

When Senator Kevin Cramer, Republican of North Dakota, worked as a host and bus boy during college, he said he probably was not reporting the tips he earned to the tax collector. Still, he said Mr. Trump's proposal inspired him as a way for Republicans to combat the ''constant criticism that we favor the rich.''

Many of the tax cuts that Republicans passed into law in 2017 are set to expire at the end of next year, and the desire to renew them has created a rare opportunity to create tax policy in Congress. The 2017 cuts included both business tax breaks that primarily benefit the wealthy, as well as individual provisions that create savings for ***working-class*** Americans. Overall, the benefits of extending the 2017 tax cuts slant in favor of the rich, according to the Tax Policy Center.

Mr. Cramer said adding the exemption for tips to a broader bill next year would help bring more benefits to low-income Americans. ''In that context, that's where it really becomes genius -- it says no one is being left out of these Republican tax cuts,'' he said.

Businesses also like the idea; Mr. Trump is the owner of several hospitality businesses. Sean Kennedy, the executive vice president for public affairs at the National Restaurant Association, said he had not previously pushed for making tips tax free. But after Mr. Trump floated it, he got in touch with Republicans on Capitol Hill, and the association endorsed Mr. Cruz's bill.

''We heard about this when you heard about it,'' Mr. Kennedy said.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/us/politics/trump-tips-taxes.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/18/us/politics/trump-tips-taxes.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Former President Donald J. Trump at a sandwich shop in Philadelphia in June, above. Left, one of the shop's employees with a receipt bearing Mr. Trump's slogan, a reminder of the off-the-cuff nature of his economic policymaking. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANNA MONEYMAKER/GETTY IMAGES) (B3) This article appeared in print on page B1, B3.

**Load-Date:** July 22, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Biden Returns to His Home Turf to Make Final Pitches for Harris***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DB5-8KG1-DXY4-X0DK-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 2, 2024 Saturday 19:44 EST

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**Section:** US; elections

**Length:** 818 words

**Byline:** Zolan Kanno-YoungsZolan Kanno-Youngs is a White House correspondent, covering President Biden and his administration.

**Highlight:** Though President Biden has made verbal gaffes on the campaign trail, the Harris campaign still considers him an asset in blue-collar communities like Scranton, Pa.

**Body**

Though President Biden has made verbal gaffes on the campaign trail, the Harris campaign still considers him an asset in blue-collar communities like Scranton, Pa.

In Scranton, Pa., it’s as though President Biden never left.

In the final weeks of the presidential campaign, Mr. Biden has been cast in the shadow of Vice President Kamala Harris amid concerns that his unpopularity could be a liability in her race against former President Donald J. Trump. But as he rallied union members in his hometown on Saturday during one of his last campaign events in office, Mr. Biden was in one of the few places Democrats feel he can still help Ms. Harris on the campaign trail.

“When he comes into this town, he is the top of the ticket,” said Sam Kuchwara, a 70-year-old retiree and veteran who is a native of Scranton. “He’s definitely more popular here than Harris.”

Scranton is certainly the exception in that respect. Mr. Biden rattled Democrats this week when he appeared to [*call supporters of Mr. Trump “garbage”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/29/us/politics/biden-garbage-trump-supporters.html) while denouncing racist comments made by a comedian at a Trump rally. Even though Mr. Biden later explained that he had meant that the comedian’s “hateful rhetoric” was garbage, Ms. Harris had to spend time on the campaign trail [*distancing herself*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/29/us/politics/biden-garbage-trump-supporters.html) from the comment.

Ms. Harris’s rallies are far more enthusiastic and energetic than Mr. Biden’s, with crowds of thousands dwarfing those at his events. But Harris campaign officials believe that the incumbent president can still provide a key benefit to Ms. Harris by rallying ***working-class*** white voters and union members in battleground states.

Enter Scranton Joe.

“Scranton becomes part of your heart,” Mr. Biden said to union members cramped inside a carpenter’s union hall. “It crawls into your heart. It’s real.”

Mr. Biden used the speech to argue that Mr. Trump would [*repeal much of his domestic agenda*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/29/us/politics/biden-garbage-trump-supporters.html) if he beat Ms. Harris, including efforts to invest in unions. He said that even those in the crowd who disagreed with Ms. Harris should vote for her if they wanted to keep aspects of his agenda.

“I’m not just asking for me,” Mr. Biden said. “I’m going to be gone. I’m asking you to do something for yourself and your families.”

It was Mr. Biden’s second day rallying union workers in Pennsylvania, a pivotal battleground state. But Mr. Biden’s frequently garbled words and verbal miscues provided a reminder of why Democrats had [*grown so concerned*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/29/us/politics/biden-garbage-trump-supporters.html) about his ability to defeat Mr. Trump.

While speaking to another union in Philadelphia on Friday, Mr. Biden appeared as though he could not remember the name of his longtime ally, the former Pennsylvania congressman Robert Brady, until someone in the crowd shouted his name. Whatever the reason, his pause prompted nervous laughter.

Still, Mr. Biden has appeared liberated in the final stretch of the campaign, particularly in Scranton, where he has been a frequent visitor while in office. After acknowledging that some in the union hall may like the former president’s tough-guy image, Mr. Biden said, “Now I know some of you guys are tempted to think it’s macho. I’ll tell you what, when I was in Scranton, we used to have a little trouble going down to the plot every once in awhile.”

He added, in a quote that was quickly picked up by news sites and social media accounts: “These are the kind of guys you want to smack in the ass.”

Paul Begala, a Democratic strategist who has worked on multiple campaigns in Pennsylvania, said the Harris campaign was right to distance itself from Mr. Biden in the final stretch of the race. “This is the time for a change election,” Mr. Begala said. “People really do want to do turn the page.”

But he said Mr. Biden’s personal roots in Scranton made him the ideal person to address a vulnerability of Ms. Harris’s.

“Kamala definitely needs help with high school-educated white men, which is the heart of Trump’s appeal and for Biden, a group he is very strong with,” Mr. Begala said. “She will make it up with the women, but if you can send Biden over there, there’s no downside.”

Jonathan Young, the political director for the Eastern Atlantic States Regional Council of Carpenters, said some of his union members across six states remained hesitant to vote for Ms. Harris. He finds himself still emphasizing Mr. Biden’s policies when selling Democrats to the members.

“There’s no secret, our membership is like the rest of America, right? We’re kind of divided on it,” Mr. Young said.

Mr. Kuchwara, the veteran from Scranton, feels politics are more divided than ever. But he said this town still appreciates a visit from the former Scranton resident-turned-president who has often emphasized reaching across the aisle.

“I’m glad that he came here,” Mr. Kuchwara said. “He’s got some old friends that are still here.”

PHOTO: President Biden spoke with volunteers at a union office in Scranton, Pa. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Pete Marovich for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 2, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Party Insider Joins Race To Take Reins at D.N.C.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DG4-9CD1-JBG3-61W1-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 21, 2024 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 14

**Length:** 1021 words

**Byline:** By Reid J. Epstein

**Body**

The chairman of Minnesota Democrats, he has longstanding connections to many of the Democratic National Committee members who will choose their next leader.

The race for chair of the Democratic National Committee may eventually include candidates who are well known across the party, but few are likely to have deeper relationships with the committee members who have a vote in the contest than Ken Martin, the Minnesota Democratic chairman.

Mr. Martin, who announced his candidacy to lead the D.N.C. on Tuesday, has led his state party since 2011 and served as a vice chairman of the national party since 2017. He is also the leader of the association of state Democratic chairs, a body that lobbies for state parties within the national committee.

If Martin O'Malley, the former Maryland governor who entered the contest on Monday, has experience as a candidate for state and national office, Mr. Martin, 51, is a veteran behind-the-scenes operator. He enters the race with 83 endorsements from D.N.C. members, his campaign said, a daunting figure given that the field is not yet set.

Other potential candidates who have had discussions about joining the race include Ben Wikler, the Wisconsin Democratic chairman, and Michael Blake, a former New York State Assembly member who served as a party vice chairman.

Jaime Harrison, the current D.N.C. chairman, is not seeking a second term. The election is expected to take place in early 2025.

Mr. Martin said in an interview on Monday that the next party leader would have an opportunity to ''reimagine the D.N.C. and focus on some things that they haven't been doing for some time while also really trying to get at what happened in this last election.''

Here is his conversation with The New York Times, lightly edited and condensed:

Why did Democrats lose the presidential election?

There were just really strong headwinds blowing against us from the very beginning of this election all the way through. And I don't think you can underestimate that.

It was a change electorate. People were feeling a lot of economic anxiety and certainly, at the end of the day, were going to vote against the party in power. That's part of it. We saw that around the world. Every major governing party that was facing hyperinflation and up for election either lost vote share or their elections.

Do you think President Biden should not have run initially for a second term?

I think it's an academic exercise, to be honest with you, and I don't think it serves anyone well to focus on the past. Because right now we've got a big job in front of us to rebuild this party and get ready for the upcoming elections.

I think it's important to look at those seven battleground states and realize that as decisive as it was around the country, it was much closer in those battleground states than people imagined.

Should there be a public autopsy or investigation run by the D.N.C. into what happened?

I don't like to call it an autopsy because it would suggest that the Democratic Party is dead, and we're not dead. We're still here and we're fighting.

I do believe there should be a post-election review. We should spend time at the D.N.C., but also with other partners and allies, stakeholder groups on the outside who are deeply invested in this election, and groups from labor to environmental groups to choice groups and others out there who played a significant role in this election. All of us should come to one table and figure out again what worked and what didn't work. And there should be no sacred cows out there.

What do you think the Democratic Party stands for now?

One thing that is deeply alarming to me, and you've probably seen this research, is that for the first time in modern history, the majority of Americans believe that the Republican Party best represents the interests of the ***working class*** and the poor. And that the Democratic Party represents the interests of the wealthy and the elite.

That would suggest we have a huge branding problem, because that is not who our party is. And we've got to do a better job of making sure people know that wherever they live, wherever they are from, no matter who they are, we're fighting for them and we're their champion in this country.

Did Kamala Harris make the right choice in picking Tim Walz as her running mate?

Absolutely.

Why?

Governor Walz had an amazing story to tell. I think that's the reason he was picked. And I still think it was the right reason. In fact, after the election, you can see it was clearly the right reason.

People didn't connect our policy with our candidates and our party, and that's a different conversation. But clearly Governor Walz had a record to talk about, about actually delivering for Minnesotans and delivering for working people who are feeling squeezed.

You have talked about contesting every race on every ballot. In the last few days, the D.N.C. has laid off about two-thirds of its staff. Do you think the party should contract so much after an election if it plans to have a robust presence in nonpresidential years?

We are in a perpetual campaign. The day after the election is the first day of the next election. There's no time to rest. And that's true of the state parties and that is certainly true of the national party.

You've talked about Democratic issues being more popular than Democratic candidates. Why do you think that is, and how long do you think it will take to correct that branding problem?

Rome wasn't built in a day. This has been a problem that's been happening for some years now and it culminated with this election.

This is not an easy task, rebranding and figuring out how we do that. It's going to take some time. One of the things we can't do is, in the short term, take the wrong lessons from this election.

We have to be really deliberate about learning why those voters moved away from us, and that's going to take time. But, you know, we've got some time and we don't have a lot of time. We have to get right back on the horse because we have big elections in New Jersey and Virginia and throughout the country in 2025.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/us/politics/ken-martin-dnc-race.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/us/politics/ken-martin-dnc-race.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Ken Martin has led the Minnesota Democratic Party since 2011 and been a vice chairman of the national party since 2017. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JENN ACKERMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A14.

**Load-Date:** November 21, 2024

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[***The 50 Others Accused In France's Rape Case***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DHM-4FD1-JBG3-63ND-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Length:** 1194 words

**Byline:** By Catherine Porter and Ségolène Le Stradic

**Body**

Dominique Pelicot invited men to rape his wife, whom he had drugged. The French media call them ''Mr. Every Man'' because they come from such ordinary backgrounds.

The last of 50 men to be cross-examined in the rape of a drugged and naked Gisèle Pelicot stood before the judges in a white sweater and jeans.

Philippe Leleu: Single, no children, a dedicated weight lifter and professional gardener who, at 62, was nearing retirement when the police came knocking. His mother opened the door -- they live beside one another, and since her stroke 10 years ago, they dine together and he spends most nights at her home.

''I never imagined I'd come before a court for him, never, never,'' she told the judges recently.

Yet here he was, among the accused, standing in the crowded courtroom in the southern city of Avignon, part of a mass rape trial, now in its 12th week, that has deeply shaken France.

Ms. Pelicot's ex-husband of 50 years, Dominique Pelicot, has pleaded guilty to drugging her for almost a decade to rape her, and offering her unconscious body up to strangers he met online. Prosecutors on Monday requested the maximum sentence for him: 20 years in prison.

He's on trial with 50 other men -- all but one charged with aggravated rape, attempted rape or sexual assault of Ms. Pelicot. The French media have dubbed them ''Monsieur Tout-le-monde'' -- Mr. Every Man -- because of how varied the men are, and how ordinary.

They are short, tall, flabby, lean, clean-shaven, bearded, bald and pony-tailed. All but 14 were employed, in jobs that reflect the spectrum of middle- and ***working-class*** rural France: truck drivers, carpenters and trade workers, a prison guard, a nurse, an I.T. expert working for a bank, a local journalist.

They range in age from 27 to 74. Just over two-thirds have children. Around 40 percent had criminal records, several for domestic abuse and two for rape.

There are few common denominators: Eighteen suffered from addiction to alcohol or drugs; the rest did not. Around a dozen reported being sexually abused as children. Some others, like Mr. Leleu, spoke of loving childhood homes.

''The profile of the rapist does not exist,'' said Antoine Camus, one of Ms. Pelicot's two lawyers, in his closing statement last week.

The men appeared before the court in groups of five to seven over 10 weeks -- offering only small glimpses into each man's life.

Mr. Leleu was the last person in the final group.

''I stopped thinking and I stopped having a connection with my brain,'' explained Mr. Leleu, his short, wiry body weaving from side to side as he spoke.

Like dozens of the men who came before him, Mr. Leleu pleaded not guilty to raping Ms. Pelicot. In his defense, he said Mr. Pelicot told him she had taken the drugs herself.

''I'm sorry to Madame Pelicot for involuntarily participating in her suffering,'' he said before squeezing back down on his bench.

Among the others in that group was Christian Lescole, 57, a firefighter and divorced father of two daughters. His new partner, with whom he had planned to open a dog kennel, told the court he was an amazing man. ''I don't think he's capable of committing rape,'' she said.

Mr. Lescole is among five of the accused who also face charges of possessing images of child sexual abuse. He has been in pretrial custody for four years.

''I have no future left. I spent my life protecting people. I never had a problem with justice before,'' said Mr. Lescole. In contrast to many other defendants, he was relatively loquacious during his testimony.

Since the court case began in early September, Mr. Lescole has attended regularly, sitting in one of two prisoners' boxes, often stroking his long beard while watching intensely. He was there in search of some existential answers, he said, ''because this is not me. This doesn't reflect my values. How did I get here?''

During the trial, he said he counted 18 men who'd said they'd been offered a drink by Mr. Pelicot after arriving at the Pelicots' home. He now says he believes they'd all been drugged. He told the court he had no memory after stepping inside the bedroom.

''I have big doubts about my free will at that moment,'' he said.

''Materially, I committed a rape,'' he added. ''But it was my body, not my brain.''

Joseph Cocco, 69, appeared before the judges as part of the same, final group. A retired manager of a beer company subsidiary, Mr. Cocco, 69, is one of only two defendants not charged with raping Ms. Pelicot. Instead, he has been charged with sexually assaulting her.

He is a father, cancer survivor and karate champion who led courses for the police. Like about half of the accused, Mr. Cocco was a swinger. He told the court he had started to swing with his former partner, the ''love of my life,'' who had recently left him after 23 years together. He said he was invited to the Pelicots' home for a threesome, and Mr. Pelicot ''never talked about rape or drugging his wife.''

That night, another accused man arrived around the same time. They both were captured naked by Mr. Pelicot's camera, moving around Ms. Pelicot's listless body. Mr. Cocco sat on the bed, stroked Ms. Pelicot's backside -- which he called a ''libertine caress'' -- and went no further.

''At that moment, I heard snoring,'' he said. ''I posed the question -- what is happening? Why is she not moving?''

When he did not receive answers, he left. But he didn't call the police either. None of the accused did.

''I don't accept that I victimized Gisèle Pelicot,'' he said. ''When you are trapped, you are really trapped.''

The final week included one of the youngest defendants: Charly Arbo, a laborer at a cement company. He was 22 when he first went to the Pelicots' home in 2016. While most of the men admit to having gone to the home once, Mr. Arbo went six times. Police found 47 edited video clips of those visits on Mr. Pelicot's electronic devices -- two of which were watched by the court.

Stéphane Babonneau, another of Ms. Pelicot's lawyers, said he struggled to understand how Mr. Arbo could ''not admit this was rape.''

''He told me she was consenting,'' he responded, staring wide-eyed at the judges, referring to Mr. Pelicot.

Mr. Arbo was reluctant to offer the court his personal story. Judges pulled answers from him like rusty nails from hard wood. Though psychiatrists described his upbringing as dysfunctional, Mr. Arbo defended his family as loving.

The court heard in one video Mr. Arbo and Mr. Pelicot discussing a plan to drug Mr. Arbo's mother so Mr. Pelicot could come and rape her. Mr. Arbo said he felt pressured by Mr. Pelicot to offer someone he knew, and his mother ''was the first thing that popped into my head.''

Mr. Pelicot gave him three sedatives, wrapped in tin foil, according to his testimony. But Mr. Arbo told the court that he threw them away. Police found very small traces of sedatives in a sample of his mother's hair, but he has not been charged with drugging her.

''I never, never, never gave medication to my mother,'' Mr. Arbo said.

Asked about their relationship, he said he loved her ''like any son loves their mom, nothing special or bizarre.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/27/france-mass-rape-pelicot.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/27/france-mass-rape-pelicot.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Gisèle Pelicot leaving court on Tuesday. Her former husband had invited men to rape her while she was drugged. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CHRISTOPHE SIMON/A.F.P. -- GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page A7.

**Load-Date:** November 28, 2024

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[***Our Solution to the Crisis of Democracy***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CHN-S2V1-DXY4-X1GH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 20, 2024 Saturday

The New York Times on the Web

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**Section:** Section ; Column 0; Editorial Desk; GUEST ESSAY

**Length:** 2252 words

**Byline:** By Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson

**Body**

Remember the 1990s, when everybody thought liberal democracy was the only game in town and the end of history was upon us?

The near-assassination of former President Donald Trump has buttressed, instead, a feeling that crisis is upon us. Both Democrats and Republicans hold dangerously unfavorable opinions of each other. Trust in institutions is decaying. According to the most recent Gallup poll, only 30 percent of Americans say they have quite a lot or a great deal of confidence in the Supreme Court, fewer have confidence in the presidency, and a measly 9 percent have quite a lot or a great deal of confidence in Congress. Trust in public schools, banks, large firms, the news media and even religious organizations have similarly plummeted since the 1970s.

Americans also support democracy at much lower levels than they used to, and politics appears a zero-sum game to people on both sides of the great divide. Add to this the flare-up of political violence, and the sense of imminent danger is intensified.

But do not despair -- yet. There are solutions, if we are bold enough to grasp them. We need a new democratic social contract that people can believe in, which is most likely to come from the Democratic Party. Such a proposal must start with a commitment to more pro-worker policies. It must involve a believable manifesto that moves away from the party's ties with global business, including the tech sector, and a clear, workable plan of how economic growth and low inequality can be combined. It must include a commitment to close the cultural chasm that has opened between the Democratic Party and many ***working-class*** Americans. These are among the root causes of our discontent, and they must be addressed.

If Americans fail to rise to the challenge, history has plenty of examples that ought to alarm us. In an environment in which institutions cannot mediate disagreement, there is a danger that a spark can ignite a cycle of extremism. There was a rise in political violence in Germany before the Nazis took power, with right-wing paramilitaries killing opponents, and Communists responding in kind. The situation in Italy, with violence led by Mussolini's black shirts, was no different. In Japan, too, political violence spiked before the military took control in the 1930s.

To diagnose and redress democracy's problems, we need to understand what made it work in the past and what ails it today. This isn't just an American phenomenon. Democracy is in crisis around the world, including in Hungary, Poland, Sweden, India, Turkey, the Philippines and Brazil, and across sub-Saharan Africa. These crises appear to be rooted at least in part in a growing belief that democracy has failed to deliver on its promises since the end of the Cold War.

Democracy's success throughout the 20th century boils down to the presence of political egalitarianism (people have a say in their own lives and in how the country is governed) and economic egalitarianism (the rewards of progress were shared, at least to some degree).

There is something compelling in political egalitarianism, at least in theory: Nobody is your superior, and you have a say in how society is organized. Democracy is appealing because it enshrines the idea of rule by the people. Indeed, democratic representation has historically increased from the bottom up -- when disenfranchised groups demanded and received a voice in political affairs.

Democracy isn't just rule by the people, however; it was also rule for the people. Democracy delivered what people wanted -- wage growth, good jobs, low unemployment, education and reasonable public services. John Betjeman, the one-time British poet laureate, captured the essence of the democratic social contract when he wrote that his nation stands for ''democracy and proper drains.''

During the decades following World War II, the social contract stood and democracy brought some degree of economic egalitarianism, too. Prosperity appeared to be on the path to becoming truly shared in most of the world's democracies -- even if discrimination against some groups, including minorities and women, continued, especially in the United States. Services ranging from infrastructure to health, education, safety and social insurance expanded rapidly.

This economic egalitarianism has been lost over the past four decades, most visibly in the United States, where shared prosperity has all but ceased. Inequality soared starting around 1980. It wasn't simply that some people were benefiting more from economic growth than others. While earnings of well-educated Americans rose rapidly, workers without college degrees, and especially men, saw their inflation-adjusted incomes decline as they watched their jobs in offices and on factory floors get automated by computers and robots, and relocated to countries with low wages.

A giant wave of imports from China shut factories and businesses. The layoffs often brought a deep and prolonged recession to whole communities. For all practical purposes, only about half of the American population has benefited from economic growth since the early 1980s.

The malaise is not just economic. Many of the same communities have also suffered rising crime and single parenthood rates and alcohol and opioid consumption. Strikingly, the trend toward greater life expectancy and greater health that had been a near constant since the beginning of the 20th century broke down as well.

This was made more jarring because the reversal of progress toward shared prosperity coincided with a sense that people had lost much of their influence over politics. Of course, political elites set the agenda in any democracy, and there have always been impediments to representation and accountability in the United States. Nevertheless, when the political scientist Robert Dahl set out to investigate who governs local politics in New Haven in the 1950s, the answer wasn't an established party or a well-defined elite. Rather, he concluded that the nature of power was pluralistic, and that the involvement of regular people in politics was key for the governance of the city, and this appeared to be true beyond New Haven as well.

This stands in stark contrast to how most Americans feel today. From the vantage point of those in depressed communities, politicians stood idle as their good jobs got destroyed and the promise of economic dynamism came to nothing. The sense that politicians serve multinational corporations, wealthy donors or global elites intensified in many corners of the country.

Myriad policies, including financial deregulation and globalization, were presented to voters as the consensus recommendations of experts. After tallying the cost of Chinese exports and the 2008 financial meltdown, many started seeing this is not as expert policymaking but the wrong kind of technocracy.

It didn't help that many Americans felt (and were often told) that there was a culture war, and that in this war, they were on a different side from most politicians, business leaders and the majority of the educated, managerial class. It was a small step to conclude that there wasn't much left of rule by the people or rule for the people.

Yet, democracy isn't dead. Even political violence is not proof that democratic institutions are coming undone. The 1960s witnessed the assassinations of John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert Kennedy, most prominently, and the 1970s saw bombings and terrorist activities by the Weather Underground and other extremist cells. In the 1990s, at a high point of the nation's trust in democracy, Timothy McVeigh killed 168 people in Oklahoma City.

It is also true that democracy is still the best game in town, even if not the only one. Our research shows that democracies achieve faster economic growth than do autocratic regimes, and they do so by investing in people -- by supporting more education and better health care, especially for the poorer segments of society. When democracy delivers such outcomes, it increases support from the citizenry.

Still, it is clear that democratic institutions, and the political parties that are their standard-bearers, need to regain a greater legitimacy. And neither better economic performance nor resilience in the face of political violence will be sufficient.

When monarchies ruled, they didn't do so because they delivered good economic outcomes. Nor did they rule because they controlled all the weapons. They had an elaborate justification for their legitimacy. In early modern England, it was the ''divine right of kings.'' In China, it was the ''mandate of heaven.''

It's not just autocratic regimes that rely on such philosophies. The move toward greater popular participation also required legitimation and a new social contract. In England, that was articulated by philosophers such as John Locke, who provided the foundation of ''popular sovereignty.'' Democracy's ascendance in the 20th century was predicated on its universality -- that it would work equally well everywhere around the world, from Spain, Portugal and Greece, to Latin America, Eastern Europe and Africa.

That trust is largely lost. Center-left parties, which used to get a significant fraction of their votes from blue-collar workers and citizens without college degrees, now increasingly rely on votes (and money) from college graduates, professionals and managers.

That is all the more so in the United States, where the Democratic Party has gradually become associated with the preferences of the well-educated and urban voters. Democratic politicians often shy away from policies such as job guarantee programs, trade protection and stronger unions. (The party still favors redistribution, but at least until the Biden administration, its agenda was to achieve this redistribution predominantly through taxation and welfare programs, without interfering with the market.)

Center-left parties need to lead the way in breaking this mold. This must start by the severing ties with tech billionaires, pharmaceutical giants and Wall Street tycoons. It is difficult to believe that a party that gets funding and ideas from the very wealthy will work hard for the well-being of the most disadvantaged. They must promote to leadership people with a background in manual work and from different educational paths. One visible and symbolic way of achieving this is to reserve a fraction of candidacies and leadership positions to individuals without a college degree. Similar strategies have been successfully used by Swedish social democrats and local governments in India.

Where the center-left leads, the center-right should follow. In the United States, Republicans have already made inroads with ***working-class*** voters, and a stronger commitment from Democrats can push the G.O.P. in a more pro-worker direction, too. Campaign-finance reform would help, including public money for candidates that refuse support from big donors. There is also a case for introducing proportional representation voting, which can allow new parties to take up the mantle of ***working-class*** causes if the two major parties cannot get their act together. This could start at the local level, without the need for a constitutional amendment.

Center-left parties must also rekindle political egalitarianism, and this cannot be done unless they walk back from the culture wars. It is commendable that the center left has defended and given voice to some of the most disadvantaged groups in society, including minorities and immigrants. They must also find a way of articulating these ideas in a way that is acceptable to a ***working-class*** base. Humanitarian relief for refugees can appeal more to voters when combined with strong security at the border.

Democracy does not need to follow a majoritarian opinion on every topic, but it cannot sideline the views of the majority of the population, even on divisive subjects such as immigration.

Donald Trump is likely to become more popular after the attempt against his life. Yet a politician whose most distinctive policy achievement is tax cuts that favored the rich cannot be a true representative of the working people. His track record of polarizing, violent rhetoric, personalizing power and eroding institutional checks makes it clear that a second Trump term would significantly weaken, and even fundamentally threaten, democratic institutions. Some pundits are as worried about his newly anointed running mate, Senator JD Vance, as they are about Mr. Trump.

The silver lining here is that Mr. Vance's unabashed economic populism and Mr. Trump's appeal to the ***working class*** may force a deeper soul-searching among the Democrats. If they take serious steps to reinvent themselves as the party of the working people, Mr. Trump may have inadvertently put democracy toward a better path.

Daron Acemoglu is an institute professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. James A. Robinson is the institute director of the Pearson Institute for the Study and Resolution of Global Conflicts at the University of Chicago. They are authors of books including ''Why Nations Fail: Origins of Power, Prosperity, and Poverty.''

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**Graphic**

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Millie von Platen FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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**End of Document**



[***No Longer Dependent On Whom They Know***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DM5-XR11-JBG3-6458-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 10, 2024 Tuesday

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1498 words

**Byline:** By Robin Pogrebin

**Body**

Allison Berg has established a foundation to elevate the careers of six emerging visual arts curators, educators and administrators each year.

In the fall of 2020, the arts patron Allison Berg listened to the book ''From Generosity to Justice: A New Gospel of Wealth'' by the Ford Foundation president Darren Walker. She had what she called a lightbulb moment, ''hearing Darren speak to the difference between band-aiding a problem and actually taking action to influence systemic change toward equity and justice.''

Berg, who serves on the board of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art and collects art by the likes of Louise Bourgeois and Rashid Johnson, had been seeking to give her philanthropy greater focus and to make a more meaningful impact. So, with her husband, Larry, a managing owner of the Los Angeles Football Club and private equity investor, she established the A&L Berg Foundation with a fellowship to help emerging visual arts curators, educators and administrators from underrepresented groups learn to navigate the insular, often elitist, largely white world of visual arts.

''I've spoken with these young people and that is how a lot of them see it: as a vast space of whiteness, where they have no one to speak with about their concerns and their experiences,'' Berg said in an interview. ''They don't feel like safe spaces.''

The annual fellowship -- funded in perpetuity -- gives six arts professionals a $10,000 grant each, along with mentoring and workshops culminating in an all-expenses-paid visit to a major arts event, like the Venice Biennale, where the first group attended the V.I.P. preview earlier this year.

In addition, the fellows are given a year of support from Verge, a recruiting and human resources firm, which offers professional guidance, like improving LinkedIn accounts and résumés.

''It isn't focused on discussing the art or teaching anybody how to be a curator,'' Berg said of the fellowship. ''It is about the relationships and the behind-the-scenes that nobody talks about.''

Arts institutions and foundations -- such as LACMA, Ford and Mellon -- have led the way with efforts to diversify the ranks of museum curators, boards, directors, acquisitions and exhibitions.

Less typical is to see collectors take on that kind of project in the mold of, say, an Agnes Gund, who in 2017 established a criminal justice fund, or an Alice Walton, whose foundation joined an $11 million initiative announced in 2023 to increase racial equity within museum leadership positions.

''I don't know of other individuals doing what she's doing,'' said Elizabeth W. Easton, the director and co-founder of the Center for Curatorial Leadership in New York, adding that Berg ''prepared thoroughly for launching her new program.''

Berg's foundation also established an Artist Social Impact Grant to honor artists trying to improve their communities; the first one awarded $100,000 to the artist Lauren Halsey last fall for her community center Summaeverythang, which she is building in South Central Los Angeles.

''This grant is a game changer,'' Halsey said. ''It provides crucial support for actually building the center, as well as resources that will help guarantee Summaeverythang's long term success in South Central L.A.''

The fellows program specifically aims to help professionals who are already in the field, to give them the kind of connections that have often been unavailable to those who can't afford to enter the pipeline that traditionally starts with low-paid museum internships and is often lubricated by who you know.

''She's providing some of those enhanced skill sets that are not formally offered and inevitably help you do career advancement,'' said César García-Alvarez, the executive and artistic director of the Mistake Room, a Los Angeles nonprofit arts organization, who served as the Berg Foundation's first guest program director, a paid position.

García-Alvarez said that coming from a ***working class*** immigrant household, one of the biggest hurdles to his own career was ''access to cultural capital.''

''I would get nervous when I was invited to gallery dinners -- what do you wear? People would ask, 'Are you going to Venice?' They don't take into consideration that there are curators who can't afford to do that or are undocumented and can't travel,'' he said. ''Nobody seemed to be having the conversations around class. This is a very uncomfortable conversation to have in our field.''

Though both Berg and her executive director, Carolyn Ramo, are white women, Berg has made a point of bringing in mentors of color. And the fellows said Berg's program is an important model for other people of means, regardless of their race or ethnicity.

''We need to build coalitions and forge alliances,'' said Elena Ketelsen González, a fellow who serves as an assistant curator at MoMA PS1 in Queens. ''This foundation is a strong example of that.''

In preparing to start her foundation, Berg said she sought guidance from numerous leaders in the field, namely Thelma Golden, the director and chief curator of the Studio Museum in Harlem; Walker of the Ford Foundation; and the artist Rashid Johnson.

The foundation's advisers include several art world heavyweights including Sandra Jackson-Dumont, the director and chief executive of the Lucas Museum of Narrative Art; Christine Y. Kim, the curator-at-large of North American Art at Tate Modern and Franklin Sirmans, the director of the Pérez Art Museum Miami.

In an interview, Sirmans said he was happy ''to be a part of something that is trying to not only support efforts in the present but also to have a long-term impact on the field.''

For the fellows, attending the Venice Biennale was particularly meaningful, they said. They were enlisted to help write wall and catalog text (for which they were compensated) and got to meet with Adriano Pedrosa, the first Latin American to be named curator at Venice, the world's longest-running contemporary art exhibition.

''For someone from the borderlands to be brought to the Venice Biennale -- it was a dream I had never even considered,'' said Tracy Fenix, a fellow who works for the Public Art Division of the City of Los Angeles. ''It opens up portals of potential for other brown, native, Latinx, diasporic people.''

The program also prompted subsequent collaborations. Fenix, for example, recently curated a program at the Clemente Center in New York, where another fellow, Sofía Reeser del Rio, is a curator and associate director of programs. The program at Clemente featured work by Xavier Robles Armas, a fellow who is the events and arts manager at the Latinx Project at New York University, which promotes Latino art, culture and scholarship in the United States.

''We were all there together celebrating each other,'' Ketelsen González said, adding that the fellowship helped them ''realize we are not each other's competitors. We can raise each other up, seek advice, speak each other's names.''

At LACMA, Berg is chairwoman of the museum's Contemporary Acquisitions group. She also serves on the leadership councils of several institutions, including the Studio Museum in Harlem, the Dia Art Foundation and the Pérez.

In 2021, she helped produce a documentary about the art world, ''The Art of Making It.''

Michael Govan, LACMA's director, has encouraged Berg's efforts. ''When we're talking about diversifying the field more quickly and getting things to be more exciting sooner, it helps to accelerate experience and networking,'' he said. ''You can't do enough nurturing of young early career professionals. In our field it tends to take a long time.''

Raised in Philadelphia -- her father worked in the music industry -- Berg became interested in Impressionist and Post-Impressionist art because that's what she mostly saw on school field trips to museums.

She earned her bachelor's degree in political science from the University of Rochester and a law degree from the University of Miami School of Law. After briefly practicing union-side labor law and running an internship program for the Fulfillment Fund, a nonprofit organization in Los Angeles, Berg transitioned to writing about arts and culture for various publications.

These days, she is focused on the foundation. The fellowship's next guest program director is Diane Lima, who was a curator of last year's São Paulo Biennial, which the next crop of fellows will visit next year. And she continues to educate herself about how best to help make U.S. institutions more inclusive and equitable.

''I want to see diversity in our museums and not-for-profit art spaces,'' Berg said. ''I want to see more platforms for more artists' narratives. I want to see our museums truly represent the audiences that are coming in. The people who work in these spaces do not look like that enough yet.

''The more individuals we empower from different backgrounds,'' she added, ''the more platforms we give to artists to be seen and heard.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/09/arts/design/allison-berg-foundation.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/09/arts/design/allison-berg-foundation.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Allison Berg, top, started a foundation to help emerging professionals navigate the connection-dependent world of visual arts. Above, from left, the first fellows: Sofía Reeser del Rio, Juan Silverio, Elena Ketelsen González, Xavier Robles Armas, Tracy Fenix and William Hernández Luege, who attended the Venice Biennale. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHRISTIAN RODRIGUEZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

MAX CISOTTI, VIA A&L BERG FOUNDATION) (C2) This article appeared in print on page C1, C2.

**Load-Date:** December 10, 2024

**End of Document**



[***N.Y.C. Voters Approve Four Ballot Measures Proposed by Mayor Adams***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DC0-5SD1-JBG3-64SS-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 6, 2024 Wednesday 22:10 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 928 words

**Byline:** Jeffery C. MaysJeffery C. Mays is a Times reporter covering politics with a focus on New York City Hall.

**Highlight:** Opponents tried to use Mayor Eric Adams’s federal indictment to argue against the measures, and cast them as a bid to lessen the City Council’s power.

**Body**

Opponents tried to use Mayor Eric Adams’s federal indictment to argue against the measures, and cast them as a bid to lessen the City Council’s power.

For months, opponents of five New York City ballot measures had undertaken a broad effort to cast them as an unwarranted power grab by Mayor Eric Adams.

They accused the mayor of trying to seize more authority by stripping power away from the City Council, and argued that the mayor — who is facing a five-count [*federal corruption indictment*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-investigations.html) — was in no position to assert more power.

Despite those efforts, voters approved at least four out of five ballot measures, [*according to The Associated Press*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-investigations.html). Two of the measures were designed to change the way the City Council approves legislation; another will give the Department of Sanitation more power over how it cleans city streets.

The [*five measures*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-investigations.html) were proposed by a Charter Revision Commission that Mr. Adams [*hastily convened*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-investigations.html) in May. Many saw the commission as a ploy to block a ballot measure that would have forced the mayor to seek Council approval on 21 of his commissioner-level appointments.

By forming a commission to come up with its own ballot proposals, Mr. Adams effectively knocked the Council’s proposal, which required voter approval, off the ballot.

In a statement, Mr. Adams said, “***Working-class*** New Yorkers spoke, and the Charter Revision Commission listened.”

“This is a great day for everyone who desires a safer city, cleaner streets, greater fiscal responsibility, transparency in the city’s capital planning process, and, of course, access to abortion care,” the mayor said, referring to Proposition 1, a statewide ballot measure that enshrines the protection of [*reproductive rights*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-investigations.html) in the State Constitution.

More than 60 civil rights and community groups and 50 elected officials had formed a coalition called No Power Grab NYC to oppose the five proposals. Their pitch: Given his current federal corruption indictment and the [*likelihood of additional charges*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-investigations.html), Mr. Adams — and future mayors — should not be given more power.

But the passage of the ballot measures may signal that the mayor can still exert influence over city policy, even as he [*faces trial in April*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-investigations.html) on five federal corruption charges that accuse him of taking illegal campaign contributions and luxury gifts, such as travel upgrades and hotels, in exchange for performing favors.

Mark Winston Griffith, a spokesman for No Power Grab NYC, blamed the results on the haste with which the questions were put on the ballot for their passage, which left many voters — their numbers inflated during a presidential election year — uninformed. He said the changes move the city in the “wrong direction.”

Jumaane Williams, the city’s public advocate, praised the passage of Proposition 1 but said the mayor’s ballot measures were “self-serving” and that “misinformation” played a role in the changes gaining voter approval.

“This was a power grab by a mayor in whom trust has been shaken, to say the least,” Mr. Williams said in a statement.

Adrienne Adams, the Council speaker, called the mayor’s proposals “anti-democratic” and “inaccurately worded” measures that “misled” New Yorkers. She has introduced legislation to form a new Charter Revision Commission.

Eric Lane, a professor of law at Hofstra University and the executive director of the 1989 charter review commission that reorganized New York City’s government, said that Mr. Adams’s commission “wasn’t intended as a robust study of the charter, but rather as an obstacle to passing the Council’s laws.”

Among the five proposals, three raised the most concerns among opponents.

One measure that was passed will require 30 days’ notice before the Council votes on public safety legislation. Opponents felt it was payback for the Council’s decision to override the mayor’s vetoes on a bill that would end solitary confinement in city jails and another that would require police to report more information about people they stop.

Another ballot measure that was passed will require the Council to release fiscal impact statements for legislation earlier and extend the deadline for the mayor to introduce executive budgets.

The third measure will give the Department of Sanitation more jurisdiction over public spaces such as parks and highway medians. The Adams administration said the proposal, which was approved by voters, according to The A.P., was designed to allow for those areas to be cleaned, but opponents said the measure would give the city the power to sweep vendors and homeless people off the street.

The only measure that may be headed for defeat would have created a chief business diversity officer to support minority and women-owned businesses.

State lawmakers may also consider legislation next year that could alter the Charter Revision Commission process to prevent Mr. Adams and future mayors from repeating his sidestep maneuver. The proposed bill would eliminate the ability of the mayor to push a question off the ballot by forming a commission to create new ballot questions; it would also increase to six months the amount of time a charter commission is formed before it could place a question on the ballot.

“There is serious work needed to protect our local democracy from a mayor willing to disregard norms in the pursuit of power that removes checks and balances,” Ms. Adams said in a statement.

PHOTO: New York’s mayor, Eric Adams, on Tuesday. A commission he convened in May proposed his five ballot measures. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHELLE V. AGINS/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page MB1, MB6.

**Load-Date:** November 7, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Masculinity in Motion***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DJX-1G41-JBG3-61K0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 4, 2024 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section F; Column 0; SpecialSections; Pg. 10

**Length:** 1441 words

**Byline:** By Ray Mark Rinaldi

**Body**

Diego Vega Solorza does not want people to think of him as a visual artist. He is certainly not a sculptor, he insists, nor a photographer or videographer -- even though he will exhibit that kind of work in a showcase for emerging talent at this year's Art Basel Miami Beach, the visual arts mega-fair running Friday through Sunday.

He is a choreographer and dancer -- and only that -- and everything he creates is in service to dance making, said Vega Solorza, who lives in Mexico City and is a star in his native country. Those objects, which will be displayed by Llano gallery in the fair's Positions section, were a ''material response'' to the works he devises for the human body, he said.

They may include props from a performance piece he has dreamed up, like a horse saddle (custom-made for two riders facing one another), or video of a new dance, or still images that capture dancers in action. But no matter what form they take, these objects function as ''a kind of evidence that the dance existed,'' Solorza said, and they keep the ideas expressed during a theater performance alive, even after the show has ended.

Audiences cannot take dancers home with them, but they can acquire these set pieces and costumes, or pictures that spark a dialogue on a topic he wants to explore. ''That conversation happens when someone sees that object and asks what is the value of it, or where does it come from,'' he said.

Such fare represents a conceptual leap at a marketplace like Art Basel, where many high-profile sales revolve around two-dimensional paintings by established artists. For Llano, there is some risk in producing a solo presentation by a dancer who is largely unknown outside of Mexico.

But within Mexico, Vega Solorza, 34, is one of the country's top choreographers, creating dances, and selling out theaters, for most of his decade-long career. He is known for tense and dramatic contemporary dance pieces, featuring small groups of perfomers -- sometimes as few as three or four, and usually including himself -- that take on themes of the human experience, including most recently, violence in its various forms.

Llano's owners -- Mauricio Cadena and Sergio Molina -- have been longtime fans and saw potential in translating the objects used onstage into art world commodities. The pieces were a critical component of the choreography, they said during a recent interview in their gallery, and retained the energy and significance of the dance when separated from the actual live event. They hope collectors in Miami will see it that way, too.

Also, they noted, Vega Solorza was already building bridges with the visual arts world on his own. In the past few years, he produced performances at galleries during exhibitions by the well-known painters Ana Segovia and Omar Rodriguez-Graham. No matter the show, the dance related directly to the work, animating its concepts through movement.

''It took us a while to convince him to get into the art world, even though we were seeing presentations by him at studios of artists that are our friends,'' said Cadena. ''And we could actually feel the connection that the people from art were having with his work. His presence is incredible.''

''This is an opportunity for us to launch Diego internationally, because he already is sort of a celebrity here in Mexico,'' said Molina.

That strong belief inspired them to provide financial support for a new dance work by Vega Solorza titled ''Basoteve,'' from which they have culled objects for sale through their gallery, such as the custom-made saddle. The new dance work provides insights into both Solorza's creative process and his personal biography.

Basoteve is the name of a tiny town (Vega Solorza estimates a population of 113), in a deeply rural part of the state of Sinaloa, where his grandparents have a ranch and where he said that he spent every weekend growing up.

''It is quite primitive, a place where people took a piece of land and created their houses in a very humble way,'' he said.

But it did have animals, including pigs and chickens -- and most crucially for this new dance, horses.

''My family was a ***working-class*** family, rooted in very traditional ways, with little information about what is going on in the outside world,'' he said.

Solorza explained that strict gender roles were fundamental to those traditions and included informal social rituals, among them a rite of passage for boys, from the ages of about 9 to 11, moving from adolescence to maturity. Adults would place them in the saddles of special horses -- that only males were permitted to mount -- where they were expected to ride and show off their emerging masculinity. (Basoteve is also the Spanish word for a saddlecloth.)

''The age at which you got on a horse varied a lot depending on the type of masculinity, energy and personality that they could see in you,'' he said.

Vega Solorza does not remember his exact age when it was his turn, but he does recall that it went badly.

''The way I moved, rubbing against the saddle, the way I arched my back, was much more toward a feminine energy,'' he said. ''The way in which I was discovering the object was very, very feminine.''

His reactions were met with what Vega Solorza experienced as overwhelming disapproval and signals of shame. He remembers, he said, that ''the family was watching and saying you can't behave that way.''

It was, Vega Solorza said, one of those moments when gay males like himself realized they were different. ''For me, there was a feeling of a displacement,'' he said.

Looking back, he perceived the reaction to his ride on the horse as a subtle form of violence that invalidated the nonbinary version of gender that he embodied. It taught him that gender roles were arbitrary, assigned by society rather than assumed naturally.

''Masculinity is a thing that is artificial, that is actually completely constructed,'' he said.

That experience is the root of the dance ''Basoteve,'' an hourlong piece that was produced in a studio and recorded on video over the past few weeks. The work starts with a 15-minute prologue featuring a solo dancer whose character represents violence. The dancer is covered in blood, in an exaggerated way that mimics the cartoon violence of horror films.

The piece goes on to feature two male dancers, wearing body suits that inflate to exaggerate their muscles, who interact physically together. Much of the movement takes place on a saddle, which appears to be two saddles joined together and facing one another. The object, made of black leather, forces the dancers' bodies to come close to one another. The work evolves into an exploration of sexuality that veers into the homoerotic.

For now, the dance exists only as a video, though there are plans to present it live at a Mexico City theater in February. The performance will coincide with a larger exhibit at Llano's gallery, located in Doctores, a rapidly gentrifying neighborhood near the city's downtown (and home to Arena Mexico, the venue famous for hosting lucha libre matches).

The gallery occupies a plain, rectangular space on the first floor of a 1920s textile factory that has been renovated into a hive of spaces for creative businesses and renamed Laguna. Llano plans to put more pieces on sale, including the inflatable costumes, as Llano tries to position Vega Solorza firmly in the visual arts environment.

There is precedent for the worlds of visual art and contemporary dance to overlap, Llano's Molina noted, and that includes the landmark collaborations between the choreographer Martha Graham and the sculptor Isamu Noguchi in the mid-20th century. She invented the moves while he designed her sets.

The connection appears to be trending at the moment, with ''Edges of Ailey,'' an exhibit about the choreographer Alvin Ailey, running at the Whitney Museum of American Art in Manhattan, through Feb. 9, and the show ''Ceremonies Out of the Air,'' focusing on dance maker Ralph Lemon, up at MoMA PS1 in Queens, through March 24.

Whether that translates into the commercial art market at Art Basel remains to be seen. Llano is a young gallery -- it opened in November 2020, a fraught time -- and this will be just its second time in Miami Beach. It is still building its global reputation, and showing an unexpected artist like Vega Solorza is part of its growth strategy, whether buyers respond with purchases or not.

''When we were accepted to Basel a second time, we went in with the philosophy of 'let's not think about the market and let's think about the program and what would remain on people's minds,''' Molina said.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/03/arts/design/diego-vega-solorza-art-basel-miami-beach.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/03/arts/design/diego-vega-solorza-art-basel-miami-beach.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: ''Masculinity is a thing that is artificial, that is actually completely constructed,'' said Diego Vega Solorza, left. A new dance work, ''Basoteve,'' center and bottom, which was inspired by a transformative experience from his youth, will be shown at Art Basel Miami Beach. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY BRIAN HARKIN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page F10.

**Load-Date:** December 4, 2024

**End of Document**



[***‘Mr. Every Man’: The 50 Others Accused in France’s Mass Rape Trial***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DHC-NVC1-JBG3-61X2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 27, 2024 Wednesday 13:36 EST

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**Section:** INTERNATIONAL-HOME

**Length:** 1208 words

**Byline:** Catherine Porter and Ségolène Le Stradic, Catherine Porter is an international reporter for The Times, covering France. She is based in Paris.

**Highlight:** Dominique Pelicot invited men to rape his wife, whom he had drugged. The French media call them “Mr. Every Man” because they come from such ordinary backgrounds.

**Body**

Dominique Pelicot invited men to rape his wife, whom he had drugged. The French media call them “Mr. Every Man” because they come from such ordinary backgrounds.

The last of 50 men to be cross-examined in the rape of a drugged and naked Gisèle Pelicot stood before the judges in a white sweater and jeans.

Philippe Leleu: Single, no children, a dedicated weight lifter and professional gardener who, at 62, was nearing retirement when the police came knocking. His mother opened the door — they live beside one another, and since her stroke 10 years ago, they dine together and he spends most nights at her home.

“I never imagined I’d come before a court for him, never, never,” she told the judges recently.

Yet here he was, among the accused, standing in the crowded courtroom in the southern city of Avignon, part of a mass rape trial, now in its 12th week, that has deeply shaken France.

Ms. Pelicot’s ex-husband of 50 years, Dominique Pelicot, has pleaded guilty to drugging her for almost a decade to rape her, and offering her unconscious body up to strangers he met online. Prosecutors on Monday requested the maximum sentence for him: 20 years in prison.

He’s on trial with 50 other men — all but one charged with aggravated rape, attempted rape or sexual assault of Ms. Pelicot. The French media have dubbed them “Monsieur Tout-le-monde” — Mr. Every Man — because of how varied the men are, and how ordinary.

They are short, tall, flabby, lean, clean-shaven, bearded, bald and pony-tailed. All but 14 were employed, in jobs that reflect the spectrum of middle- and ***working-class*** rural France: truck drivers, carpenters and trade workers, a prison guard, a nurse, an I.T. expert working for a bank, a local journalist.

They range in age from 27 to 74. Just over two-thirds have children. Around 40 percent had criminal records, several for domestic abuse and two for rape.

There are few common denominators: Eighteen suffered from addiction to alcohol or drugs; the rest did not. Around a dozen reported being sexually abused as children. Some others, like Mr. Leleu, spoke of loving childhood homes.

“The profile of the rapist does not exist,” said Antoine Camus, one of Ms. Pelicot’s two lawyers, in his closing statement last week.

The men appeared before the court in groups of five to seven over 10 weeks — offering only small glimpses into each man’s life.

Mr. Leleu was the last person in the final group.

“I stopped thinking and I stopped having a connection with my brain,” explained Mr. Leleu, his short, wiry body weaving from side to side as he spoke.

Like dozens of the men who came before him, Mr. Leleu pleaded not guilty to raping Ms. Pelicot. In his defense, he said Mr. Pelicot told him she had taken the drugs herself.

“I’m sorry to Madame Pelicot for involuntarily participating in her suffering,” he said before squeezing back down on his bench.

Among the others in that group was Christian Lescole, 57, a firefighter and divorced father of two daughters. His new partner, with whom he had planned to open a dog kennel, told the court he was an amazing man. “I don’t think he’s capable of committing rape,” she said.

Mr. Lescole is among five of the accused who also face charges of possessing images of child sexual abuse. He has been in pretrial custody for four years.

“I have no future left. I spent my life protecting people. I never had a problem with justice before,” said Mr. Lescole. In contrast to many other defendants, he was relatively loquacious during his testimony.

Since the court case began in early September, Mr. Lescole has attended regularly, sitting in one of two prisoners’ boxes, often stroking his long beard while watching intensely. He was there in search of some existential answers, he said, “because this is not me. This doesn’t reflect my values. How did I get here?”

During the trial, he said he counted 18 men who’d said they’d been offered a drink by Mr. Pelicot after arriving at the Pelicots’ home. He now says he believes they’d all been drugged. He told the court he had no memory after stepping inside the bedroom.

“I have big doubts about my free will at that moment,” he said.

“Materially, I committed a rape,” he added. “But it was my body, not my brain.”

Joseph Cocco, 69, appeared before the judges as part of the same, final group. A retired manager of a beer company subsidiary, Mr. Cocco, 69, is one of only two defendants not charged with raping Ms. Pelicot. Instead, he has been charged with sexually assaulting her.

He is a father, cancer survivor and karate champion who led courses for the police. Like about half of the accused, Mr. Cocco was a swinger. He told the court he had started to swing with his former partner, the “love of my life,” who had recently left him after 23 years together. He said he was invited to the Pelicots’ home for a threesome, and Mr. Pelicot “never talked about rape or drugging his wife.”

That night, another accused man arrived around the same time. They both were captured naked by Mr. Pelicot’s camera, moving around Ms. Pelicot’s listless body. Mr. Cocco sat on the bed, stroked Ms. Pelicot’s backside — which he called a “libertine caress” — and went no further.

“At that moment, I heard snoring,” he said. “I posed the question — what is happening? Why is she not moving?”

When he did not receive answers, he left. But he didn’t call the police either. None of the accused did.

“I don’t accept that I victimized Gisèle Pelicot,” he said. “When you are trapped, you are really trapped.”

The final week included one of the youngest defendants: Charly Arbo, a laborer at a cement company. He was 22 when he first went to the Pelicots’ home in 2016. While most of the men admit to having gone to the home once, Mr. Arbo went six times. Police found 47 edited video clips of those visits on Mr. Pelicot’s electronic devices — two of which were watched by the court.

Stéphane Babonneau, another of Ms. Pelicot’s lawyers, said he struggled to understand how Mr. Arbo could “not admit this was rape.”

“He told me she was consenting,” he responded, staring wide-eyed at the judges, referring to Mr. Pelicot.

Mr. Arbo was reluctant to offer the court his personal story. Judges pulled answers from him like rusty nails from hard wood. Though psychiatrists described his upbringing as dysfunctional, Mr. Arbo defended his family as loving.

The court heard in one video Mr. Arbo and Mr. Pelicot discussing a plan to drug Mr. Arbo’s mother so Mr. Pelicot could come and rape her. Mr. Arbo said he felt pressured by Mr. Pelicot to offer someone he knew, and his mother “was the first thing that popped into my head.”

Mr. Pelicot gave him three sedatives, wrapped in tin foil, according to his testimony. But Mr. Arbo told the court that he threw them away. Police found very small traces of sedatives in a sample of his mother’s hair, but he has not been charged with drugging her.

“I never, never, never gave medication to my mother,” Mr. Arbo said.

Asked about their relationship, he said he loved her “like any son loves their mom, nothing special or bizarre.”

PHOTO: Gisèle Pelicot leaving court on Tuesday. Her former husband had invited men to rape her while she was drugged. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CHRISTOPHE SIMON/A.F.P. — GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page A7.

**Load-Date:** March 22, 2025

**End of Document**



[***Our Solution to the Crisis of Democracy; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CHM-TN91-JBG3-6076-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 2250 words

**Byline:** Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson

**Highlight:** Center-left parties must lead the way to restore the social contract the binds democracies together.

**Body**

Remember the 1990s, when everybody thought liberal democracy was the only game in town and [*the end of history*](https://www.amazon.com/End-History-Last-Man/dp/0743284550) was upon us?

The near-assassination of former President Donald Trump has buttressed, instead, a feeling that crisis is upon us. Both Democrats and Republicans hold [*dangerously unfavorable*](https://www.amazon.com/End-History-Last-Man/dp/0743284550) opinions of each other. Trust in institutions is decaying. According to the most [*recent Gallup poll*](https://www.amazon.com/End-History-Last-Man/dp/0743284550), only 30 percent of Americans say they have quite a lot or a great deal of confidence in the Supreme Court, fewer have confidence in the presidency, and a measly 9 percent have quite a lot or a great deal of confidence in Congress. Trust in public schools, banks, large firms, the news media and even religious organizations have similarly plummeted since the 1970s.

Americans also support democracy at [*much lower levels*](https://www.amazon.com/End-History-Last-Man/dp/0743284550) than they used to, and politics appears a zero-sum game to people on both sides of the great divide. Add to this the flare-up of political violence, and the sense of imminent danger is intensified.

But do not despair — yet. There are solutions, if we are bold enough to grasp them. We need a new democratic social contract that people can believe in, which is most likely to come from the Democratic Party. Such a proposal must start with a commitment to more pro-worker policies. It must involve a believable manifesto that moves away from the party’s ties with global business, including the tech sector, and a clear, workable plan of how economic growth and low inequality can be combined. It must include a commitment to close the cultural chasm that has opened between the Democratic Party and many ***working-class*** Americans. These are among the root causes of our discontent, and they must be addressed.

If Americans fail to rise to the challenge, history has plenty of examples that ought to alarm us. In an environment in which institutions cannot mediate disagreement, there is a danger that a spark can ignite a cycle of extremism. There was a rise in political violence in Germany before the Nazis took power, with right-wing paramilitaries killing opponents, and Communists responding in kind. The situation in Italy, with violence led by Mussolini’s black shirts, was no different. In Japan, too, political violence spiked before the military took control in the 1930s.

To diagnose and redress democracy’s problems, we need to understand what made it work in the past and what ails it today. This isn’t just an American phenomenon. Democracy is in crisis around the world, including in Hungary, Poland, Sweden, India, Turkey, the Philippines and Brazil, and across sub-Saharan Africa. These crises appear to be rooted at least in part in a growing belief that democracy has failed to deliver on its promises since the end of the Cold War.

Democracy’s success throughout the 20th century boils down to the presence of political egalitarianism (people have a say in their own lives and in how the country is governed) and economic egalitarianism (the rewards of progress were shared, at least to some degree).

There is something compelling in political egalitarianism, at least in theory: Nobody is your superior, and you have a say in how society is organized. Democracy is appealing because it enshrines the idea of rule by the people. Indeed, democratic representation has historically increased from the bottom up — when disenfranchised groups demanded and received a voice in political affairs.

Democracy isn’t just rule by the people, however; it was also rule for the people. Democracy delivered what people wanted — wage growth, good jobs, low unemployment, education and reasonable public services. John Betjeman, the one-time British poet laureate, captured the essence of the democratic social contract when he wrote that his nation stands for “democracy and proper drains.”

During the decades following World War II, the social contract stood and democracy brought some degree of economic egalitarianism, too. Prosperity appeared to be on the path to becoming truly shared in most of the world’s democracies — even if discrimination against some groups, including minorities and women, continued, especially in the United States. Services ranging from infrastructure to health, education, safety and social insurance expanded rapidly.

This economic egalitarianism has been lost over the past four decades, most visibly in the United States, where shared prosperity has all but ceased. [*Inequality soared*](https://www.amazon.com/End-History-Last-Man/dp/0743284550) starting around 1980. It wasn’t simply that some people were benefiting more from economic growth than others. While earnings of well-educated Americans rose rapidly, workers without college degrees, and especially men, [*saw their inflation-adjusted incomes decline*](https://www.amazon.com/End-History-Last-Man/dp/0743284550) as they watched their jobs in offices and on factory floors get automated by computers and robots, and relocated to countries with low wages.

[*A giant wave of imports from China*](https://www.amazon.com/End-History-Last-Man/dp/0743284550) shut factories and businesses. The layoffs often brought a deep and prolonged recession to whole communities. For all practical purposes, only about half of the American population has benefited from economic growth since the early 1980s.

The malaise is not just economic. Many of the same communities have also suffered rising crime and single parenthood rates and alcohol and opioid consumption. Strikingly, the trend toward greater life expectancy and greater health that had been a near constant since the beginning of the 20th century [*broke down as well*](https://www.amazon.com/End-History-Last-Man/dp/0743284550).

This was made more jarring because the reversal of progress toward shared prosperity coincided with a sense that people had [*lost much of their influence over politics*](https://www.amazon.com/End-History-Last-Man/dp/0743284550). Of course, political elites set the agenda in any democracy, and there have always been impediments to representation and accountability in the United States. Nevertheless, when the [*political scientist Robert Dahl set out to investigate*](https://www.amazon.com/End-History-Last-Man/dp/0743284550) who governs local politics in New Haven in the 1950s, the answer wasn’t an established party or a well-defined elite. Rather, he concluded that the nature of power was pluralistic, and that the involvement of regular people in politics was key for the governance of the city, and this appeared to be true beyond New Haven as well.

This stands in stark contrast to how most Americans feel today. From the vantage point of those in depressed communities, politicians stood idle as their good jobs got destroyed and the promise of economic dynamism came to nothing. The sense that politicians serve multinational corporations, wealthy donors or global elites intensified in many corners of the country.

Myriad policies, including financial deregulation and globalization, were presented to voters as the consensus recommendations of experts. After tallying the cost of Chinese exports and the 2008 financial meltdown, many started seeing this is not as expert policymaking but the wrong kind of technocracy.

It didn’t help that many Americans felt (and were often told) that there was a culture war, and that in this war, they were on a different side from most politicians, business leaders and the majority of the educated, managerial class. It was a small step to conclude that there wasn’t much left of rule by the people or rule for the people.

Yet, democracy isn’t dead. Even political violence is not proof that democratic institutions are coming undone. The 1960s witnessed the assassinations of John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert Kennedy, most prominently, and the 1970s saw bombings and terrorist activities by the Weather Underground and other extremist cells. In the 1990s, at a high point of the nation’s trust in democracy, Timothy McVeigh killed 168 people in Oklahoma City.

It is also true that democracy is still the best game in town, even if not the only one. Our research shows that democracies achieve [*faster economic growth*](https://www.amazon.com/End-History-Last-Man/dp/0743284550) than do autocratic regimes, and they do so by investing in people — by supporting more education and better health care, especially for the poorer segments of society. When democracy delivers such outcomes, it increases support from the citizenry.

Still, it is clear that democratic institutions, and the political parties that are their standard-bearers, need to regain a greater legitimacy. And neither better economic performance nor resilience in the face of political violence will be sufficient.

When monarchies ruled, they didn’t do so because they delivered good economic outcomes. Nor did they rule because they controlled all the weapons. They had an elaborate justification for their legitimacy. In early modern England, it was the “divine right of kings.” In China, it was the “mandate of heaven.”

It’s not just autocratic regimes that rely on such philosophies. The move toward greater popular participation also required legitimation and a new social contract. In England, that was articulated by philosophers such as John Locke, who provided the foundation of “popular sovereignty.” Democracy’s ascendance in the 20th century was predicated on its universality — that it would work equally well everywhere around the world, from Spain, Portugal and Greece, to Latin America, Eastern Europe and Africa.

That trust is largely lost. Center-left parties, which used to get a significant fraction of their votes from blue-collar workers and citizens without college degrees, [*now increasingly rely*](https://www.amazon.com/End-History-Last-Man/dp/0743284550) on votes (and money) from college graduates, professionals and managers.

That is all the more so in the United States, where the Democratic Party has gradually become associated with the preferences of the well-educated and urban voters. Democratic politicians often shy away from policies such as job guarantee programs, trade protection and stronger unions. (The party still favors redistribution, but at least until the Biden administration, its agenda was to achieve this redistribution predominantly through taxation and welfare programs, without interfering with the market.)

Center-left parties need to lead the way in breaking this mold. This must start by the severing ties with tech billionaires, pharmaceutical giants and Wall Street tycoons. It is difficult to believe that a party that gets funding and ideas from the very wealthy will work hard for the well-being of the most disadvantaged. They must promote to leadership people with a background in manual work and from different educational paths. One visible and symbolic way of achieving this is to reserve a fraction of candidacies and leadership positions to individuals without a college degree. Similar strategies have been successfully used by [*Swedish social democrats*](https://www.amazon.com/End-History-Last-Man/dp/0743284550) and [*local governments in India*](https://www.amazon.com/End-History-Last-Man/dp/0743284550).

Where the center-left leads, the center-right should follow. In the United States, Republicans have already made inroads with ***working-class*** voters, and a stronger commitment from Democrats can push the G.O.P. in a more pro-worker direction, too. Campaign-finance reform would help, including public money for candidates that refuse support from big donors. There is also a case for introducing proportional representation voting, which can allow new parties to take up the mantle of ***working-class*** causes if the two major parties cannot get their act together. This could start at the local level, without the need for a constitutional amendment.

Center-left parties must also rekindle political egalitarianism, and this cannot be done unless they walk back from the culture wars. It is commendable that the center left has defended and given voice to some of the most disadvantaged groups in society, including minorities and immigrants. They must also find a way of articulating these ideas in a way that is acceptable to a ***working-class*** base. Humanitarian relief for refugees can appeal more to voters when combined with strong security at the border.

Democracy does not need to follow a majoritarian opinion on every topic, but it cannot sideline the views of the majority of the population, even on divisive subjects such as immigration.

Donald Trump is likely to become more popular after the attempt against his life. Yet a politician whose most distinctive policy achievement is tax cuts that favored the rich cannot be a true representative of the working people. His track record of polarizing, violent rhetoric, personalizing power and eroding institutional checks makes it clear that a second Trump term would significantly weaken, and even fundamentally threaten, democratic institutions. Some pundits are as worried about his newly anointed running mate, Senator JD Vance, as they are about Mr. Trump.

The silver lining here is that Mr. Vance’s unabashed economic populism and Mr. Trump’s appeal to the ***working class*** may force a deeper soul-searching among the Democrats. If they take serious steps to reinvent themselves as the party of the working people, Mr. Trump may have inadvertently put democracy toward a better path.

Daron Acemoglu is an institute professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. James A. Robinson is the institute director of the Pearson Institute for the Study and Resolution of Global Conflicts at the University of Chicago. They are authors of books including “Why Nations Fail: Origins of Power, Prosperity, and Poverty.”

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.amazon.com/End-History-Last-Man/dp/0743284550) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.amazon.com/End-History-Last-Man/dp/0743284550). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.amazon.com/End-History-Last-Man/dp/0743284550).

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Millie von Platen FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Planting His Appalachian Roots in the 2024 Race***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CHF-VR41-DXY4-X09Y-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 1172 words

**Byline:** By Michael C. Bender

**Body**

The newly anointed Republican vice-presidential candidate leaned into his impoverished upbringing at the party's convention, and frequently name-dropped the battleground states around his native Ohio.

Senator J.D. Vance drew a direct line on Wednesday from his traumatic upbringing in southwest Ohio to his new standing as the top lieutenant in Donald J. Trump's conservative movement, promising the Republican National Convention that he would bring his ***working-class*** roots to Washington and help fight ''for the people who built this country.''

Addressing the first national political convention he had ever attended, Mr. Vance, 39, accepted his party's vice-presidential nomination -- making him among the youngest Americans to ever fill that role -- in an upbeat speech that was by far the most consequential of his fledgling yet rapidly ascendant political career.

Portraying himself as a child of Appalachia with a deep appreciation for the ''grit in the American heartland,'' Mr. Vance effectively framed his nomination as one for Mr. Trump's white, ***working-class*** political base. He said he would be guided by the lessons learned from ''Mamaw,'' his deeply religious, foul-mouthed grandmother who raised him, and the memories of the friends and acquaintances from his old neighborhood who died of drug overdoses.

''I pledge to every American, no matter your party, I will give everything I have,'' Mr. Vance said. ''To serve you and to make this country a place where every dream you have for yourself, your family and your country will be possible once again.''

Sworn in to elected office for the first time just last year, Mr. Vance delivered a speech in Milwaukee that served as both an introduction to party delegates and a blueprint for his campaign to help return Mr. Trump to the White House. Mr. Vance will try to leverage his compelling biography to help reverse the former president's losses in 2020 in the three battleground states with the highest percentage of white, ***working-class*** voters: Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin.

In his address, Mr. Vance mentioned Michigan six times, Pennsylvania five times and Wisconsin three times.

''You will see J.D. Vance planted in Rust Belt states very heavily between now and Election Day,'' Tony Fabrizio, the Trump campaign's top pollster, said earlier on Wednesday.

Mr. Vance immediately went to work. He painted the Chinese Communist Party as a threat to the American middle class, while denouncing the ''absurd cost of housing'' and ''stagnant wages.'' He said the Republican ticket would ''not import foreign labor'' and would instead rebuild factories, protect supply chains and ''stamp more and more products with that beautiful label, 'made in the U.S.A.'''

''We need a leader who fights for the people of our country,'' Mr. Vance said. ''We need a leader who's not in the pocket of big business, but answers to the working man -- union and non-union alike -- a leader who won't sell out to multinational corporations but will stand up for American industry.''

Mr. Vance's blue-collar appeal is viewed skeptically by Democrats, who see him as an opportunist and an extremist. They have pointed in particular to his backing of a national abortion ban and his support for Mr. Trump's efforts to overturn the 2020 election.

''Trump looked for someone he knew would be a rubber stamp for his extreme agenda,'' Vice President Kamala Harris said on Wednesday. ''Make no mistake: J.D. Vance will be loyal only to Trump, not to our country.''

Still, at least one labor leader has applauded Mr. Vance's addition to the Republican ticket. In a speech to the convention on Monday, Sean O'Brien, the president of the Teamsters union, said Mr. Vance was among a group of Republican lawmakers who ''truly care about working people.''

''This group is expanding and putting fear into those who have monopolized our very broken system in America,'' Mr. O'Brien said.

In a race featuring a 78-year-old former president trying to unseat an embattled 81-year-old incumbent, Mr. Vance's youth and his limited political résumé could undercut Mr. Trump's attacks on Ms. Harris as ill-prepared to step in for President Biden if necessary. The chances of that scenario appeared to rise slightly on Wednesday as Democratic pressure on Mr. Biden grew.

But Mr. Vance, the second-youngest member of the Senate, leaned into his role as the first millennial to join a major presidential ticket by portraying Mr. Biden as old and in the way, recalling that he was in high school when Mr. Biden, then a senator from Delaware, supported the invasion of Iraq.

''Joe Biden has been a politician in Washington for longer than I've been alive,'' Mr. Vance said. ''For half a century, he's been the champion of every major policy initiative to make America weaker and poorer.''

He made no mention of his political conversion from a fierce Trump critic into one of the leading disciples of the former president's MAGA movement. As an author and private citizen, Mr. Vance said in 2016 that Mr. Trump might be ''America's Hitler'' and described him as ''cultural heroin.''

But Mr. Vance has transformed himself in recent years with recurrent appearances on cable news and in the conservative news media defending Mr. Trump and his America First movement.

On Wednesday, Mr. Vance described the Republican Party as a ''big tent'' -- one defined by a diversity of ideologies if not demographics. He said the party's internal disagreements over issues like national security and economic policy should make it stronger.

''Shouldn't we be governed by a party that is unafraid to debate ideas and come to the best solution?'' Mr. Vance asked. ''That's the Republican Party of the next four years: united in our love for this country, and committed to free speech and the open exchange of ideas.''

A staunch supporter of Mr. Trump's hard-line immigration policies, Mr. Vance gave a slight nod to tolerance and inclusivity. He spoke proudly of his in-laws, who are South Asian immigrants, and said the country should continue its tradition of welcoming newcomers ''on our terms.''

''Together, we will put the citizens of America first, whatever the color of their skin,'' he said.

Describing the evening as ''a night of hope'' and promising change, Mr. Vance threaded a sense of optimism throughout his speech in a way that Republican leaders have struggled to do in recent years.

One emotional moment came when Mr. Vance introduced his mother, Beverly, who struggled with drugs during his childhood but who he said had been sober for nearly a decade. Ms. Vance fought back tears as she stood applauding her son, just a few seats away from Mr. Trump.

''You know, Mom, I was thinking,'' Mr. Vance said. ''It'll be 10 years officially in January of 2025, and if President Trump's OK with it, let's have the celebration in the White House.''

Nodding to Ms. Vance, Mr. Trump applauded.

Taylor Robinson contributed reporting from Milwaukee.Taylor Robinson contributed reporting from Milwaukee.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/17/us/politics/jd-vance-speech-rnc.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/17/us/politics/jd-vance-speech-rnc.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Senator J.D. Vance of Ohio delivered a speech at the Republican National Convention that served as both an introduction to party delegates and a blueprint for his campaign with Donald J. Trump. (PHOTOGRAPH BY HAIYUN JIANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A14.

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**End of Document**



[***Arts Patron Aims to Help Underrepresented Museum Professionals***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DM1-DXG1-JBG3-63TF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** ARTS; design

**Length:** 1559 words

**Byline:** Robin PogrebinRobin Pogrebin, who has been a reporter for The Times for nearly 30 years, covers arts and culture.

**Highlight:** Allison Berg has established a foundation to elevate the careers of six emerging visual arts curators, educators and administrators each year.

**Body**

Allison Berg has established a foundation to elevate the careers of six emerging visual arts curators, educators and administrators each year.

In the fall of 2020, the arts patron Allison Berg listened to the book “From Generosity to Justice: A New Gospel of Wealth” by the Ford Foundation president Darren Walker. She had what she called a lightbulb moment, “hearing Darren speak to the difference between band-aiding a problem and actually taking action to influence systemic change toward equity and justice.”

Berg, who serves on the board of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art and collects art by the likes of Louise Bourgeois and Rashid Johnson, had been seeking to give her philanthropy greater focus and to make a more meaningful impact. So, with her husband, Larry, a managing owner of the Los Angeles Football Club and private equity investor, she established the [*A&amp;L Berg Foundation*](https://www.albergfoundation.org/) with a fellowship to help emerging visual arts curators, educators and administrators from underrepresented groups learn to navigate the insular, often elitist, largely white world of visual arts.

“I’ve spoken with these young people and that is how a lot of them see it: as a vast space of whiteness, where they have no one to speak with about their concerns and their experiences,” Berg said in an interview. “They don’t feel like safe spaces.”

The annual fellowship — funded in perpetuity — gives six arts professionals a $10,000 grant each, along with mentoring and workshops culminating in an all-expenses-paid visit to a major arts event, like the Venice Biennale, where the first group attended the V.I.P. preview earlier this year.

In addition, the fellows are given a year of support from [*Verge*](https://www.albergfoundation.org/), a recruiting and human resources firm, which offers professional guidance, like improving LinkedIn accounts and résumés.

“It isn’t focused on discussing the art or teaching anybody how to be a curator,” Berg said of the fellowship. “It is about the relationships and the behind-the-scenes that nobody talks about.”

Arts institutions and foundations — such as [*LACMA*](https://www.albergfoundation.org/), [*Ford*](https://www.albergfoundation.org/) and Mellon — have led the way with efforts to diversify the ranks of museum [*curators*](https://www.albergfoundation.org/), [*boards*](https://www.albergfoundation.org/), directors, acquisitions and exhibitions.

Less typical is to see collectors take on that kind of project in the mold of, say, an Agnes Gund, who in 2017 established [*a criminal justice fund*](https://www.albergfoundation.org/), or an Alice Walton, whose [*foundation*](https://www.albergfoundation.org/) joined an [*$11 million initiative*](https://www.albergfoundation.org/) announced in 2023 to increase racial equity within museum leadership positions.

“I don’t know of other individuals doing what she’s doing,” said Elizabeth W. Easton, the director and co-founder of the Center for Curatorial Leadership in New York, adding that Berg “prepared thoroughly for launching her new program.”

Berg’s foundation also established an Artist Social Impact Grant to honor artists trying to improve their communities; the first one awarded $100,000 to the artist Lauren Halsey last fall for her community center [*Summaeverythang*](https://www.albergfoundation.org/), which she is building in South Central Los Angeles.

“This grant is a game changer,” Halsey said. “It provides crucial support for actually building the center, as well as resources that will help guarantee Summaeverythang’s long term success in South Central L.A.”

The fellows program specifically aims to help professionals who are already in the field, to give them the kind of connections that have often been unavailable to those who can’t afford to enter the pipeline that traditionally starts with low-paid museum internships and is often lubricated by who you know.

“She’s providing some of those enhanced skill sets that are not formally offered and inevitably help you do career advancement,” said César García-Alvarez, the executive and artistic director of [*the Mistake Room*](https://www.albergfoundation.org/), a Los Angeles nonprofit arts organization, who served as the Berg Foundation’s first guest program director, a paid position.

García-Alvarez said that coming from a ***working class*** immigrant household, one of the biggest hurdles to his own career was “access to cultural capital.”

“I would get nervous when I was invited to gallery dinners — what do you wear? People would ask, ‘Are you going to Venice?’ They don’t take into consideration that there are curators who can’t afford to do that or are undocumented and can’t travel,” he said. “Nobody seemed to be having the conversations around class. This is a very uncomfortable conversation to have in our field.”

Though both Berg and her executive director, Carolyn Ramo, are white women, Berg has made a point of bringing in mentors of color. And the fellows said Berg’s program is an important model for other people of means, regardless of their race or ethnicity.

“We need to build coalitions and forge alliances,” said Elena Ketelsen González, a fellow who serves as an assistant curator at MoMA PS1 in Queens. “This foundation is a strong example of that.”

In preparing to start her foundation, Berg said she sought guidance from numerous leaders in the field, namely Thelma Golden, the director and chief curator of the Studio Museum in Harlem; Walker of the Ford Foundation; and the artist Rashid Johnson.

The foundation’s advisers include several art world heavyweights including Sandra Jackson-Dumont, the director and chief executive of the Lucas Museum of Narrative Art; Christine Y. Kim, the curator-at-large of North American Art at Tate Modern and Franklin Sirmans, the director of the Pérez Art Museum Miami.

In an interview, Sirmans said he was happy “to be a part of something that is trying to not only support efforts in the present but also to have a long-term impact on the field.”

For the fellows, attending the Venice Biennale was particularly meaningful, they said. They were enlisted to help write wall and catalog text (for which they were compensated) and got to meet with Adriano Pedrosa, the first Latin American to be named curator at Venice, the world’s longest-running contemporary art exhibition.

“For someone from the borderlands to be brought to the Venice Biennale — it was a dream I had never even considered,” said Tracy Fenix, a fellow who works for the Public Art Division of the City of Los Angeles. “It opens up portals of potential for other brown, native, Latinx, diasporic people.”

The program also prompted subsequent collaborations. Fenix, for example, recently curated a program at the [*Clemente Center*](https://www.albergfoundation.org/) in New York, where another fellow, Sofía Reeser del Rio, is a curator and associate director of programs. The program at Clemente featured work by Xavier Robles Armas, a fellow who is the events and arts manager at the Latinx Project at New York University, which promotes Latino art, culture and scholarship in the United States.

“We were all there together celebrating each other,” Ketelsen González said, adding that the fellowship helped them “realize we are not each other’s competitors. We can raise each other up, seek advice, speak each other’s names.”

At LACMA, Berg is chairwoman of the museum’s Contemporary Acquisitions group. She also serves on the leadership councils of several institutions, including the Studio Museum in Harlem, the Dia Art Foundation and the Pérez.

In 2021, she helped produce a documentary about the art world, “The Art of Making It.”

Michael Govan, LACMA’s director, has encouraged Berg’s efforts. “When we’re talking about diversifying the field more quickly and getting things to be more exciting sooner, it helps to accelerate experience and networking,” he said. “You can’t do enough nurturing of young early career professionals. In our field it tends to take a long time.”

Raised in Philadelphia — her father worked in the music industry — Berg became interested in Impressionist and Post-Impressionist art because that’s what she mostly saw on school field trips to museums.

She earned her bachelor’s degree in political science from the University of Rochester and a law degree from the University of Miami School of Law. After briefly practicing union-side labor law and running an internship program for the Fulfillment Fund, a nonprofit organization in Los Angeles, Berg transitioned to writing about arts and culture for various publications.

These days, she is focused on the foundation. The fellowship’s next guest program director is Diane Lima, who was a curator of last year’s São Paulo Biennial, which the next crop of fellows will visit next year. And she continues to educate herself about how best to help make U.S. institutions more inclusive and equitable.

“I want to see diversity in our museums and not-for-profit art spaces,” Berg said. “I want to see more platforms for more artists’ narratives. I want to see our museums truly represent the audiences that are coming in. The people who work in these spaces do not look like that enough yet.

“The more individuals we empower from different backgrounds,” she added, “the more platforms we give to artists to be seen and heard.”

PHOTOS: Allison Berg, top, started a foundation to help emerging professionals navigate the connection-dependent world of visual arts. Above, from left, the first fellows: Sofía Reeser del Rio, Juan Silverio, Elena Ketelsen González, Xavier Robles Armas, Tracy Fenix and William Hernández Luege, who attended the Venice Biennale. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHRISTIAN RODRIGUEZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES ; MAX CISOTTI, VIA A&amp;L BERG FOUNDATION) (C2) This article appeared in print on page C1, C2.

**Load-Date:** December 10, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Ken Martin, a Minnesotan With Deep Democratic Ties, Joins the D.N.C. Race***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DFP-RC91-JBG3-6098-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 19, 2024 Tuesday 23:27 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1048 words

**Byline:** Reid J. EpsteinReid J. Epstein covers campaigns and elections from Washington. Before joining The Times in 2019, he worked at The Wall Street Journal, Politico, Newsday and The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel.

**Highlight:** The chairman of Minnesota Democrats, he has longstanding connections to many of the Democratic National Committee members who will choose their next leader.

**Body**

The chairman of Minnesota Democrats, he has longstanding connections to many of the Democratic National Committee members who will choose their next leader.

The race for chair of the Democratic National Committee may eventually include candidates who are well known across the party, but few are likely to have deeper relationships with the committee members who have a vote in the contest than Ken Martin, the Minnesota Democratic chairman.

Mr. Martin, who announced his candidacy to lead the D.N.C. on Tuesday, has led his state party since 2011 and served as a vice chairman of the national party since 2017. He is also the leader of the association of state Democratic chairs, a body that lobbies for state parties within the national committee.

If Martin O’Malley, the former Maryland governor [*who entered the contest on Monday*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/18/us/politics/martin-omalley-dnc-chair-race.html), has experience as a candidate for state and national office, Mr. Martin, 51, is a veteran behind-the-scenes operator. He enters the race with 83 endorsements from D.N.C. members, his campaign said, a daunting figure given that the field is not yet set.

Other potential candidates who have had discussions about joining the race include Ben Wikler, the Wisconsin Democratic chairman, and Michael Blake, a former New York State Assembly member who served as a party vice chairman.

Jaime Harrison, the current D.N.C. chairman, is not seeking a second term. The election is expected to take place in early 2025.

Mr. Martin said in an interview on Monday that the next party leader would have an opportunity to “reimagine the D.N.C. and focus on some things that they haven’t been doing for some time while also really trying to get at what happened in this last election.”

Here is his conversation with The New York Times, lightly edited and condensed:

Why did Democrats lose the presidential election?

There were just really strong headwinds blowing against us from the very beginning of this election all the way through. And I don’t think you can underestimate that.

It was a change electorate. People were feeling a lot of economic anxiety and certainly, at the end of the day, were going to vote against the party in power. That’s part of it. We saw that around the world. Every major governing party that was facing hyperinflation and up for election either lost vote share or their elections.

Do you think President Biden should not have run initially for a second term?

I think it’s an academic exercise, to be honest with you, and I don’t think it serves anyone well to focus on the past. Because right now we’ve got a big job in front of us to rebuild this party and get ready for the upcoming elections.

I think it’s important to look at those seven battleground states and realize that as decisive as it was around the country, it was much closer in those battleground states than people imagined.

Should there be a public autopsy or investigation run by the D.N.C. into what happened?

I don’t like to call it an autopsy because it would suggest that the Democratic Party is dead, and we’re not dead. We’re still here and we’re fighting.

I do believe there should be a post-election review. We should spend time at the D.N.C., but also with other partners and allies, stakeholder groups on the outside who are deeply invested in this election, and groups from labor to environmental groups to choice groups and others out there who played a significant role in this election. All of us should come to one table and figure out again what worked and what didn’t work. And there should be no sacred cows out there.

What do you think the Democratic Party stands for now?

One thing that is deeply alarming to me, and you’ve probably seen this research, is that for the first time in modern history, the majority of Americans believe that the Republican Party best represents the interests of the ***working class*** and the poor. And that the Democratic Party represents the interests of the wealthy and the elite.

That would suggest we have a huge branding problem, because that is not who our party is. And we’ve got to do a better job of making sure people know that wherever they live, wherever they are from, no matter who they are, we’re fighting for them and we’re their champion in this country.

Did Kamala Harris make the right choice in picking Tim Walz as her running mate?

Absolutely.

Why?

Governor Walz had an amazing story to tell. I think that’s the reason he was picked. And I still think it was the right reason. In fact, after the election, you can see it was clearly the right reason.

People didn’t connect our policy with our candidates and our party, and that’s a different conversation. But clearly Governor Walz had a record to talk about, about actually delivering for Minnesotans and delivering for working people who are feeling squeezed.

You have talked about contesting every race on every ballot. In the last few days, the D.N.C. has laid off about two-thirds of its staff. Do you think the party should contract so much after an election if it plans to have a robust presence in nonpresidential years?

We are in a perpetual campaign. The day after the election is the first day of the next election. There’s no time to rest. And that’s true of the state parties and that is certainly true of the national party.

You’ve talked about Democratic issues [*being more popular than Democratic candidates*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/18/us/politics/martin-omalley-dnc-chair-race.html). Why do you think that is, and how long do you think it will take to correct that branding problem?

Rome wasn’t built in a day. This has been a problem that’s been happening for some years now and it culminated with this election.

This is not an easy task, rebranding and figuring out how we do that. It’s going to take some time. One of the things we can’t do is, in the short term, take the wrong lessons from this election.

We have to be really deliberate about learning why those voters moved away from us, and that’s going to take time. But, you know, we’ve got some time and we don’t have a lot of time. We have to get right back on the horse because we have big elections in New Jersey and Virginia and throughout the country in 2025.

PHOTO: Ken Martin has led the Minnesota Democratic Party since 2011 and been a vice chairman of the national party since 2017. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JENN ACKERMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A14.

**Load-Date:** November 20, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Protesters Disrupt Mayor Adams’s Speech to Business Leaders***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BTG-5GX1-JBG3-61NF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 16, 2024 Tuesday 00:55 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 696 words

**Byline:** Jeffery C. Mays Jeffery C. Mays is a Times reporter covering politics with a focus on New York City Hall.

**Highlight:** The mayor’s speech at a “power breakfast” was interrupted by demonstrators who stormed the stage and accused him of abandoning the ***working class***.

**Body**

The mayor’s speech at a “power breakfast” was interrupted by demonstrators who stormed the stage and accused him of abandoning the ***working class***.

A handful of protesters disrupted a speech by Mayor Eric Adams on Tuesday, storming a stage and accusing the mayor of caring more about the needs of the real estate lobby than the ***working-class*** New Yorkers he often talks about.

The demonstrators moved to within an arm’s length of Mr. Adams and chanted “How much money do you take from the rich?” before they were forcibly removed by police officers.

The surreal encounter, which took place at 583 Park Avenue, a historic landmark building now used as an event space, stunned the business leaders who had gathered there for a “power breakfast” held by the Association for a Better New York. Placed in the seat of every attendee was a one-page flier with a picture of the mayor titled “New York City’s Accomplishments.”

The flier centered on familiar themes of many of the mayor’s recent appearances, highlighting job growth and a reduction of some crimes — talking points that the mayor repeated in his speech.

Mr. Adams also announced progress on a massive office tower financed by Vornado Realty Trust and the Citadel founder Ken Griffin. The mayor said that, like the Empire State Building generations ago, the new building demonstrated faith in the city’s future, even as Manhattan’s office market was s[*till struggling*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/25/nyregion/office-landlords-nyc.html).

“This building is an investment,” the mayor said, advancing the notion that the new skyscraper was further indication that New York had [*fully recovered from the coronavirus pandemic*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/25/nyregion/office-landlords-nyc.html). “It states we believe in our city.”

Mr. Adams dismissed the protesters, from a group called [*Planet Over Profit*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/25/nyregion/office-landlords-nyc.html), as a handful of dissenters simply making noise and trying to stop the city’s progress. The group focuses on how the wealthiest Americans “are robbing us of a livable future,” according to its social media profile on X.

Four people were taken into custody, said police officials. It was unclear if they would face criminal charges.

The episode illustrated the tension the mayor was dealing with in attempting to hold together his coalition of ***working-class*** New Yorkers and business leaders as he heads into what is sure to be a hotly contested Democratic primary next year.

Even as Mr. Adams tries to reverse unfavorable budget cuts that his administration made to libraries and schools, and faces a [*federal investigation into his 2021 campaign*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/25/nyregion/office-landlords-nyc.html) and a decades-old allegation of [*sexual assault*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/25/nyregion/office-landlords-nyc.html), the primary is sure to also focus on the mayor’s management of the city as it emerged from the pandemic.

Scott Stringer, the former comptroller [*who is exploring another run for mayor*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/25/nyregion/office-landlords-nyc.html), has been sending fund-raising emails questioning Mr. Adams’s management. One email from last week said Mr. Adams had taken a “wrecking ball” to vital city services.

“I would do a little less campaigning and lot more governing if I were him,” Mr. Stringer said about the mayor’s speech. “If the priority is to build the second coming of the Empire State Building, then New Yorkers have a problem because we have an affordability crisis.”

Fabien Levy, the deputy mayor for communications, dismissed the protesters after the mayor’s speech.

“He’s the mayor of New York City,” Mr. Levy said with a shrug, “8.3 million people, 35 million opinions.”

Andrew Rein, president of the Citizens Budget Commission, was in the audience during Mr. Adams’s speech. The group recently released a survey that found that many New Yorkers were [*not happy with the quality of life or services*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/25/nyregion/office-landlords-nyc.html) in the city. Still, he said the mayor’s boosterism of New York was to be expected.

“He has to talk about all the good things that are happening because the more New Yorkers believe in New York, the better we will be,” Mr. Rein said. “It doesn’t mean everything is perfect.”

Speaking at an unrelated news conference after his speech, the mayor said he saw the demonstrators, who were carrying a sign, walk on to the stage and that he was unfazed by their presence.

“No banner is going to scare me,” Mr. Adams said.

Dana Rubinstein contributed reporting.

Dana Rubinstein contributed reporting.

This article appeared in print on page A19.

**Load-Date:** April 17, 2024

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[***Trump Has Little Room for Error; Jamelle Bouie***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DN3-0J21-DXY4-X4H2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 14, 2024 Saturday 05:21 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1620 words

**Byline:** Jamelle BouieJamelle Bouie became a New York Times Opinion columnist in 2019. Before that he was the chief political correspondent for Slate magazine. He is based in Charlottesville, Va., and Washington.

**Highlight:** How Trump might cut short his political honeymoon.

**Body**

The annals of American political history are littered with the remains of once-great presidential mandates.

Franklin D. Roosevelt’s smashing 1936 re-election did not, to give a famous example, give him the leverage he needed to expand the Supreme Court, handing his White House a painful defeat. Lyndon Johnson’s Great Society generated immense conservative opposition, and his momentum could not survive the 1966 Republican wave. Ronald Reagan was stymied by Democratic gains in the first midterm elections of his presidency. Bill Clinton was famously cut down to size by the Newt Gingrich revolution of 1994. And Barack Obama was [*shellacked*](https://www.npr.org/2010/11/03/131046118/obama-humbled-by-election-shellacking) by Tea Party extremists in 2010.

“I earned capital in this campaign, political capital, and now I intend to spend it,” George W. Bush declared in 2004 after he became the first Republican to win re-election with a majority of the popular vote since Reagan. By the summer of 2005, Bush’s approval had crashed on the shoals of a failed effort to privatize Social Security. In the next year’s elections, Republicans lost control of Congress.

There is no evidence that Donald Trump is immune to this dynamic. Just the opposite: His first term was a case study in the perils of presidential ambition. Not only were his most expansive plans met with swift opposition, but also it is fair to say that he failed, flailed and faltered through the first two years of his administration, culminating in a disastrous midterm defeat.

Trump has even bigger plans for his second term: mass deportations, across-the-board tariffs and a campaign of terror and intimidation directed at his political enemies. To win election, however, he promised something a bit more modest: [*that he would substantially lower the cost of living*](https://www.npr.org/2010/11/03/131046118/obama-humbled-by-election-shellacking). According to Sam Woodward in USA Today:

“Prices will come down,” Trump also told rallygoers during a speech in August. “You just watch. They’ll come down, and they’ll come down fast, not only with insurance, with everything.”

Now Trump says this might not be possible. [*Asked by Time magazine*](https://www.npr.org/2010/11/03/131046118/obama-humbled-by-election-shellacking) if he thinks his presidency would be a failure if the price of groceries did not come down, he said: “I don’t think so. Look, they got them up. I’d like to bring them down. It’s hard to bring things down once they’re up. You know, it’s very hard.”

At the same time that Trump won’t commit to a key promise of his campaign, he is gearing up to deliver on mass deportations, a policy position that many voters [*seem to treat as just blather*](https://www.npr.org/2010/11/03/131046118/obama-humbled-by-election-shellacking).

When you take all of this together with policies — such as large tariffs on goods from Canada, Mexico and China — that [*are more likely to increase than lower the costs of most goods and services*](https://www.npr.org/2010/11/03/131046118/obama-humbled-by-election-shellacking), you have a recipe for exactly the kind of backlash that eventually hobbles most occupants of the Oval Office.

The American public is exceptionally fickle and prone to sharp reactions against whoever occupies the White House. It wants change but continuity, for things to go in a new direction but to stay mostly the same. It does not always reward good policy, but it usually punishes broken promises and perceived radicalism from either party.

Ignore for a moment the high likelihood of chaos and dysfunction from a Trump administration staffed with dilettantes, ideologues and former TV personalities. It appears that what Trump intends to do, come January, is break his most popular promises and embrace the most radical parts of his agenda.

I can’t end this without conceding the real possibility that the basic feedback mechanisms of American politics are broken. It is possible that none of this matters and that voters will reward Trump — or at least not punish him — regardless of what he does. It’s a reasonable view, given the reality of the present situation.

And yet the 2024 presidential election was a close contest. The voting public is almost equally divided between the two parties, so Trump has little room for error if he hopes to impose his will on the federal government and make his plans reality.

If Americans are as fickle as they’ve been, then Trump’s second honeymoon might be over even before it really begins.

What I Wrote

After five years (can you believe I’ve been here for five years?!) of a relentless pace of two columns a week, I’m moving to a somewhat different approach: writing a single, longer piece each week that is informed by an extended period of reading, research and thought. For the most part, it will appear on Wednesday morning, and I’ll still be in the Sunday Opinion print section quite a bit. The newsletter will, as always, hit your inboxes on Saturday morning.

[*This week’s essay*](https://www.npr.org/2010/11/03/131046118/obama-humbled-by-election-shellacking) was a look at Trump’s unusual relationship to the institutional Republican Party and what that might mean for both his presidency and the future of the party.

Put a little differently: Trump is less concerned here with the health of the Republican Party, less concerned with building out the next generation of Republican leaders, than he is with serving his narrowest interests. The Republican Party could wither and die, and Donald Trump would not care, provided it did not disrupt his ability to enrich himself and his family. This dynamic — a president who does not care about his party — sets up an interesting tension. What happens when the interests of the president and the interests of the party diverge?

Now Reading

[*A Dissent magazine round table*](https://www.npr.org/2010/11/03/131046118/obama-humbled-by-election-shellacking) on the 2024 presidential election. Here is my colleague Tressie McMillan Cottom offering a very smart take on what the Republican Party is pitching to voters.

I think people believe that they are returning to a New Deal social welfare state, but what is actually being promised, if not by Trump, then absolutely by JD Vance — and Vance seems to have a more stable political identity — is a return to taxpayer citizenship for a subset of Americans, which is actually the 1950s deal.

[*Ryan Cooper*](https://www.npr.org/2010/11/03/131046118/obama-humbled-by-election-shellacking) explains how Democrats lost the propaganda war, for The American Prospect.

Democrats are missing something that is arguably a prerequisite for ideological messaging to have any effect whatsoever: a media apparatus that can get these messages in front of swing voters. The content of the message doesn’t matter if voters never hear it.

[*Max Kiefel*](https://www.npr.org/2010/11/03/131046118/obama-humbled-by-election-shellacking) on the Democratic Party’s consultant class, for The Baffler:

The crux of the problem is that the Democrats use data to reflect the mirage of public opinion. The American public is cognizant that it is being treated with disdain when, without offering a cogent explanation, the Democrats shift messaging and develop policies in response to the vaunted “median voter.”

[*Ron Brownstein*](https://www.npr.org/2010/11/03/131046118/obama-humbled-by-election-shellacking) on how Trump is about to betray his rural, ***working-class*** supporters, for The Atlantic.

Agricultural producers could face worse losses than any other economic sector from Trump’s plans to impose sweeping tariffs on imports and to undertake what he frequently has called “the largest domestic deportation operation” of undocumented immigrants “in American history.” Hospitals and other health providers in rural areas could face the greatest strain from proposals Trump has embraced to slash spending on Medicaid, which provides coverage to a greater share of adults in smaller communities than in large metropolitan areas. And small-town public schools would likely be destabilized even more than urban school districts if Trump succeeds in his pledge to expand “school choice” by providing parents with vouchers to send their kids to private schools.

[*Robin Yassin-Kassab*](https://www.npr.org/2010/11/03/131046118/obama-humbled-by-election-shellacking) on the first days of a free Syria, for The New Arab:

We feared the regime’s end would be accompanied by a blood bath. Thank God, that hasn’t happened. In the end the regime collapsed without a fight, even in its supposed heartland on the coast.

Photo of the Week

I have been having quite a bit of fun with the half-frame Olympus Pen-FV camera. Here is a photo of an art installation at a park in Charlottesville, Va.

Now Eating: Creamy, Spicy Tomato Beans and Greens

A perfect meal for the cold weather. Feel free to go easy on the heavy cream or replace it with [*a cashew cream*](https://www.npr.org/2010/11/03/131046118/obama-humbled-by-election-shellacking) (my option of choice). [*Recipe from New York Times Cooking*](https://www.npr.org/2010/11/03/131046118/obama-humbled-by-election-shellacking).

Ingredients

* 6 tablespoons olive oil

1. ⅔ cup panko bread crumbs
2. salt and black pepper
3. 1 medium yellow onion, minced
4. 4 garlic cloves, minced
5. \xC2 teaspoon crushed red pepper
6. ⅓ cup tomato paste
7. 2 (14-ounce) cans cannellini beans or other creamy white beans, rinsed
8. 1 cup heavy cream
9. \xC2 cup chopped jarred sun-dried tomatoes in oil
10. ⅔ cup finely grated Pecorino or Parmesan cheese
11. 4 packed cups (3 ounces) baby arugula
12. 2 teaspoons finely grated lemon zest, plus 4 teaspoons juice (from 1 lemon)
13. Toasted bread (optional), for serving

Directions

In a medium skillet, heat 2 tablespoons olive oil over medium. Stir in the panko and season with salt and pepper. Cook, stirring frequently and shaking the pan, until toasted and golden, about 3 minutes. Transfer seasoned panko to a paper-towel-lined plate, then wipe out the skillet.

Add another 2 tablespoons olive oil to the skillet and heat over medium. Add the onion, garlic and crushed red pepper and season with salt and pepper. Cook, stirring frequently, until softened, about 4 minutes.

Add the tomato paste and stir until darkened and mixture is combined, about 3 minutes.

Stir in beans, heavy cream, sun-dried tomatoes and ⅓ cup water. Simmer, stirring occasionally, until flavors meld, about 5 minutes. Stir in half the cheese, then season to taste with salt and pepper.

In a medium bowl, toss the arugula with the seasoned panko, lemon zest and juice, plus the remaining ⅓ cup cheese and 2 tablespoons olive oil; season with salt and pepper. Pile the greens at the center of the bean mixture. Serve with toasted bread, if desired.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Damon Winter/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** December 16, 2024

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[***No Taxes on Tips? A Trump Idea Gains Ground.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CH9-6NG1-JBG3-605T-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 18, 2024 Thursday 20:27 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1183 words

**Byline:** Andrew Duehren

**Highlight:** The sudden popularity of exempting tips from taxes is a reminder of the improvisational nature of economic policymaking under Donald Trump.

**Body**

The sudden popularity of exempting tips from taxes is a reminder of the improvisational nature of economic policymaking under Donald Trump.

In Donald J. Trump’s telling, the idea was born over dinner at his Las Vegas hotel, where the waitress serving his table complained about the burden of paying taxes on her tips.

“I was actually surprised to hear it,” Mr. Trump said last month at a rally in Virginia, adding that he quickly decided to address the waitress’s problem with a new campaign pledge: “No taxes on tips!”

The proposal has rapidly become more than just a rally talking point. The Republican Party has officially embraced it in its platform, and House Speaker Mike Johnson, Republican of Louisiana, has said he would “pass it as soon as we can.” Some Democrats are also warming to making tipped income tax-free, with the two senators representing Nevada, a swing state with large restaurant and casino industries, endorsing it.

The sudden popularity of exempting tips from taxes is a reminder of the improvisational nature of economic policymaking under Mr. Trump. Several economists involved in advising the Trump campaign said they hadn’t heard of the idea until Mr. Trump announced it publicly. But Republicans now see it as a key way to appeal to ***working-class*** Americans during the campaign against President Biden.

Mr. Trump has encouraged his supporters to leave a note on restaurant tabs telling service staff that a Trump victory in November means no taxes on tips. Roughly four million Americans work in jobs where tips are common, according to an estimate by the Budget Lab at Yale.

“It’s not like a gang of economists sitting around a table came up with that,” Stephen Moore, a Trump economic adviser, said. “I thought, ‘I don’t know if he’s being serious or not’, but as a political matter it’s a home run.”

Eileen Scott is a cocktail waitress on the floor of Harrah’s Las Vegas, a casino where she makes much of her money in cash tips. Under an agreement she said Harrah’s had with the Internal Revenue Service, her employer withholds taxes from her paycheck based on an estimate for how much she earns in tips.

The arrangement meant that she and other employees did not have to record each of their tips, but Ms. Scott said it also seemed that the I.R.S. assumed she made more than she actually did — and therefore she owed more tax.

“We want to pay our fair share, but we also don’t want to be taken advantage of,” she said. “I say it’s like the mob: They take what they want from us. We are pissed off about this.”

Although Ms. Scott said she was glad Mr. Trump proposed a fix, she still favored Democrats. “I just want the conversation to be started, so we can get to the point where we can take care of our families and pay our bills and not pay something we’re not making,” she said.

The four-word slogan Mr. Trump has put forward — “no taxes on tips” — still leaves several important details unaddressed. Namely: whether the exemption applies to all taxes. In the Senate, Ted Cruz, a Republican from Texas, introduced a bill that would spare tips only from income taxes. Since many ***working-class*** Americans do not make enough money to owe much in income taxes, the savings for low-wage waiters and waitresses could be limited.

In the House, two Republicans have a broader bill that would exempt tips from income taxes as well as payroll taxes, which are collected from Americans’ wages to fund Social Security and Medicare. Such a move could cost as much as $250 billion in lost tax revenue over a decade, according to the nonpartisan Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget.

Because low-income workers generally owe more in payroll taxes, the House version could give more money back to waitresses, barbers and others, but potentially at a cost. By paying less in payroll taxes, those workers may not be able to claim as many retirement benefits from Social Security and Medicare.

“Exempting tips from payroll tax actually would increase their take home pay,” Howard Gleckman, a senior fellow at the Tax Policy Center, a think tank. “The downside is they wouldn’t pay into Social Security and Medicare, and so they would get fewer benefits or maybe no benefits at all.”

Then there are broader questions. Some economists wonder whether the federal government should offer such a juicy tax break just to workers who depend on tips, leaving other low-wage employees without a similar benefit. Doing so could also create an incentive for all types of Americans, especially ones with sophisticated accountants, to try to classify their income as tips to avoid owing taxes. Investment managers, for example, could try to solicit gigantic, tax-free tips from clients instead of collecting taxable fees.

“Anytime you have a category that’s untaxed, some of your tax base will slip into that category,” said Casey Mulligan, an economist who worked in the Trump White House and helped write this year’s Republican platform.

The I.R.S. has in recent years taken steps to try to collect more taxes owed on tipped income. The tax agency said that Americans appeared to underreport earnings in cash tips, and it started a new voluntary compliance program last year for employers. Americans reported roughly $38 billion in tipped income in 2018, according to I.R.S. data.

When Senator Kevin Cramer, Republican of North Dakota, worked as a host and bus boy during college, he said he probably was not reporting the tips he earned to the tax collector. Still, he said Mr. Trump’s proposal inspired him as a way for Republicans to combat the “constant criticism that we favor the rich.”

Many of the tax cuts that Republicans passed into law in 2017 are set to expire at the end of next year, and the desire to renew them has created a rare opportunity to create tax policy in Congress. The 2017 cuts included both business tax breaks that primarily benefit the wealthy, as well as individual provisions that create savings for ***working-class*** Americans. Overall, the benefits of extending the 2017 tax cuts slant in favor of the rich, according to the Tax Policy Center.

Mr. Cramer said adding the exemption for tips to a broader bill next year would help bring more benefits to low-income Americans. “In that context, that’s where it really becomes genius — it says no one is being left out of these Republican tax cuts,” he said.

Businesses also like the idea; Mr. Trump is the owner of several hospitality businesses. Sean Kennedy, the executive vice president for public affairs at the National Restaurant Association, said he had not previously pushed for making tips tax free. But after Mr. Trump floated it, he got in touch with Republicans on Capitol Hill, and the association endorsed Mr. Cruz’s bill.

“We heard about this when you heard about it,” Mr. Kennedy said.

PHOTOS: Former President Donald J. Trump at a sandwich shop in Philadelphia in June, above. Left, one of the shop’s employees with a receipt bearing Mr. Trump’s slogan, a reminder of the off-the-cuff nature of his economic policymaking. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANNA MONEYMAKER/GETTY IMAGES) (B3) This article appeared in print on page B1, B3.

**Load-Date:** July 22, 2024

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[***Who Will Be New Jersey’s Next Governor? It’s Wide Open.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DNW-JJ63-RRVK-31F4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1777 words

**Byline:** Tracey TullyTracey Tully is a reporter for The Times who covers New Jersey, where she has lived for more than 20 years.

**Highlight:** At least 10 candidates are vying for attention, including two members of Congress, two mayors, a far-right radio host and a former state senator known as “Ed the Trucker.”

**Body**

At least 10 candidates are vying for attention, including two members of Congress, two mayors, a far-right radio host and a former state senator known as “Ed the Trucker.”

With no incumbent in the race, next year’s contest to replace Philip D. Murphy as governor of New Jersey was never going to be dull.

But wild-card factors that might have seemed far-fetched a year ago have combined to unleash something rare in the state: a competitive race with an unpredictable outcome.

The list of well-known contenders for the seat already includes two members of Congress, the mayors of New Jersey’s two largest cities, the longest-serving State Senate president and the head of a powerful teachers’ union. Two other candidates cut their teeth in the State Legislature. There is also a popular far-right radio host and a former state senator running as “Ed the Trucker.”

President-elect Donald J. Trump’s surprisingly [*strong showing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/nyregion/trump-nj-votes-election.html) in November in reliably Democratic New Jersey and a sweeping change to the rules for conducting primary elections have undone many of the state’s old political assumptions, leaving even seasoned observers riveted.

“It sure is different from the script we’re used to,” said Peter J. Woolley, director of the School of Public and Global Affairs at Fairleigh Dickinson University.

The field of candidates is unlikely to thin significantly before June’s Democratic and Republican primaries, where the winning margins are expected to be narrow.

“There’s an incentive in this race for people to stay in,” Professor Woolley said, “because there’s going to be an element of luck.”

At this point eight years ago, Mr. Murphy, a political novice with few allies in Trenton, had secured [*enough support*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/nyregion/trump-nj-votes-election.html) among county Democratic Party bosses that his election seemed all but assured.

But the 2025 election will play out in a vastly different political atmosphere. Mr. Murphy is prohibited by law from immediately seeking a third term, and a court-ordered overhaul of the state’s primary election ballots has made it more difficult for party leaders to quickly anoint a favored candidate.

That change, which prohibited party officials from giving their preferred candidates a prominent spot on the ballot, was pushed by New Jersey’s new U.S. senator, Andy Kim. Mr. Kim’s victory was fueled in part by anti-corruption sentiment after his predecessor, Bob Menendez, was indicted and ultimately convicted of trading political favors for bribes.

The backlash also ensnared the state’s first lady, Tammy Murphy, who was assailed by claims of nepotism as she competed for Mr. Menendez’s Senate seat. Her candidacy’s early air of inevitability [*collapsed under pressure*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/nyregion/trump-nj-votes-election.html), and she dropped out before a federal judge ordered county clerks to redesign the state’s primary ballots, depriving party leaders — and their favored candidates — of a pathway that for decades had reliably led to victory.

Next year’s primaries will be the first statewide contests held under the new system.

And the outcomes are likely to echo far beyond New Jersey.

New Jersey and Virginia are the [*only states*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/nyregion/trump-nj-votes-election.html) with races for governor next year, and their results are often scrutinized for clues about voter sentiment ahead of midterm congressional contests.

Adding to the uncertainty are the gains that Mr. Trump, a Republican, made in New Jersey compared with 2020. Though he did not win the state, he lost by far less than he did against President Biden that year.

Mr. Trump even managed to earn more votes than Vice President Kamala Harris in [*12 of the state’s 21 counties*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/nyregion/trump-nj-votes-election.html), up from the [*seven counties*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/nyregion/trump-nj-votes-election.html) he won in 2020 — a potentially encouraging sign for Republicans in 2025.

There is no shortage of pressing state-based policy concerns, including how to increase racial equity within the state’s [*highly segregated public school system*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/nyregion/trump-nj-votes-election.html) and where to build desperately needed [*affordable housing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/nyregion/trump-nj-votes-election.html).

Still, because of its timing, the race for governor is often overshadowed by national issues and interpreted as a referendum on the party in charge in Washington. In 2021, for example, unpopular policies tied to the Covid-19 pandemic contributed to Mr. Murphy’s relatively narrow, three-point [*re-election margin*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/nyregion/trump-nj-votes-election.html).

With Mr. Trump laying groundwork for what is likely to be a highly polarizing return to the White House, Democrats are hopeful they will benefit in a left-leaning state where they hold a [*900,000-voter advantage*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/nyregion/trump-nj-votes-election.html).

“He casts sort of a spell on everything,” said Ruthi Zinn Byrne, who runs a marketing firm in New Jersey and was married to a former Democratic governor, Brendan Byrne, of Mr. Trump’s ability to energize supporters — and detractors.

Still, candidates on both sides of the aisle are for now struggling to find ways to break away from the 10-person pack as voter fatigue from November’s presidential contest lingers.

“There seems to be a general sense of exhaustion,” said Jean Sinzdak, associate director of the Center for American Women and Politics at Rutgers University.

“It’s hard to break through the noise,” she added.

Early attempts to attract attention six months ahead of the primaries have offered bursts of political theater.

Two candidates began buying billboard advertising more than a year before the race and at least one created a [*bogus website*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/nyregion/trump-nj-votes-election.html) using an opponent’s name in order to disparage him. [*The drone hysteria*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/nyregion/trump-nj-votes-election.html) gripping the state has proved fertile ground for other contenders. One even faked a [*Spotify playlist*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/nyregion/trump-nj-votes-election.html) to amp up his street cred with Bruce Springsteen fans.

Here are 10 of the most prominent candidates, in their order of entry into the Democratic and Republican primaries:

The Democrats

Steven Fulop

Mr. Fulop, 46, has been mayor of Jersey City, a booming urban hub opposite Manhattan, since 2013. He has rolled out a series of [*policy papers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/nyregion/trump-nj-votes-election.html) since April 2023, when he became the first candidate to enter the race.

In ads, he has emphasized his service in the Marine Corps, his leadership of the state’s second-largest city and his willingness to break with party bosses in the fight to abolish the primary ballot design.

Stephen Sweeney

Mr. Sweeney, 65, was the State Senate’s longest-serving president until he lost re-election in 2021 to an underfunded challenger in a stunning upset. Mr. Sweeney, the only Democratic candidate who lives outside of northern New Jersey, has since founded a public policy center at Rowan University.

An ironworker by trade, Mr. Sweeney became known in the Senate for his focus on fully funding the state pension system and for his leadership in passing a [*law*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/nyregion/trump-nj-votes-election.html) that restructured public school funding.

Ras Baraka

Mr. Baraka, 54, has spent a decade as mayor of Newark, the state’s largest city, where he has led a push to boost development without gentrification. He is running as an unabashed progressive with a focus on housing affordability and what he calls tax equity.

He has proposed lowering taxes for poor and ***working-class*** residents of New Jersey and adding additional taxes for the state’s wealthiest families, including a “mansion tax” on sales of homes valued at $3 million or more.

Sean Spiller

Mr. Spiller, 49, a former mayor of Montclair, N.J., has been president of a powerful teachers’ union, the New Jersey Education Association, since 2021. A super PAC with ties to the union has committed [*$35 million*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/nyregion/trump-nj-votes-election.html) to the race and has for months been flooding mailboxes with literature about Mr. Spiller and buying billboard and print ads.

Mr. Spiller, who was born in Jamaica, played hockey at Rutgers before becoming a science teacher.

Josh Gottheimer

In 2016, Mr. Gottheimer, 49, won a seat in the House of Representatives that for decades had been held by Republicans. He was elected to represent a district that at the time straddled some of the most conservative and liberal parts of New Jersey.

Mr. Gottheimer, a lawyer who has worked for the Federal Communications Commission and Microsoft, is a chairman of the bipartisan Problem Solvers Caucus and has been a leading opponent of New York’s congestion pricing plan. He promised to be New Jersey’s “lower taxes, lower costs” governor during his campaign announcement event, held at a diner.

Mikie Sherrill

In 2018, Ms. Sherrill, 52, was part of a so-called blue wave of Democrats who won a majority of House seats in the midterm elections after Mr. Trump became president. A former Navy helicopter pilot and lawyer who worked for the U.S. attorney’s office in New Jersey, Ms. Sherrill has focused on defending reproductive rights.

Ms. Sherrill was the first member of New Jersey’s congressional delegation to publicly urge Mr. Biden to step aside and not run for re-election.

The Republicans

Jon Bramnick

Mr. Bramnick, 71, a moderate state senator who moonlights as a stand-up comedian, has for years been open about his disapproval of Mr. Trump. He has stressed the importance of civility and [*sponsored legislation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/nyregion/trump-nj-votes-election.html) requiring lessons on coping with grief in high school.

He has represented a largely affluent suburban district in the Legislature since 2003 and has argued that only a centrist like himself has a shot at winning in November, given the Democrats’ enrollment edge.

Jack Ciattarelli

Mr. Ciattarelli, 63, a former state assemblyman who was known as a moderate, is running his third campaign for governor after coming within about three points of unseating Mr. Murphy in 2021.

He beat primary candidates further to his right that year to win the nomination, and he is again trying to appeal to Mr. Trump’s most ardent supporters without alienating the party’s more centrist base in New Jersey.

Edward Durr Jr.

Mr. Durr, 61, served for two years in the State Senate after his [*stunning 2021 defeat*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/nyregion/trump-nj-votes-election.html) of Mr. Sweeney, then the Senate president, during an election in which Republican turnout surged as voters angered by pandemic-related rules flocked to the polls.

Mr. Durr, who drives a truck for a furniture store, embraced the label “[*Ed the Trucker*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/nyregion/trump-nj-votes-election.html)” as he ran unsuccessfully for re-election in 2023. His opponent highlighted [*sexist*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/nyregion/trump-nj-votes-election.html) and [*anti-Islamic*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/nyregion/trump-nj-votes-election.html) comments he made years ago on social media.

Bill Spadea

Mr. Spadea, 55, a conservative radio host, is making his third run for office. A former Marine who has also hosted a Fox television show, has said that [*Mr. Trump failed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/nyregion/trump-nj-votes-election.html) during his first term by not firing Dr. Anthony Fauci, one of the lead members of the White House’s coronavirus task force, and not shutting down the F.B.I.

He is now working to cast himself as a standard-bearer for the president-elect — “pro-life, pro-Second Amendment and pro-Trump.”

PHOTOS: Gov. Philip D. Murphy, a Democrat, is unable to run for a third term. Republicans saw encouraging signs in New Jersey this year. (PHOTOGRAPH BY RACHEL WISNIEWSKI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A21.

**Load-Date:** December 21, 2024

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[***J.D. Vance Plants His Appalachian Roots in the 2024 Race***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CH4-63W1-JBG3-60B5-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 17, 2024 Wednesday 05:05 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1153 words

**Byline:** Michael C. Bender Michael C. Bender is a Times political correspondent covering Donald J. Trump, the Make America Great Again movement and other federal and state elections.

**Highlight:** The newly anointed Republican vice-presidential candidate leaned into his impoverished upbringing at the party’s convention, and frequently name-dropped the battleground states around his native Ohio.

**Body**

The newly anointed Republican vice-presidential candidate leaned into his impoverished upbringing at the party’s convention, and frequently name-dropped the battleground states around his native Ohio.

Senator J.D. Vance drew a direct line on Wednesday from his traumatic upbringing in southwest Ohio to his new standing as the top lieutenant in Donald J. Trump’s conservative movement, promising the Republican National Convention that he would bring his ***working-class*** roots to Washington and help fight “for the people who built this country.”

Addressing the first national political convention he had ever attended, Mr. Vance, 39, accepted his party’s vice-presidential nomination — making him among the youngest Americans to ever fill that role — in an upbeat speech that was by far the most consequential of his fledgling yet rapidly ascendant political career.

Portraying himself as a child of Appalachia with a deep appreciation for the “grit in the American heartland,” Mr. Vance effectively framed his nomination as one for Mr. Trump’s white, ***working-class*** political base. He said he would be guided by the lessons learned from “Mamaw,” his deeply religious, foul-mouthed grandmother who raised him, and the memories of the friends and acquaintances from his old neighborhood who died of drug overdoses.

“I pledge to every American, no matter your party, I will give everything I have,” Mr. Vance said. “To serve you and to make this country a place where every dream you have for yourself, your family and your country will be possible once again.”

Sworn in to elected office for the first time just last year, Mr. Vance delivered a speech in Milwaukee that served as both an introduction to party delegates and a blueprint for his campaign to help return Mr. Trump to the White House. Mr. Vance will try to leverage his compelling biography to help reverse the former president’s losses in 2020 in the three battleground states with the highest percentage of white, ***working-class*** voters: Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin.

In his address, Mr. Vance mentioned Michigan six times, Pennsylvania five times and Wisconsin three times.

“You will see J.D. Vance planted in Rust Belt states very heavily between now and Election Day,” Tony Fabrizio, the Trump campaign’s top pollster, said earlier on Wednesday.

Mr. Vance immediately went to work. He painted the Chinese Communist Party as a threat to the American middle class, while denouncing the “absurd cost of housing” and “stagnant wages.” He said the Republican ticket would “not import foreign labor” and would instead rebuild factories, protect supply chains and “stamp more and more products with that beautiful label, ‘made in the U.S.A.’”

“We need a leader who fights for the people of our country,” Mr. Vance said. “We need a leader who’s not in the pocket of big business, but answers to the working man — union and non-union alike — a leader who won’t sell out to multinational corporations but will stand up for American industry.”

Mr. Vance’s blue-collar appeal is viewed skeptically by Democrats, who see him as an opportunist and an extremist. They have pointed in particular to his backing of a national abortion ban and his support for Mr. Trump’s efforts to overturn the 2020 election.

“Trump looked for someone he knew would be a rubber stamp for his extreme agenda,” Vice President Kamala Harris said on Wednesday. “Make no mistake: J.D. Vance will be loyal only to Trump, not to our country.”

Still, at least one labor leader has applauded Mr. Vance’s addition to the Republican ticket. In [*a speech to the convention on Monday*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/16/us/politics/teamsters-boss-sean-obrien-rnc.html), Sean O’Brien, the president of the Teamsters union, said Mr. Vance was among a group of Republican lawmakers who “truly care about working people.”

“This group is expanding and putting fear into those who have monopolized our very broken system in America,” Mr. O’Brien said.

In a race featuring a 78-year-old former president trying to unseat an embattled 81-year-old incumbent, Mr. Vance’s youth and his limited political résumé could undercut Mr. Trump’s attacks on Ms. Harris as ill-prepared to step in for President Biden if necessary. The chances of that scenario [*appeared to rise slightly on Wednesday*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/16/us/politics/teamsters-boss-sean-obrien-rnc.html) as Democratic pressure on Mr. Biden grew.

But Mr. Vance, the second-youngest member of the Senate, leaned into his role as the first millennial to join a major presidential ticket by portraying Mr. Biden as old and in the way, recalling that he was in high school when Mr. Biden, then a senator from Delaware, supported the invasion of Iraq.

“Joe Biden has been a politician in Washington for longer than I’ve been alive,” Mr. Vance said. “For half a century, he’s been the champion of every major policy initiative to make America weaker and poorer.”

He made no mention of his political conversion from a fierce Trump critic into one of the leading disciples of the former president’s MAGA movement. As an author and private citizen, Mr. Vance said in 2016 that Mr. Trump might be “America’s Hitler” and described him as “cultural heroin.”

But Mr. Vance has transformed himself in recent years with recurrent appearances on cable news and in the conservative news media defending Mr. Trump and his America First movement.

On Wednesday, Mr. Vance described the Republican Party as a “big tent” — one defined by a diversity of ideologies if not demographics. He said the party’s internal disagreements over issues like national security and economic policy should make it stronger.

“Shouldn’t we be governed by a party that is unafraid to debate ideas and come to the best solution?” Mr. Vance asked. “That’s the Republican Party of the next four years: united in our love for this country, and committed to free speech and the open exchange of ideas.”

A staunch supporter of Mr. Trump’s hard-line immigration policies, Mr. Vance gave a slight nod to tolerance and inclusivity. He spoke proudly of his in-laws, who are South Asian immigrants, and said the country should continue its tradition of welcoming newcomers “on our terms.”

“Together, we will put the citizens of America first, whatever the color of their skin,” he said.

Describing the evening as “a night of hope” and promising change, Mr. Vance threaded a sense of optimism throughout his speech in a way that Republican leaders have struggled to do in recent years.

One emotional moment came when Mr. Vance introduced his mother, Beverly, who struggled with drugs during his childhood but who he said had been sober for nearly a decade. Ms. Vance fought back tears as she stood applauding her son, just a few seats away from Mr. Trump.

“You know, Mom, I was thinking,” Mr. Vance said. “It’ll be 10 years officially in January of 2025, and if President Trump’s OK with it, let’s have the celebration in the White House.”

Nodding to Ms. Vance, Mr. Trump applauded.

Taylor Robinson contributed reporting from Milwaukee.

Taylor Robinson contributed reporting from Milwaukee.

**Load-Date:** July 19, 2024

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[***As East Village’s Little India Fades, One Place Keeps Its Lights On***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DMV-1T31-DXY4-X3TT-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1564 words

**Byline:** Sara RubergSara Ruberg covers breaking news and is a member of the 2024-25 class of , a program for journalists early in their careers.

**Highlight:** Three neighboring South Asian restaurants with string light-filled windows survived for decades. Only one remains as Sixth Street’s “Curry Row” moniker fades.

**Body**

Three neighboring South Asian restaurants with string light-filled windows survived for decades. Only one remains as Sixth Street’s “Curry Row” moniker fades.

Four windows at the bottom of a brick building in the East Village used to entice passers-by, with string lights and glowing chili peppers as far as the eye could see.

Competitive hosts would flank the entryways to three restaurants there, calling out to customers. It was part of the charm: Over decades the South Asian restaurants attracted locals, tourists, Instagram influencers and even celebrities.

Today, a red rolldown door covers the lower two windows of what was once the restaurant Royal Bangladesh. A curtain has been drawn across another, where Milon stood. On the second floor, to the right side, just [*one restaurant*](https://evgrieve.com/2024/09/dimmed-lights-on-1st-avenue-only-1.html), Panna II, has kept its lights on.

The glowing storefronts were a sign of a once-vibrant South Asian community, centered around a block known as [*Little India*](https://evgrieve.com/2024/09/dimmed-lights-on-1st-avenue-only-1.html) or [*Curry Row*](https://evgrieve.com/2024/09/dimmed-lights-on-1st-avenue-only-1.html) where there were dozens of Desi restaurants. Starting out as cheap eats — where you could get a plate of chicken curry and a samosa for $5 during lunchtime — they became neighborhood standbys and even social media-famous hot spots with celebrity sightings. Now, decades after they opened, only one of the storefronts remains.

Boshir Khan, 49, the Bangladeshi-born owner of Panna II, which sits on First Avenue just around the corner from the old Curry Row, finds it bittersweet to be the last man standing at the vibrant entryway. He was still greeting visitors on a recent Friday in November, though with less urgency.

“Sometimes I’m glad — it’s less stress,” he said, recalling the vigorous competition with his neighbors.

Open since the 1980s, the three restaurants had survived waves of gentrification, economic hardship and the dissolution of a once-concentrated South Asian community. But the financial strain of pandemic shutdowns and rising prices were the death knell to many local businesses.

Mr. Khan greets every guest at Panna II, answers every phone call and serves the tables alongside his wait staff. Despite plenty of publicity over the years, people unfamiliar with the restaurant’s year-round festive glow still walk by, their necks craned as they appear dazzled by the decorations.

“Is this for Diwali?” one customer asked Mr. Khan as she walked through Panna II’s door. “Is it always like this?”

Mr. Khan simply nodded, then seated her at a table in the middle of the restaurant’s canopy of lights.

Panna II and its two neighboring restaurants were not an anomaly in the 1980s and early ’90s: Dozens of restaurants that filled Sixth Street between First and Second Avenues and nearby streets were decorated in similar fashion and grouped together broadly as Indian food options.

That label was somewhat of a misnomer. In the late 1960s, immigrants largely from the Sylhet region in what is now Bangladesh (then East Pakistan) started moving to New York — one by one, family members, cousins and neighbors following one another to an area that was still considered part of the Lower East Side.

They opened new restaurants, serving North Indian fare (biryani, saag) instead of Bengali food (which includes more seafood) because it was more recognizable to the neighborhood’s countercultural community. They turned the block into a little Sylhet, under the guise of Indian cuisine. Soon enough, the neighborhood’s hippies and artists, longstanding Ukrainian, Jewish and Puerto Rican communities, and new Bangladeshi residents came together in what was becoming the East Village.

By the late ’80s, nearly every vendor and restaurant on the block sold curries and rotis.

When Suketu Mehta was a student at N.Y.U. in the ’80s, he often dined at Milon. Mr. Mehta, now an [*author*](https://evgrieve.com/2024/09/dimmed-lights-on-1st-avenue-only-1.html) and associate professor of journalism at N.Y.U. focused on migration and cities, called the restaurants a “service to people who were living in the village at the time who weren’t wealthy.”

“For under $5, we could have a large and nourishing, if not entirely gourmet, lunch,” Mr. Mehta said, adding that the B.Y.O.B. policy was also a selling point for college students.

The restaurants each had a unique flair: Some were dressed in lights, like Panna II and its neighbors, while others had fabrics on the walls. Mr. Mehta said he remembered one restaurant hired a sitar player.

“He wasn’t very good,” Mr. Mehta added.

The restaurants brought in crowds excited to try a cuisine that was new to them.

Mr. Khan, who grew up around the corner from his restaurant, began working shifts at Panna II in the sixth grade with his father.

He remembers the area being “rough” in the ’80s.

“After 5 o’clock, you can’t even go out,” he said. “But I miss the old neighborhood.”

When Mr. Khan was in grade school, the East Village was still affordable for ***working-class*** families, although it was just beginning to [*gentrify*](https://evgrieve.com/2024/09/dimmed-lights-on-1st-avenue-only-1.html), with more white-collar workers.

In the late ’90s, as demand for the East Village’s Indian food waned and rents skyrocketed, [*The New York Times*](https://evgrieve.com/2024/09/dimmed-lights-on-1st-avenue-only-1.html) wrote of financial turmoil and “bad days on Sixth Street.”

South Asian food, once rare, was being served across boroughs. Business owners facing financial strain and growing competition moved out.

“I’m missing all my friends — all the customers that used to come,” said Abdul Patwary, the owner of the spice and grocery store Duals Natural, which opened in 1989 and is one of the few remaining businesses from the era.

At 93 First Avenue, the competition began to heat up. The proprietors of Panna II and Milon, Mr. Khan and Olid Ahmed, each claimed to come up with the idea of hanging up string lights first. “This place was the original,” Mr. Khan said, a claim Mr. Ahmed also made in [*a 1999 Times article*](https://evgrieve.com/2024/09/dimmed-lights-on-1st-avenue-only-1.html). (He could not be reached for this article.)

Despite their fierce competition — and maybe because of it — Milon, Panna II and Royal Bangladesh managed to survive the ’90s and into the 2000s.

The social media era brought a boost — the colorful backgrounds of Panna II and Milon seemed tailor-made for Instagram. Students, and then tourists, flocked to the spot.

“In high school, it would be like cool girls would have their birthday parties here and post photos on Facebook with the lights in the background,” said Amara Leonard, 27, who grew up in New Jersey and visited Panna II last month for the first time in years.

The three restaurants hosted celebrities from [*Vanessa Hudgens*](https://evgrieve.com/2024/09/dimmed-lights-on-1st-avenue-only-1.html) to [*Chrissy Teigen*](https://evgrieve.com/2024/09/dimmed-lights-on-1st-avenue-only-1.html) and John Legend. A picture of the model Emily Ratajkowski with Mr. Khan from her birthday party in 2018 hangs on a wall in the restaurant alongside pictures of other famous visitors.

But as suddenly as business appeared to boom again, it stopped. The coronavirus pandemic forced all three restaurants to temporarily shut down. Milon closed permanently months later.

Royal Bangladesh tried to make a comeback, but ultimately closed its doors in 2022.

Mr. Khan closed his restaurant for a year after he was hospitalized with Covid. Once he reopened, he took over the lease for Milon’s space, but gave it up this fall when the rent jumped to $8,000 per month. (He took over Milon’s website and phone number to sell takeout.) As the blog [*EV Grieve*](https://evgrieve.com/2024/09/dimmed-lights-on-1st-avenue-only-1.html) wrote when it broke the news: “And then there was one.”

Some saw it as the end of the long and winding arc of Little India.

“It’s really useful to look at the dusk of the Bangladeshi-Indian restaurants as a metaphor for what’s happened to the East Village in general,” Mr. Mehta said. “There’s something that’s lost.”

He added, “These places have a special hold on our heart.”

For the Panna II space, Mr. Khan said he now pays $6,000 a month — plus $1,500 to $2,000 for those lights. But he has kept almost every meal on the menu below $20.

Now, a search for “Little India” brings up other neighborhoods, like Jackson Heights, Queens, and the Murray Hill neighborhood of Manhattan, known as Curry Hill.

There are other South Asian restaurants in the area, including the Sri Lankan restaurant Sigiri next door, but not ones from the ’80s. The last were closed during the pandemic. Even [*Duals Natural*](https://evgrieve.com/2024/09/dimmed-lights-on-1st-avenue-only-1.html), the longstanding spice shop, has expanded its spice offerings to other cuisines.

Mr. Khan said the empty restaurant spaces next to him might be turned into apartments. His own space will keep its many lights on for now.

Mr. Khan does not often think of retirement, but he knows he wants to keep the business in the family.

“This was my first job,” Mr. Khan said, recalling those childhood shifts with his father, who passed away three years ago. “Hopefully, this is my last job.”

Kirsten Noyes contributed reporting.

Kirsten Noyes contributed reporting.

PHOTOS: Milon, Panna II and Royal Bangladesh, above, had occupied 93 First Avenue since the 1980s. By 2024, Panna II was the only one still in business. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JAMES T. AND KARLA L. MURRA); Bashir Khan, owner of Panna II, with customers. “Sometimes I’m glad — it’s less stress,” he said, recalling the vigorous competition he once had with nearby restaurants. (PHOTOGRAPH BY JAMES ESTRIN/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (MB1); Clockwise from top: restaurants along Sixth Street in Manhattan in 1997; packing up takeout orders at Milon in 1997; Boshir Khan, the owner of Panna II, remembers working restaurant shifts with his father in the East Village starting in middle school. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY PHILIP GREENBERG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; JAMES ESTRIN/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (MB4) This article appeared in print on page MB1, MB4.

**Load-Date:** January 5, 2025

**End of Document**



[***In Mexico, China E.V.s Are Booming***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DMT-N9Y1-JBG3-63NH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 13, 2024 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section B; Column 0; Business/Financial Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1709 words

**Byline:** By Jack Ewing

**Body**

BYD and other manufacturers are importing cars from China and scouting factory sites in Mexico as part of a global expansion that, for now, excludes the United States.

Behind a crumbling brick wall in a ***working-class*** neighborhood of Mexico City lurks a seemingly innocuous car lot. But it could be a sign of a potentially grave threat to the North American auto industry.

A makeshift dealership for the Chinese electric vehicle company BYD has sprung up in this dusty lot. Esteban Alegría, an employee, said the dealership was selling cars as fast as they arrived from China. Mr. Alegría's top seller is the Dolphin Mini, a small but capable four-door electric compact that costs about $18,000, about $10,000 less than the cheapest battery-powered vehicle available in the United States.

Mr. Alegría's dealership is one of dozens that Chinese carmakers like BYD, Chery, Geely and SAIC are opening up around Mexico as they establish a foothold in North America.

Chinese carmakers are effectively barred from the United States by tariffs that double the sticker price of vehicles imported from China, and they are not yet manufacturing significant numbers of vehicles in Mexico that could be exported across the border.

But their ambition to expand overseas is on vivid display in Mexico and across Latin America, Asia, Europe and Africa. Ads for Chinese brands are in airports and soccer stadiums and loom above Mexico City streets on large billboards. Chinese cars, both gasoline and electric models, are an increasingly common sight.

BYD and others are also looking for places to build factories in Mexico, although none have announced firm plans. Initially, the plants would serve Latin America, part of a campaign by Chinese automakers to erode the dominance of Japanese, American and European carmakers in places like Brazil and Thailand.

But there is little doubt that, eventually, Chinese carmakers hope to use Mexico as an on-ramp to the United States.

''Maybe next year BYD can enter the United States,'' Mr. Alegría said optimistically, as salsa music blared from a speaker hung on a pole and two men washed the dust from a newly arrived Dolphin. Nearby, workers mortared a cinder block wall, part of a new building that will replace the one-room sales office made of rough bricks topped by a corrugated metal roof.

''If not,'' Mr. Alegría added, with a smile, ''I can deliver.''

It is very unlikely that the Dolphin or any other Chinese car brand will be available in the United States soon. Because of the high tariffs, Chinese carmakers have not tried to establish dealerships or get approval from federal regulators to sell in the United States. (BYD does make electric buses in California.)

And someone buying a BYD from a Mexican dealer like Mr. Alegría would have a hard time registering and insuring it in the United States because the cars have not demonstrated that they meet safety standards.

President Biden and President-elect Donald J. Trump have been emphatic about wanting to keep Chinese automakers out of the United States, well aware of the threat they pose to U.S. car and auto parts factories that employ a million workers.

Mr. Trump has threatened 25 percent tariffs on all Mexican products, including cars. Mr. Biden has pursued policies aimed at fending off the challenge from China, including subsidies for U.S. battery factories. The Chinese government has long subsidized carmakers with the goal of becoming a major auto exporter.

But in the years to come it may be difficult to explain to consumers in the United States why they're not allowed to buy inexpensive electric vehicles that are readily available across the border, especially if they're made in Mexico, which already manufactures millions of cars for the United States.

Less than 20 years ago, Chinese cars were widely seen as inferior, even by many Chinese drivers. But in recent years, the country's manufacturers have pulled even with foreign rivals in mechanical quality, analysts say, and often surpass U.S., Japanese and European carmakers in battery technology, autonomous driving and entertainment software. (Think in-car karaoke and rotating touch screens.)

Chinese carmakers have clawed significant market share domestically from once-dominant companies like Volkswagen. Even Tesla, which has a large factory in Shanghai, has lost ground to BYD and other Chinese carmakers. Elon Musk, Tesla's chief executive, will be in a position to influence U.S. auto and China policy after spending more than $250 million to support the Trump campaign and becoming a close adviser to the president-elect.

''Before the pandemic, the rules were set down by the Western carmakers,'' said Felipe Munoz, global analyst at JATO Dynamics, a research firm. ''Now it's the opposite.''

Representatives of several Chinese carmakers declined to comment or did not respond to requests for comment. Jorge Vallejo, BYD's director general for Mexico, agreed to an interview but canceled abruptly as New York Times reporters waited outside his office in Mexico City. The company's representative declined to reschedule or make other executives available.

China's car market is the world's largest by far, and the growing prowess of domestic producers is having far-reaching effects. General Motors said on Wednesday that it would take a more than $5 billion hit to its profit as it restructured its operations in China, which have been losing money in recent years.

Mary T. Barra, G.M.'s chief executive, acknowledged the price pressure from Chinese carmakers during an interview in October. ''We'll continue to look at smart ways to take cost out,'' she said, while insisting that the company could still compete with China.

Arno Antlitz, the chief financial officer of Volkswagen, noted that the industry had dealt with new competitors before, including Japanese carmakers in the 1970s and South Korean carmakers in recent decades. ''We think we have a competitive setup,'' he said in an interview in October.

Still, the auto industry does not appear to have seen anything like the current wave of Chinese brands, which have quickly overtaken Japanese companies as the world's largest auto exporters.

Chinese carmakers have made deep inroads in countries where they have local production or face few significant trade barriers. In Brazil, Chinese brands have a 9 percent share of car sales, up from 1 percent in 2019. In Thailand, they have 18 percent of the market, up from 5 percent in 2019, according to JATO.

In Mexico, Chinese brands now account for 9 percent of new car sales, up from effectively nothing five years ago.

''They gained market share when other brands didn't have inventory and there were long waits to get cars in Mexico,'' said Guillermo Rosales Zárate, president of the Mexican Association of Automobile Distributors.

In San Luis Potosí, an industrial hub 250 miles north of Mexico City, BYD models are taking customers from Toyota, said Fernando López, manager of a dealership that sells both brands from a showroom in an upscale neighborhood.

BYD's Shark pickup, a $45,000 plug-in hybrid, is poaching buyers from the Toyota Tacoma, he said, while the BYD Song, a $30,000 plug-in S.U.V., is luring customers from the Toyota RAV4. The Chinese models cost $10,000 less than the comparable Toyotas.

''I don't know if people are going to let them sell in the United States,'' Mr. López said, referring to BYD, ''but they can compete with any brand.''

Mexico is the world's seventh-largest auto producer, just behind South Korea and Germany. Most major carmakers have factories in Mexico, including G.M., Ford Motor, Stellantis and Volkswagen. Many use parts from Chinese companies like Minghua, which produces bumpers and other components from a plant next to a large BMW factory outside San Luis Potosí.

Almost 80 percent of vehicles produced in Mexico, more than two million through September, went to the United States, according to the Mexican Automotive Industry Association.

Although U.S. tariffs on cars made in China are high, in theory Chinese cars made in Mexico and exported north of the border would currently have to pay a maximum tariff of just 2.5 percent.

But the United States would probably put pressure on the Mexican government to erect barriers to Chinese automakers. Mexico's new president, Claudia Sheinbaum, has played down talk of a BYD factory in Mexico and emphasized that relations with the United States are the government's top priority.

Mexico is ''so economically tied to the U.S., at the end of the day this is a straightforward calculation,'' said Joshua Meltzer, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution who focuses on international economic relations. In October, the Mexican government raised the tariff on imported cars to 20 percent from 15 percent, in what was widely seen as a reaction to growing sales of Chinese vehicles.

The threat from China will grow as electric vehicles become more popular. Those cars already account for half of all new cars in China, giving the country's carmakers a head start.

Auto executives expect electric vehicles to eventually supplant gasoline and diesel models even if Mr. Trump removes financial incentives for such cars and trucks. G.M., Hyundai, Mercedes-Benz and others have staked billions of dollars on electric-car and battery factories.

In Mexico, electric vehicles account for less than 2 percent of new car sales, but have grown more than 40 percent this year despite a dearth of public chargers. Electric vehicles in Mexico City are exempt from restrictions that apply to gasoline and diesel vehicles on days when air pollution is very bad.

That helps the Dolphin Mini, said Daniela Alvarez, a saleswoman at another BYD dealership squeezed into a storefront beneath a Mexico City parking garage.

Ms. Alvarez rattled off the Dolphin's technical specifications, including its advanced battery technology, rotating video display and four airbags. While Chinese electric vehicles still cost more than gasoline models, she said, they cost only 30 percent as much to fuel.

''Electricity is cheaper than gas,'' she said. ''You can make up the difference.''

Miriam Castillo contributed reporting.Miriam Castillo contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/09/business/china-mexico-ev-electric-vehicles.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/09/business/china-mexico-ev-electric-vehicles.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Esteban Alegría works at a BYD dealership in Mexico City, one of the dozens of dealerships that Chinese carmakers have been opening around Mexico. (PHOTOGRAPH BY BENEDICTE DESRUS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (B4) This article appeared in print on page B1, B4.

**Load-Date:** December 13, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Trump Ad Claims Harris Will ‘Doom Medicare’; the ad campaign***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D99-64X1-JBG3-61J8-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 29, 2024 Tuesday 11:35 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 877 words

**Byline:** Michael Gold and Linda QiuMichael Gold is a political correspondent for The Times covering the campaigns of Donald J. Trump and other candidates in the 2024 presidential elections.

**Highlight:** With older Americans making up a major share of voters in battleground states, the Trump campaign casts Kamala Harris as a threat to programs that benefit them.

**Body**

With older Americans making up a major share of voters in battleground states, the Trump campaign casts Kamala Harris as a threat to programs that benefit them.

Donald J. Trump’s presidential campaign has spent more than $9.6 million since Oct. 16 to run [*this 30-second ad*](https://adm0.page.link/9x7C), “Doom Medicare,” on television stations, according to AdImpact. And the campaign has put more than $1 million behind the ad in each of Georgia, North Carolina, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin.

Here’s a look at the ad, its accuracy and its major takeaway.

On the Screen

The advertisement opens with a photo of Vice President Kamala Harris in an office, next to the headline “Big Hike in Medicare Premiums,” citing a CNN article from 2021. It cuts to a photo of a white couple, above a 2022 headline from CBS reading, “Inflation Is Slamming U.S. Seniors.” The headline remains onscreen as the ad cuts to footage of Ms. Harris in an interview.

Then, video footage of Ms. Harris in a black sequined gown at an awards dinner in Washington is displayed side by side with footage of two seniors on a couch. The next shot is a close-up of Ms. Harris laughing while giving a speech at that dinner, with the headline “Seniors Struggling and Paying More Tax,” a reference to a USA Today article.

With footage of Ms. Harris in an opulent room holding a wineglass, the caption onscreen reads, “Give Medicare &amp; Social Security to Illegals.” Then the ad displays footage from the border. A shot of an older woman at a sink is accompanied by the caption “Doom Medicare.”

The ad closes with footage of Mr. Trump embracing or shaking hands with seniors, citing a Politico headline, “Trump to GOP: Don’t Touch Medicare or Social Security,” and then footage of him at an official event and of a smiling Black couple.

The Script

“Under Kamala, there’s been a big hike in Medicare premiums. Social Security benefits don’t go far with Kamala’s inflation slamming seniors. Now, Kamala wants struggling seniors to pay more Social Security taxes while she gives Medicare and Social Security to illegals. That will doom Medicare.

“President Trump will make sure no one cuts Medicare or Social Security. Trump lowered Medicare premiums, and he’ll end the tax on Social Security.”

Accuracy

Ms. Harris has not proposed raising taxes for older Americans, but she has backed raising income taxes on higher-earning Americans.

Her tax plan would raise rates for people who earn more than $400,000 a year. And she also backed President Biden’s budget proposal this year, which suggested raising the cap on the amount of income that is taxable by Social Security. Currently, income above $168,600 is not subject to Social Security taxes.

During her unsuccessful 2020 presidential campaign, Ms. Harris expressed support for allowing undocumented immigrants to have coverage under her universal health care plan. But she never offered a detailed plan for how she might fund such a proposal, and she backed away from that health care proposal as she campaigned this year.

The ad’s claims about Medicare premiums are also misleading. The cost of premiums for Medicare varies widely across plans. The [*standard monthly premium for Medicare Part B*](https://adm0.page.link/9x7C) — which covers doctor visits, lab tests and other medical services — increased under both the Trump and Biden administrations.

The national average monthly premium for Medicare Advantage, an alternative to traditional Medicare that is funded by the federal government and offered through private insurance, steadily declined under both administrations.

The average monthly premium for Medicare Part D prescription drug plans increased in the first two years of the Trump administration and decreased in the second two. It increased in the first two years of the Biden administration, and then decreased in 2023 before increasing again in 2024.

Mr. Trump has called for ending taxes on Social Security benefits, part of a number of new tax cuts he has proposed to win support with important constituencies this year. But Mr. Trump appeared to [*suggest he was open to cutting entitlement programs*](https://adm0.page.link/9x7C) in a CNBC interview this year, though his campaign said he was speaking only about addressing wasteful government spending

An [*analysis from the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget*](https://adm0.page.link/9x7C), a nonpartisan group, found that Mr. Trump’s tax plans would weaken Social Security’s finances.

The Takeaway

Mr. Trump’s proposal to cut taxes on Social Security benefits would be a boon to retirees and is a blatant play to seniors, a key voting group in every battleground state. Older voters have turned out in greater numbers in past presidential elections than younger ones, and the ad is meant to scare them that Ms. Harris will threaten Medicare and Social Security benefits, something that surveys have shown remains a top concern.

With the Harris campaign arguing that Mr. Trump’s proposals would threaten the health of Medicare and Social Security, this ad effectively pushes back. The images of Ms. Harris try to paint her as out of touch with ***working-class*** and middle-class Americans. And, as with most things that Mr. Trump touches, it ties the issues back to immigration, which he has tried to keep at the center of his campaign all year.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Erin Schaff/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 30, 2024

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[***Democrats, Say Goodbye to Our Neoliberal Era***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DH0-64M1-DXY4-X2YT-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 25, 2024 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 21; GUEST ESSAY

**Length:** 1239 words

**Byline:** By Antonio Delgado

**Body**

In the months ahead, Democratic Party officials and operatives will analyze election returns and voting patterns to try to make sense of what happened on Election Day. There will be a push to identify problems that can be easily solved by the same campaign experts who have allowed one of the least popular politicians of our time to dominate politics for three consecutive elections and rewrite the political order in a way we haven't seen since the Goldwater movement laid the groundwork for Ronald Reagan's presidency.

Like Goldwater after 1964, the Democratic Party can seize defeat to establish a new order -- but the era of tinkering around the edges is over.

Donald Trump didn't just win. He won big, including longstanding Democratic constituencies. Look no further than solid blue New York: Vice President Kamala Harris had the worst statewide performance for a Democrat since 1988. In New York City, her margin of victory was 17 points lower than Joe Biden's in 2020.

The numbers don't lie: This was a rejection of our party's leadership.

How did we get here?

The contemporary Democratic Party emerged from the ''greed is good'' era of the 1980s in part by co-opting pieces of the Reagan agenda. President Bill Clinton built a coalition -- part ***working class***, part Wall Street -- that led Democrats back to the White House without redefining the political system. The limitations of this ''third way'' came to a head during the long recession following the financial crisis, when the party was tasked with charting a new direction. The truth is, it never did.

Faced with a global economic crisis, leaders of both parties worked to perpetuate a neoliberal order that people no longer trusted. Rather than create an agenda intimately tied to the people's pain, the Democratic establishment helped rescue the institutions that had just pushed the economy to the brink of collapse, further cementing the public's view that our political and economic system was rigged for the rich and powerful.

Tragically, our party has failed to rescue itself ever since. Mr. Trump's success in 2016 and this month underscored the flaw inherent in the Democratic approach of promising to move forward while looking backward.

To be fair, President Biden sought to reverse decades of flawed economic policy by taking on monopolies, building up our infrastructure, encouraging domestic manufacturing and playing hardball with China. Unfortunately, much of this good work was drowned out by the crisis at the border and punishing inflation. In the end, he was the wrong messenger for the way forward.

President Biden should never have run for a second term. It betrayed our party's collective will to be bold and fresh. Clamoring to be the savior of democracy, the Democratic Party engendered disdain from the very people it sought to serve -- everyday, hard-working Americans fed up with being lied to and squeezed out of opportunity.

Mr. Trump wins over these voters because most Americans distrust both major parties. He campaigns like a populist, even though he governs like an oligarch and couldn't care less about the fact that the top 1 percent has more wealth than the bottom 90 percent.

This presents an opportunity for Democrats, but only if we are willing to challenge the systems and institutions that have caused Americans to lose faith in government. Our philosophy must make clear that the real threat to democracy is widening economic inequality and the colossal power of big money in politics. As Franklin Roosevelt said in 1936, ''We know now that government by organized money is just as dangerous as government by organized mob.''

The Democratic Party must lay out a new vision of economic security and independence for working families. That requires remembering that the interests of labor are the counterweight to the interests of capital and that our role as public servants is to ensure balance between the two. Not all solutions should be based on the market; the market tends to reward greed, and cultivating greed should never be the mission of a democratic government.

This vision also means committing to policies like universal pre-K, paid family and medical leave, expanded community banking, raising the minimum wage and a public option for health insurance. And it means taking on the grotesque concentration of wealth among the very few and price fixing, which fuels the affordability crisis and widens economic inequality.

The prospect of upsetting the donor class, lobbyists and special interest groups must not prevent us from doing right by our principles. Common sense should rule the day. Yes, we have to secure the border and protect American workers from bad trade deals made in the name of globalization.

The challenge for Democrats now is to prove we can govern. Republicans will control Washington, but we control cities and states across the country. Let's prove ourselves to be the party of competence by improving people's lives with homes they can afford, quality health care, clean air and safe drinking water, high-performing schools and reliable transportation. Promoting these public goods can be done in partnership with the private sector, but never in submission to the profit motive.

If Democrats lead with a bold, cleareyed vision for the future, voters will support them. I have seen it firsthand.

In 2017, after Mr. Trump won my home district in the Hudson Valley and the Catskills by almost seven points, I challenged the Republican incumbent. He ran a divisive campaign, attacking my former career as a hip-hop artist and using racist tropes and stereotypes to cast me as a threat. No person of color had ever represented upstate New York in Congress, and my district as it was drawn then was one of the most rural in the country and over 80 percent white.

In response, I ran a campaign rooted in love, emphasizing how all of us, no matter our party, want to be able to afford homes and groceries, to send our kids to good schools and to leave behind a safer, better world for them than the one our parents left us.

On Election Day, our campaign won by five points, and we won again in 2020 by 12 points.

The blue wave of 2018 ushered in a crop of new leaders capable of winning in tough red districts with a message anchored in the needs of constituents and not beholden to party leadership or moneyed interests.

We used that winning playbook in parts of New York this year, including where I live in the Hudson Valley. U.S. Representative Pat Ryan was able to hold on to the 18th Congressional District comfortably, and Josh Riley flipped the 19th. Mr. Ryan and Mr. Riley centered much of their campaigns on the economic pain felt by their constituents, caused by a political system corrupted by unchecked corporate power.

In this time of reckoning, Democrats would be wise to pay attention to campaigns and candidates that broke the mold. A new path is both necessary and possible, but we will not chart it with the same politicians telling the same old stories. We are ready for the next generation.

Antonio Delgado is the lieutenant governor of New York.

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**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY THALASSA RAASCH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A21.

**Load-Date:** November 25, 2024

**End of Document**



[***A Senate Democrat in Wisconsin Battles to Survive Trump's Gravitational Pull***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D25-T6G1-JBG3-6173-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 26, 2024 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 20

**Length:** 1354 words

**Byline:** By Catie Edmondson

**Body**

The Democratic senator, who is seeking a third term in a politically competitive state, rallied with the Pennsylvania governor, who has a track record of appealing to voters in rural, conservative-leaning areas.

Gov. Josh Shapiro of Pennsylvania was stumping for Senator Tammy Baldwin outside a refurbished gas station here in central Wisconsin on Saturday when a heckler drove by shouting, ''Trump 2024!''

''I don't think he's for us,'' Mr. Shapiro told the assembled crowd outside the building, which now serves as the Richland County Democrats' office. ''That's OK.''

It was at least the third disruption during a short campaign stop that was punctuated by cars and pickup trucks driving by, revving their engines over the Democratic duo and shouting pro-Trump slogans.

The hostile territory was the point. Ms. Baldwin had brought Mr. Shapiro, a Democrat whose talent for appealing to Republicans and independents has become a central part of his brand, to help her as she faces a tough re-election bid in her own battleground state. The two made campaign stops over the weekend here in south-central Wisconsin, in a pair of rural counties that reliably voted for Donald J. Trump in 2016 and 2020.

Despite the deep well of support here for Mr. Trump, Ms. Baldwin won these counties by double digits in 2018, victories that helped her coast to a second term in the U.S. Senate. But this year, Mr. Trump is on the ballot, posing a steeper challenge. To win her re-election race in November against Eric Hovde, a Republican banking executive, Ms. Baldwin will have to replicate the same success -- or at least limit a hemorrhaging of support from Trump voters -- this time with the former president atop the ticket.

''In my last race, in 2018, about 10 percent of voters walked into the voting booth and voted for Scott Walker for governor and Tammy Baldwin for U.S. Senate,'' Ms. Baldwin said, referring to the Republican who led the state but lost his re-election bid that year. ''So, yes, there's a lot of split-ticket voters. I do think that that has diminished. Obviously, there's a difference between a midterm and a presidential, but I know some Trump-Tammy voters.''

Polling has shown Ms. Baldwin's lead over Mr. Hovde shrinking in recent weeks, setting up Wisconsin's as one of the most competitive Senate races in the nation as the two parties vie for control of the chamber. So it made sense for her to enlist Mr. Shapiro, the popular Pennsylvania governor whose national profile has risen since he was on Vice President Kamala Harris's short list for running mates, to help her appeal to a critical swath of voters in the quiet rolling hills of the state.

As Democrats have faced eroding support from ***working-class*** voters in rural areas, the party has begun to lean on messengers like Mr. Shapiro and Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, now the vice-presidential nominee, who have proved their ability to appeal to voters in more conservative areas. A handout at the Democratic offices here for volunteers speaking with voters stressed that Mr. Walz is a ''lifelong hunter and gun owner'' and ''believes in Midwest common sense, being a good neighbor and allegiance to the U.S. of America.''

''There's a handful of states that are likely to determine the outcome of this election,'' Mr. Shapiro said, when asked what he was doing on the campaign trail in Wisconsin. ''Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Michigan -- the three 'blue wall' states, so to speak -- are critical. And I want to do everything I can to not just get the vote out in Pennsylvania but get the vote out in those states, as well.''

The pair of events in central Wisconsin on Saturday with Ms. Baldwin -- including one held inside a barn in Dodgeville, steps away from a yellow cornfield where attendees sipped cider and munched on cubes of cheddar adorned with tiny American flags -- were Mr. Shapiro's first stops as a surrogate outside of his home state.

They are not likely to be his last.

He has already campaigned extensively in rural and ***working-class*** counties of Pennsylvania on behalf of the Harris campaign, in patches of the state where he outperformed President Biden in order to win the governorship in 2022. In that race, he put money behind television ads featuring Trump voters who were supporting him.

''Finally, a Democrat I can vote for!'' one enthused in a direct-to-camera shot.

''I think it was important that we showed up on their terms,'' Mr. Shapiro said of the 2022 contest during an interview over lunch with Ms. Baldwin. He noted that he had campaigned in urban areas and more rural ones, including meeting voters at their local gun club in Butler County, Pa., ''which actually doesn't look a whole lot different in some parts from here in this area.''

''When you actually drill down and listen, even though the communities look really different, folks kind of basically want the same few things,'' he continued. ''They want good schools and safe communities. They want opportunity -- economic opportunity -- whether it's running their small business or being able to have the opportunity to afford your home. And they kind of want their rights and freedoms protected. They want government to be out of their lives. And that is what I hear in rural areas, suburban, urban areas.''

He was talking about voters like Marvin Ford, the kind that Ms. Baldwin will need to win in November.

Mr. Ford, who is self-employed, came to Ms. Baldwin's rally in Richland Center, where he lives, to hear her message on the economy and immigration. Before the event, he said he was not sure whom he would vote for in November, either for president or senator, but said that he had voted for Mr. Trump in 2020 because he wanted to support someone who would secure the southern border.

He had not voted for Ms. Baldwin previously, he said, but thought she had done ''a great job so far,'' and was rethinking his support for Mr. Trump because he was concerned about ''his ethics.''

''You know, all his investigations, criminal trials,'' Mr. Ford said.

In her remarks, Ms. Baldwin did not address immigration, but spoke about her work to include ''Buy American provisions'' in the Biden administration's bipartisan infrastructure bill.

''There's a company in Kenosha, Wis., that's doubling from 200 employees to 400 employees to make some of the components we need for our broadband buildup,'' she said. ''We are seeing those jobs come back. You can stand up to powerful interests and you can win.''

Mr. Ford appeared particularly interested in Mr. Shapiro's comments, nodding along as the governor praised Ms. Baldwin for running on what he called ''common-sense principles; around the idea of getting stuff done; of showing up in communities, not writing certain people off because of maybe how they vote in a national election.''

Afterward, before posing for pictures with both elected officials, he said he remained undecided but was now leaning toward supporting Ms. Baldwin because of her comments about her support for the Affordable Care Act.

For weeks across the state, in speeches that span her positions on preserving reproductive rights, boosting American jobs and Wisconsin's dairy farms, and supporting gay marriage, Ms. Baldwin has drawn the biggest applause when she spoke about how she pushed for the health care law to allow young people to stay on their parents' health insurance until age 26.

''I'm on Obamacare right now,'' Mr. Ford said. ''So, you know, I don't want it to end.''

Still, in counties like these with Mr. Trump at the top of the ticket, Ms. Baldwin has an uphill battle on her hands.

Departing the Democratic office, one voter called out to a member of Ms. Baldwin's staff: ''How does someone get the courage to put a Tammy sign up when you have a neighbor who has, like, 16 Trump signs up?''

Bev Pestel, who leads the Richland Center chapter of Economic Equity Now, which is funded by the Patriotic Millionaires, conceded at the Dodgeville rally that the area was home to ''a lot of devoted MAGA folks who are very angry.''

''Our mission,'' she said, ''is to chip away one voter at a time.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/24/us/politics/tammy-baldwin-josh-shapiro-trump-voters-wisconsin.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/24/us/politics/tammy-baldwin-josh-shapiro-trump-voters-wisconsin.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Polling has shown Senator Tammy Baldwin's lead over her Republican opponent in Wisconsin shrinking in recent weeks. (PHOTOGRAPH BY NARAYAN MAHON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A20.

**Load-Date:** September 26, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Children Adrift in a Chaotic World of Stunted Lives***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCB-P411-DXY4-X0YC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 8, 2024 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; Movies, Performing Arts/Weekend Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 1025 words

**Byline:** By Alissa Wilkinson

**Body**

Barry Keoghan and Franz Rogowski star in a film about a preteen girl who longs for a stability she's never experienced.

Good parents are a rarity in Andrea Arnold's movies. Instead, they tend to be neglectful and preoccupied, often for solid reasons: Arnold tells stories of ***working-class*** families, mostly British, mostly struggling to get by, mostly the offspring of parents who are, themselves, distracted and uninterested in their children's lives. An early short film of Arnold's, ''Wasp,'' has a mother locking her four children in the car while she tries to woo an old boyfriend in a bar. One of her best movies, ''Fish Tank,'' features a mother who punishes her daughter by telling her she should have gone through with her planned abortion instead of giving birth. The situation is pretty grim.

By those standards, Bug (Barry Keoghan, covered in insect tattoos and grins) is a pretty good dad, if only because he talks to his kids. He has two of them, Hunter (Jason Buda) and Bailey (Nykiya Adams), and they live with him in a chaotic, ramshackle squat in northern Kent. Hunter is 14, born when Bug himself was 14; Bailey is 12, and getting fed up with her life. Her own mother (Jasmine Jobson) lives in another house with Bailey's three stepsiblings.

''Bird,'' which Arnold wrote and directed, is really Bailey's story, but Bug is a key part of it. At the start of the film, he brings home a toad in a plastic shopping bag. Bailey wrinkles her nose as he explains that the toad secretes a hallucinogenic, and all they have to do is get it to secrete the drug and then sell it and then, presto, they'll be rich! He needs the money to live, but also because, he tells her, he's getting married this weekend.

Bailey is having none of Bug's nonsense, but she doesn't really know what to replace it with. She has no reference point for a different life and neither, you get the sense, does Bug. ''Bird'' is the story of children raising children. The complete absence of anything resembling structure is normal to them, but the feeling that the grown-ups are not really acting like grown-ups -- that abuses and harms in their community are going unchecked -- has gotten to the teenagers. Hunter has joined a gang of young teenage boys who call themselves ''vigilantes'' and will beat up a man, for instance, if he is abusing his girl.

[Video: Watch on YouTube.]

Bailey is on the verge of puberty, and waffling between anger and depression. One day, she meets a strange man who introduces himself as Bird (Franz Rogowski). He seems different from other adults, nonthreatening and quiet and gentle. Bailey only knows how to be abrasive, but she softens toward him, and they become friends. Where did Bird come from? Why is he here? She doesn't know, and doesn't care all that much: To her, he represents safety, though she is not sure why.

''Bird'' feels like a departure from form for Arnold, who has made a career of gritty, sometimes shocking social realism. Even her 2012 adaptation of ''Wuthering Heights'' interpreted that Emily Brontë novel through a naturalistic lens: It was muddy and gritty, and foregrounded class and race distinctions in a way that felt fresh and alive. People in an Arnold film are often trying to escape their circumstances, but not always clear on what they're escaping toward.

But ''Bird'' hops from social realism to magical realism, a fact that takes a while to register with the audience and feels, at times, a little forced. Bird is not a figment of Bailey's imagination, exactly, but the Bird we see onscreen is filtered through Bailey's imagination, in ways she might not even realize. He is both a person and a stand-in for something she desperately wants, a presence she needs to feel.

That Bailey's been raised in an essentially feral manner is part of the film's enchantment; ''Bird'' is full of nature, of animals in the midst of metamorphosis or running wild. Frequently we see caterpillars and butterflies, and of course Bailey is living with a toad. But the walls of the squat are also covered in drawings of insects, as is her father. Following a literary tradition of giving characters names with deeper meanings, it's no mistake that her brother's name is Hunter. And so it is only natural that at the moment of coming-of-age, she'd find strength and solace in a Bird.

There's a wealth of lovely performances in ''Bird,'' including by Adams, who holds the film together by slowly taking on tenderness as it progresses. But the two poles of the movie are Rogowski and Keoghan, who radiate precisely opposite energies. Where Rogowski is delicate, hopping and perching like a ballet dancer, Keoghan moves like a particularly athletic bear cub, though he dances in a few scenes with both comedy and grace. (There's some excellent humor in this film, and even an Easter egg for ''Saltburn'' fans.)

Yet ''Bird'' doesn't linger as long in the memory as some of Arnold's other films, probably because it feels a little less shocking, less transgressive and a bit less insightful, too. It's cheerful at the end, a film about people who are just trying to make the best of what life handed them, something more like a fable. The villains are dispatched. Some kind of order is restored. And while it's clear this cannot really be a happily ever after, it's a moment of peace.

But there's a charm here, and not just because of Rogowski's subtly avian head bobs and tiptoe weaves. ''Bird'' feels warm, because it is about love and safety. It's about realizing that your parents might just be doing the best they can, and if that's not much, well, at least they're trying. Near the end of the movie, it occurred to me that ''Bird'' would make a pretty good stage musical -- not just because people always seem to be singing, but because it's achingly, heartbreakingly sincere, and for a character living in chaos, that sincerity can feel like magic.

BirdRated R for loads of bad language and some disturbing scenes of domestic violence. Running time: 1 hour 59 minutes. In theaters.BirdRated R for loads of bad language and some disturbing domestic violence. Running time: 1 hour 59 minutes. In theaters.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/movies/bird-review.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/movies/bird-review.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: ''Bird'' is a modern fable directed by Andrea Arnold and starring, clockwise from top: Nykiya Adams

Franz Rogowski

and Barry Keoghan. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ATSUSHI NISHIJIMA/MUBI

ROBBIE RYAN/MUBI) This article appeared in print on page C4.

**Load-Date:** November 8, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Harris Dives Into a Frenetic Final Week With a Swing Through Michigan***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D95-XCR1-JBG3-60NT-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 28, 2024 Monday 07:59 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 820 words

**Byline:** Nicholas Nehamas and Reid J. EpsteinNicholas Nehamas is a Times political reporter covering the presidential campaign of Vice President Kamala Harris.

**Highlight:** The vice president finished her day in the battleground state at a rally near the University of Michigan’s campus in Ann Arbor, where she sprinkled her speech with outreach to progressive Democrats.

**Body**

The vice president finished her day in the battleground state at a rally near the University of Michigan’s campus in Ann Arbor, where she sprinkled her speech with outreach to progressive Democrats.

Vice President Kamala Harris raced across Michigan on Monday, making three stops in the battleground state to begin a furious final week of her presidential campaign.

She and her running mate, Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, capped the day with a joint appearance in Ann Arbor, where they addressed an outdoor crowd on a brisk evening. Both delivered what has evolved into their standard stump speeches, and avoided bringing up [*the racist remarks delivered by speakers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/27/us/trump-msg-rally.html) at former President Donald J. Trump’s rally at Madison Square Garden on Sunday night.

After weeks of [*explicit appeals to Republicans*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/27/us/trump-msg-rally.html), Ms. Harris sprinkled her speech near the University of Michigan’s campus with outreach to progressive Democrats. She said health care “should be a right, and not just a privilege for those who can afford it.” When she was interrupted by protesters shouting about American policy toward Israel and Gaza, she told them, “I hear you.”

“We all want this war to end as soon as possible and to get the hostages out,” Ms. Harris said. “I will do everything in my power to make it so.”

Mr. Walz addressed gun violence, a topic that polls show resonates deeply with young voters who have grown up participating in active-shooter drills in their schools. He first said that freedom includes being “free to send your kids to school without them being shot dead in the halls,” then took a rhetorical jab at Mr. Trump.

“I’ll take no crap on this,” Mr. Walz said. “Both members of the Democratic ticket are gun owners. The Republican nominee can’t pass a background check.”

The rally in Ann Arbor, with a crowd that campaign officials estimated at 21,000 people, was the campaign’s first there since Ms. Harris replaced President Biden as the Democratic nominee. Though the city is a Democratic stronghold that is home to Michigan’s flagship state university, it has also been [*a hub of resistance to American support for Israel’s war in Gaza*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/27/us/trump-msg-rally.html).

Just over a week before Election Day, Ms. Harris is increasingly speaking to Americans who are the least likely to vote or engage in politics. Her Michigan tour came as more than 1.8 million Michiganders — about a quarter of all registered voters — have already cast their ballots, according to [*data from the state secretary of state’s office*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/27/us/trump-msg-rally.html).

For Ms. Harris, the rest of this week is a window into her campaign’s efforts to reach what few undecided voters remain. She plans to follow her Michigan trip with what her campaign is calling a “major speech” on Tuesday at the Ellipse in Washington, the same spot where Mr. Trump spoke to his supporters before they stormed the Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021.

Speaking in Washington in view of the White House is the Harris campaign’s latest attempt to break through to disengaged voters who have tuned out political news. Last Friday, she diverted from the battleground states to [*hold a 30,000-person rally in Houston*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/27/us/trump-msg-rally.html) with Beyoncé. On Monday, she taped an interview with Charlamagne Tha God and “The Breakfast Club,” a nationally syndicated radio show that is popular with Black listeners. The interview, her [*second on the show*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/27/us/trump-msg-rally.html) this month, will air Tuesday morning.

While the Beyoncé rally was an attempt to amplify the Harris campaign’s message on abortion rights, and the Ellipse speech is meant to do the same on democracy and Mr. Trump’s attempt to overturn the 2020 election, her events on Monday in Michigan were targeted at the state’s economy.

She stopped at a semiconductor factory in Saginaw, a predominantly Black and Latino city in the state’s northeast, and at a union training facility in Macomb County, a ***working-class*** Detroit suburb.

In Saginaw, Ms. Harris discussed her plans to remove four-year degree requirements for some federal jobs. “We need to get in front of this idea that high-skilled jobs require a college degree,” she said. “It’s just not true.”

Shortly after, in Macomb, she accused Mr. Trump of not being “concerned about or working for working people.”

The Ann Arbor rally was the latest Harris event to feature a concert before the vice president’s remarks. The indie rock musician Maggie Rogers played a roughly 20-minute set before the candidates took the stage.

On Monday night, John Legend and Bruce Springsteen played at a rally for Ms. Harris with former President Barack Obama in Philadelphia. Last week, Willie Nelson played and Beyoncé spoke in Houston, while Mr. Springsteen also played in Atlanta. Mumford &amp; Sons are set to play on Wednesday in Madison, Wis., with other big-name acts expected at events in the days before Election Day.

PHOTO: Vice President Kamala Harris speaking on Monday at a semiconductor facility in Thomas Township, Mich. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Brittany Greeson for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 29, 2024

**End of Document**



[***‘Why Haven’t the Democrats Completely Cleaned the Republicans’ Clock?’***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6B7F-7TD1-JBG3-600J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 1, 2024 Thursday 19:55 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 450 words

**Byline:** ‘The Ezra Klein Show’

**Highlight:** Ruy Teixeira argues that the Democratic Party is at risk of alienating one of its core constituencies: ***working-class*** voters.

**Body**

Political analysts used to say that the Democratic Party was riding a demographic wave that would lead to an era of dominance. But that “coalition of the ascendant” never quite jelled. The party did benefit from a rise in nonwhite voters and college-educated professionals, but it has also shed voters without a college degree. All this has made the Democrats’ political math a lot more precarious. And it also poses a kind of spiritual problem for Democrats who see themselves as the party of the ***working class***.

[You can listen to this episode of “The Ezra Klein Show” on the [*NYT Audio App*](https://apps.apple.com/us/app/nyt-audio/id1549293936), [*Apple*](https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/the-ezra-klein-show/id1548604447), [*Spotify*](https://open.spotify.com/show/3oB5noYIwEB2dMAREj2F7S), [*Amazon Music*](https://music.amazon.com/podcasts/c4a3b1da-5433-49e6-8c14-0e1da53be78c/the-ezra-klein-show), [*Google*](https://www.google.com/podcasts?feed=aHR0cHM6Ly9mZWVkcy5zaW1wbGVjYXN0LmNvbS84MkZJMzVQeA%3D%3D) or [*wherever you get your podcasts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/19/opinion/how-to-listen-ezra-klein-show-nyt.html?action=click&amp;module=RelatedLinks&amp;pgtype=Article).]

Ruy Teixeira is one of the loudest voices calling on the Democratic Party to focus on winning these voters back. He’s a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute and the politics editor of the newsletter [*The Liberal Patriot*](https://www.liberalpatriot.com/). His 2002 book, “[*The Emerging Democratic Majority*](https://www.simonandschuster.com/books/The-Emerging-Democratic-Majority/John-B-Judis/9780743238557),” written with John B. Judis, was seen as prophetic after Barack Obama won in 2008 with the coalition he’d predicted. But he also warned in that book that Democrats needed to stop hemorrhaging white ***working-class*** voters for this majority to hold. And now Teixeira and Judis have a new book, “[*Where Have All the Democrats Gone?: The Soul of the Party in the Age of Extremes*](https://us.macmillan.com/books/9781250877499/wherehaveallthedemocratsgone).”

In this conversation, I talk to Teixeira about how he defines the ***working class***; the economic, social and cultural forces that he thinks have driven these voters from the Democratic Party; whether Joe Biden’s industrial and pro-worker policies could win some of these voters back, or if economic policies could reverse this trend at all; and how to think through the trade-offs of pursuing bold progressive policies that could push ***working-class*** voters even further away.

You can listen to our whole conversation by following “The Ezra Klein Show” on the [*NYT Audio App*](https://apps.apple.com/us/app/nyt-audio/id1549293936), [*Apple*](https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/the-ezra-klein-show/id1548604447), [*Spotify*](https://open.spotify.com/show/3oB5noYIwEB2dMAREj2F7S), [*Google*](https://www.google.com/podcasts?feed=aHR0cHM6Ly9mZWVkcy5zaW1wbGVjYXN0LmNvbS84MkZJMzVQeA%3D%3D) or [*wherever you get your podcasts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/19/opinion/how-to-listen-ezra-klein-show-nyt.html?action=click&amp;module=RelatedLinks&amp;pgtype=Article). View a list of book recommendations from our guests [*here*](https://www.nytimes.com/article/ezra-klein-show-book-recs.html).

(A full transcript of the episode is available [*here*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/01/podcasts/transcript-ezra-klein-interviews-ruy-teixeira.html).)

This episode of “The Ezra Klein Show” was produced by Annie Galvin. Fact-checking by Michelle Harris, with Kate Sinclair and Mary Marge Locker. Our senior engineer is Jeff Geld. Our senior editor is Claire Gordon. The show’s production team also includes Rollin Hu and Kristin Lin. Original music by Isaac Jones. Audience strategy by Kristina Samulewski and Shannon Busta. The executive producer of New York Times Opinion Audio is Annie-Rose Strasser. Special thanks to Sonia Herrero.

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY American Enterprise Institute FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** February 1, 2024

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[***The End of the Obama Coalition; The Ezra Klein Show***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DDD-X9H1-DXY4-X0TR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 13, 2024 Wednesday 09:16 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 10152 words

**Byline:** Ezra KleinEzra Klein joined Opinion in 2021. Previously, he was the founder, editor in chief and then editor at large of Vox; the host of the podcast &amp;#8220;The Ezra Klein Show&amp;#8221;; and the author of &amp;#8220;Why We&amp;#8217;re Polarized.&amp;#8221; Before that, he was a columnist and editor at The Washington Post, where he founded and led the Wonkblog vertical. He is .&amp;#160;

**Highlight:** Michael Lind on why Democrats are losing the core of their base.

**Body**

This is an edited transcript of an episode of “The Ezra Klein Show.” You can listen to the conversation by following or subscribing on the [*NYT Audio App*](https://apps.apple.com/us/app/nyt-audio/id1549293936), [*Apple*](https://apps.apple.com/us/app/nyt-audio/id1549293936), [*Spotify*](https://apps.apple.com/us/app/nyt-audio/id1549293936), [*Amazon Music*](https://apps.apple.com/us/app/nyt-audio/id1549293936), [*YouTube*](https://apps.apple.com/us/app/nyt-audio/id1549293936), [*iHeartRadio*](https://apps.apple.com/us/app/nyt-audio/id1549293936) or [*wherever you get your podcasts*](https://apps.apple.com/us/app/nyt-audio/id1549293936).

In my post-election essay, I said that the 2024 election marked the end of the Obama coalition. But what does that mean?

Well, in part it means that some of the political strategies the Democrats thought would turn Obama’s 2008 and 2012 coalitions into an enduring generational majority — they’ve failed. Democrats worked damn hard over the past few years to deliver what they thought, what they were told, Black and Hispanic and ***working-class*** and union voters wanted.

And instead of solidifying support from those voters, they’re seeing them flee to Donald Trump. But I’m also saying something about the structure of the Democratic Party itself.

The Obama era wasn’t just built around one person. It was a collection of institutions and power bases and elite networks. Michael Lind, a columnist at Tablet, the author of the book “The New Class War” and a co-founder of New America has argued that it was kind of a political machine, one built around urban political support, foundations, nonprofits, mass media.

There are parts of Lind’s analysis I don’t agree with. In particular, I think the machine has worked very differently after Obama left the White House than it did before. I think it’s been a machine without a boss, in a way that has not worked out well for the Democratic Party.

But I think seeing the Democratic Party through the lens of its component institutions — the places where the people who run it and staff it work when they’re out of power, where they’re educated, where they go to find deputies and hire staff and get funding and to see the people they used to work with and still listen to and learn from — I think that’s really important. That’s what a political party is. And because of it, I don’t think what’s next for the Democratic Party is just new ideas or campaign tactics.

I think it’s shaking free of an institutional structure, or maybe even an institutional straitjacket, that’s no longer working, maybe hasn’t been for some time. And it’s learning how not to listen so much to its funders and interest groups — and how to listen more to the people it’s been losing.

Ezra Klein: So you’ve been arguing for some time now that the Democratic Party since Barack Obama has changed in form, that at its center is a different kind of liberal, what you call a gentry liberal, and a different set of institutions, nonprofits and foundations — what you call the Obama machine. Tell me about that.

Michael Lind: The Obama Democrats, in my view, are the first American national party that is also a national machine in the sense that it’s kind of replicated on the national level the sort of machine structure that has long existed, both in Republican machines and Democratic machines at the state and local level.

And the elements of the Obama Democratic machine — and it’s not that Obama was aiming for this, it’s just sort of evolved under his watch — it’s the cities. If you look at the 10 most populous cities in 2000, four of them had Republican mayors. Today it’s — they’re all Democratic. And basically every big city over a million or so people and every college town is 100 percent Democratic all the time — and this is kind of new. So since the population is largely urban now in the United States, to have a national Democratic machine really just means linking up these big-city urban machines and college-town, one-party systems. And the way it has been linked up in the Obama era has been through several methods.

The most important is campaign finance. We’ve seen this nationalization of politics — and this is true of the Republicans as well as the Democrats, but the Democrats pioneered this — where donors in San Francisco and New York and Chicago, a few other big Democratic cities, are increasingly influential in state and local and city council elections around the country. And that has a homogenizing effect on state and local Democrats and regional Democrats.

You have the old party structures of the ward healers and the party bosses and Tammany Hall, and that sort of thing. They still exist to some degree, but they’ve been so eroded that they have been replaced in these Democratic cities, where much of the American population lives, by nonprofits. Not by think tanks, that kind of nonprofit, but by service, delivery nonprofits dealing with homelessness, with education, with other things, which get grants from the city government to carry out functions that were performed before the outsourcing that took place beginning with the Clinton era.

These were performed by salaried civil servants. Since then, the number of civil servants has not gone up, but the so-called blended workforce of contractors, both nonprofit and for-profit, has just exploded.

Well, the number of civil servants has gone up at the state and local level. It hasn’t gone up in the civilian population federally. But state and local, it’s gone up quite a lot.

You’re quite right, and thanks for correcting me. But about a third of their income comes actually from Washington. It’s grants from the Department of Health and Human Services and other federal agencies. And there’s a real question, I think, of democratic legitimacy — small d — and this is true for the Republican equivalent, as well.

If these urban functions are being carried out by nonprofit employees — who get some of their money from local donations; they get some of it from rich people on the coast; they get some of it from government agencies like HHS; they get some of it from corporations; they get some of it from city council grants — then they have multiple masters. And in what sense — to whom are they accountable?

I think there’s something interesting in this that I’ve been wrestling with, and it’s one reason I wanted to have you on the show. Because I’ve been thinking about the way you describe this as a machine and the way you describe it as a modern form of patronage.

And I found that initially I rejected that. I was like, this isn’t like Tammany Hall, where Boss Tweed is handing out the jobs. But then I thought more about the role that foundations and nonprofits play in modern progressive politics, in the Democratic Party, the amount of power I know them to hold — in terms of what the White House ends up doing, in terms of what happens in Congress. It did seem to me that there was some explanatory value in thinking about this as a modern patronage network. Not exactly based on jobs, though sometimes based on jobs, but based on campaign-finance donations and grants.

So I’m curious to hear you describe a bit about how you think this is similar to and dissimilar from past networks of patronage and what we would have thought of as political machines.

The jobs thing is important, the political machines, particularly the ones in the big cities in the United States, where there were large immigrant diasporas.

One of the jobs of the local machine, could have been Republican or Democratic machine, was to pressure employers to hire Irish Americans or Italian Americans or whatever in return for votes. But it was done informally and extralegally. This has been replaced in the new progressive Democratic machine, in my view, by these categorical directives.

So for example, the Biden administration, when it comes to power, it says it will have this whole of government approach for equity — which in practice means affirmative action. It’s just another word for affirmative action. It’s not the personal kind of patronage in the past, where the ward healer would say, “I want one of my constituents’ sons to get a no-show job in the warehouse in New York,” or whatever.

Now it’s all done bureaucratically. You put down, “Are you AAPI?” That is, Asian and Pacific Islander. “Or African American or Hispanic/Latino or non-Hispanic white?” And then in order to get government funding, your organizations have to have the equitable quotas. They don’t use that name, but that’s what it is. So there is a jobs element there.

What is unique, that did not exist in the past, is the extent to which the donors simultaneously pay for the Democratic politicians, but they also determine what progressivism is. And they determine what progressivism is by deciding what to fund and what not to fund.

And so merely by omission, they can eliminate entire topics from the definition of progressivism. Because if progressivism is what the nonprofits that are called progressive are doing — well, if they can’t raise money, they’re not going to be doing it. So I’ve seen in the nonprofit sector, you simply can’t raise money from progressive donors on promoting collective bargaining and trade unionism.

And this is something — that the somewhat libertarian, neoliberal donor class is not terribly thrilled with unions. They may tolerate public-sector unions, but they don’t want them in their tech and finance corporations.

I’m going to push you on this. Because I know a fair amount about what the Hewlett Foundation funds, which is one of the very big funders on the Democratic side.

And they fund lots of figures, including on the right, who are trying to bring back labor unions, who are pro-sectoral bargaining. In the sort of anti-neoliberalism turn that the progressive foundation world has taken in the past couple of years, trying to revitalize labor has been a pretty big part of it. That doesn’t feel to me omitted at all.

Well, I think Hewlett, though, is not typical. It hasn’t been typical of the progressive foundations in the last 20 or 30 years. You’re quite right: They fund efforts across the political spectrum, on the right as well as on the left, as part of their “Beyond Neoliberalism” project.

But what I’m talking about is individual megadonors, their family foundations, apart from Hewlett, the Ford Foundation, and so on. And the reason the emphasis is on noneconomic cultural issues — which are perfectly legitimate in many cases, whether it’s gay rights or trans rights or environmentalism as defined as kind of a social issue — I think it reflects the interest of the donors.

If the donors wanted a strong union movement, then there would be all kinds of pro-labor think tanks all over Washington, D.C. But you wouldn’t have this pattern of single-issue groups where you have feminists over here, you have the human rights campaign over here, and so on.

In my essay after the election, I said at the end of it that I thought we were seeing the end of the Obama coalition.

The Obama coalition was exhausted and defeated. And as happens when you have to write after an election, I wrote a thing that I think is true — but didn’t have a lot of time to think that deeply about why I thought it was true. And working through some of your work on this — and you’re much more critical of, certainly, the Obama machine in its heyday than I am — sort of helped me think through this.

I want to play you a clip of Obama. This is from five years ago, and it’s once a leader of the Democratic Party talking a way I don’t think you hear Democrats talk that much.

Archived clip of Barack Obama: Now, this idea of purity and you’re never compromised and you’re always politically woke and all that stuff: You should get over that quickly. The world is messy. There are ambiguities. People who do really good stuff have flaws. People who you are fighting may love their kids, and, you know, share certain things with you. And I think that one danger I see among young people, particularly on college camps, is — Malia and I talk about this — but I do get a sense sometimes now among certain young people, and this is accelerated by social media: There is this sense sometimes of: The way of me making change is to be as judgmental as possible about other people. And that’s enough.

I’m curious what you hear when you hear that and how it compares to you to the Democratic Party you see today?

Well, what I hear is someone who, even though he bequeathed this more centralized, homogeneous machine, I think — not necessarily deliberately — he actually worked his way up in Chicago politics and in national politics at a time when there were Blue Dog Democrats. Technically, there still are, but the poor Blue Dogs are almost extinct.

There were Gypsy Moth Republicans that you wanted to vote with your faction of the Democrats, across party lines. So, in that sense, I hear someone more like Lyndon B. Johnson or Franklin D. Roosevelt or any other Democratic president, where not only is your own party a coalition and you’re the power broker — you’re not the dictator — at the end of the day, you can’t get things done in our system of checks and balances without winning over a fair number of people in the other party.

This trend that you associate with the Obama machine feels to me like it got out of control after Obama left the scene. That when it actually had a political boss in the person of Barack Obama himself and the people directly around him, who had some power over it and some sense of it, it was actually fairly well restrained. Which is why Barack Obama was a very successful president.

But since then I think Hillary Clinton was much more dominated by “the groups.” I think the Biden administration was obsessed with Democratic coalitional management and keeping everybody in the coalition on board — in a way that was very different than how the Obama administration operated.

And so you sort of described this as an ongoing thing, with maybe even Obama as like, the shadow political boss. It looks to me like almost a culture that no longer has a boss, even to some degree inside the nonprofits.

I feel like the bosses of the nonprofits got weaker in recent years and the staffs got stronger. It’s like you have this machine, but you don’t have any political bosses anymore — and haven’t maybe for some time.

Well, I think that’s true of machines in the past. So, for example, they’re assembled by these very charismatic politicians who are, as you say, in the case of Obama, they’re flexible enough to tone it down when it’s backfiring and to keep it under control.

But when they leave you have — it’s kind of like after Stalin dies in the Soviet Union: You get this oligarchy instead of the one powerful figure. So you could call it the post-Obama machine, where basically no one is in charge and power goes down to the sort of self-perpetuating organizations.

It would be interesting for historians and presidential biographers to explain why Joe Biden, who was expected to be kind of the centrist, old-timey New Deal-ish Democrat who would keep the progressive single-issue groups under control, why he really was the most culturally left president. Much more so than Obama, who was careful to try to keep his centrist street cred.

And maybe it was personal incapacity. Maybe it was a calculation to win over the Bernie Sanders voters. I don’t know the answer.

I think this idea of the post-Obama machine feels truer to me, and I do think it’s worth spending some time on this question of Joe Biden. Because the Biden White House worked differently than other White Houses I’ve been aware of.

One of the ways it worked differently was it was just much more concerned with keeping the left engaged in the coalition. Back in the Obama administration, there was constant bickering between the White House and what it called the professional left, which was many of these groups. Robert Gibbs, a press secretary, would unload on the professional left, and then people get mad at Robert Gibbs, and he would stand by his remarks. And this was understood — at every level. Rahm Emanuel was like this; Barack Obama, himself, was often like this. There was much more tension between the Obama administration and the left than there was between the Biden administration and the left.

And maybe that was the Biden-Bernie Sanders alliance. He almost did lose a nomination to Bernie Sanders. So the sense that the left was a much more live force had changed. But I think in a weird way, you see it with Bernie Sanders, himself. Because Bernie Sanders, as a left figure, used to be quite left on economics but culturally moderate on other things, more pro-gun.

And it’s one way Hillary Clinton ran against him. That sort of famous line that you can break up the big banks, but it won’t solve systemic racism. But over time, Sanders also became much more coalitional in his approach to the left. He’s not saying no to anything, either. One of the critiques many people made of the Democratic Party in this period, and I think it’s true, and it goes beyond Biden to these figures, is that just nobody said no to anything.

And so then you have things like Kamala Harris signing an American Civil Liberties Union document saying yes to gender surgery for undocumented immigrants in jail, and that gets used against her in all these ads. That sort of reflects a culture in which nobody is saying no to the groups at any level of American Democratic politics.

But I’m not exactly sure why that evolved in the way it did. And I’m curious how you see it if we broaden it from just Joe Biden.

I’ll ask you the question, but first I’ll point out that a lot of this started in Obama’s second term. His Education Department issued the transgender directive saying that then the Department of Justice and the Education Department would cut off funding and maybe investigate K-12 schools that don’t let high school kids join sports teams of the opposite sex, and so on. And I got the impression that this took even Obama by surprise. I don’t think this was something he was pushing. It was just like the bureaucracy filled with these single-issue nonprofit groups.

So, here I have a question for you, Ezra, related to this. How much do you think the internet and Twitter, in particular, which we know progressives use more heavily — or at least they did before Musk — than conservatives, how much has that empowered these groups? In the old days, if you upset the environmentalists or the feminists or another single-issue group, well, people would write angry letters to The New Republic. But it was like, the age of paper, right?

But now they can denounce this, and then millions of suburban/urban progressives around the country will retweet their condemnation of the Democrat for caving in on this issue. Do you think that’s a factor?

I definitely think it was a factor in the 2018-2021 era, where I think that Twitter, in particular — I think it maybe goes back before that, too — was a tremendous accelerator of ideological amplification and division. I don’t think there’s a Bernie Sanders campaign that succeeds in the way it does in 2015 without Twitter and Reddit and places online where the intensity of his support could turn into money, could turn into media coverage. I remember being at Vox back then, and we were watching anything we put Bernie Sanders’ name on go to the top of Reddit. And that leads to a lot more media oxygen for Sanders.

The same thing, by the way, is happening on the right with Donald Trump. I don’t think there’s a Trump campaign in the way we ultimately see it without Twitter, either. So I definitely think that’s true.

There’s also another dimension to this that you just made me think about with the example of trans kids in the Obama administration. Which is: There were issues where the principals understood the issues really well and had political experience with them.

So Barack Obama had as much experience or more experience than anybody in the Obama administration running and navigating race issues in American life. And he knew where he was going to let things go in the administration and knew where he wasn’t. But you had some new issues begin to emerge, particularly around gender, where the principals didn’t have very much experience with them.

They had not been used to this. I mean, you talked about feminism, but I would describe the issues out there differently. You had so many female politicians who actually knew how to navigate that and knew what they thought their constituencies would bear and would not bear, and had a lot of credibility in the room on it.

And on some of these newer issues, it took time — I think it’s still taking time — to have politicians who feel comfortable with it. And when they didn’t feel comfortable with it, a lot more was outsourced to staff. And in some of these cases you got outcomes that now, looking back, Democrats probably wish they had held the line a little bit closer in.

I want to be very careful because I’m not comfortable with the “Let’s just let’s throw trans rights overboard.” But I think that what you normally do in a movement like this is you decide which things you’re going to fight for and which things you’re maybe not ready to have a fight over — or maybe haven’t even decided what the position should be on.

The kids-in-sports question has been incredibly difficult for Democrats, even though it’s so far from the most important question in trans rights or trans nondiscrimination out there. And I think it just wasn’t one that they were ready for, and nobody just kind of put the stop on it. I think also what you see about that Kamala Harris-ACLU questionnaire: There was this pressure to say yes to edge cases.

So what I think of after two decades in the nonprofit sector, at various times, is Lind’s law of nonprofit advocacy: You go as far as the voters support your position, and then you go beyond the border into further territory where the next position is unpopular. And this is a deliberate strategic move, because if you just are advocating for what everybody believes anyway, then you’ve won. Nobody’s going to write you a check.

But if you go 10 or 20 or 30 percent further, into the controversial realm, then you will be attacked. And in the case of progressive nonprofits, you’re being attacked by the right, which is what you want. And you can say, “We’re being attacked for this.” And then you can link it to your previous gains by saying, “They don’t only oppose this bridgehead in enemy territory, but they want to roll back everything we’ve done in the last hundred years.” So I do think that kind of edginess, that’s baked into NGO annual fund-raising newsletter culture. That’s how you get people to open their wallets.

And I think that explains a lot of 2020, whether it was the trans issue, whether it was the “Defund the Police” — things that make perfect sense if you’re a nonprofit trying to pry open the wallets of a small number of billionaire megadonors. And big foundations are just electoral poison.

There is a conflict I think about sometimes some years ago between Obama and Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez. And it had to do with Obama criticizing activist tactics, which he did quite a bit. And this is postpresidency for him, and AOC making this point that not everybody’s job is to be within the Overton window: that activists have a different job than presidents, than politicians, etc.

But on the other hand, the implication of that point was that Obama was doing exactly what he should have been doing, even though this was being used as a criticism of him. That if everybody has different jobs, then actually it is the job of the politicians to hold the line at where the politics net out for their side.

Because as you say, the nonprofits are — and as AOC said — the nonprofits are not there to win 51 percent of the vote. But the politicians are. And I think this goes to the coalitional dynamic that you’re describing, and I saw this a lot covering policy in the last couple of years, where when you weave in the nonprofit complex into the official party, people are moving between it — all the time. Going from the administration to the nonprofits and nonprofits to the administration. Members of Congress are bringing in these groups every time they’re doing legislation and sort of taking their temperature and the coalitions really matter and you’ve got to stay on the side of the coalition or they’ll get mad at you.

And then you’ve mixed up people’s roles. And, by the way, I think that’s a Twitter thing and a social media thing, too: where people who used to operate in quite different spheres of politics were endlessly thrown into one conversation together — collapsing the roles between activists, between politicians, between media figures, between political scientists, between grass roots organizers, between donors. Like, everybody is in the same discourse level, acting as if they’re doing the same thing — when they’re really not.

I think you’re right. But I think it’s a danger for the Republicans, as well. Because there’s this very online — people talk about the New Right, but they’re sort of like, the moderate, thoughtful policy wonks like Warren Cass and others. And then there are just these internet autodidact gurus who compete — they’re not competing for donations necessarily, like the progressive nonprofits are. These gurus on the right are competing for money. I mean, it’s a commercial law —

And attention —

And attention that translates into Patreon subscriptions or whatever. And that’s always been the big difference between — for the last 30, 40 years. The Democrats, their agenda tends to be shaped by nonprofits.

The Republicans, going back to Murdoch and Fox, and exacerbated in the internet era and in the Twitter era: They’re a counterculture, but they’re a commercial counterculture. So in the old days, Rush Limbaugh, he had to sell Ronald Reagan gold coins or whatever. [Laughs.] He wasn’t raising money from the Koch brothers.

And I think now it’s going to be a problem for the Trump administration. That is, if you have a lot of younger staffers, in particular, who are immersed in this very online culture, where they’re trading shocking memes back and forth every day or so, and they’re going to end up staffing various positions — they’re not necessarily going to be on the same page as their political-appointee bosses.

We’ve been talking about the way the Democratic Party has changed, and we’ve been talking about the way some of those changes have led to Democratic Party weakness. But you can look at this from the other perspective, too. If you look at the time period of 1950 to 2000 and look at how well Democrats do presidentially in the popular vote — when they have this more ***working-class***, labor-oriented base — and you look at 2000 to 2024 and how Democrats do in the popular vote: They do better.

I mean, 2024 is the first time Republicans have won the popular vote since 2004. And they look to people estimating this, who I’m reading, likely to win it by one- to two-ish points nationally — in arguably the worst environment for incumbents we have seen since 2008, worldwide. We have just seen, in every wealthy democracy that has had an election, the incumbent party get destroyed. And the Democratic Party — actually its loss, if you look at this on a chart, is much more modest than the losses of other parties that were in power in this period. Compare them to the absolute annihilation of the Tories in the U.K.

And one argument you might make on that is: This has not been masterful politics from Donald Trump and JD Vance. That how extreme they are — “childless cat ladies” and all the rest of it — has held down what could have been a very, very strong Republican performance to something that, if you have 2 percentage points of the vote, could go the other way: Republicans don’t even win in 2024.

Well, that’s true. But as David Axelrod pointed out the other day: The only two groups where Harris improved over Biden are college-educated whites and people making more than $100,000 a year. So I think that the two narratives about what happened on Tuesday: One is it’s a long-term realignment, and the other is it’s a short-term result of the anti-incumbency backlash because of the post-Covid inflation.

I think they’re both correct. And I think of this in terms of a Covid analogy. So Covid can affect lots of people, but the ones who have prior vulnerabilities are the most endangered. So I think the Democratic Party had a lot of prior vulnerabilities going in, but there’s no doubt that being the incumbent party, it suffered at the same time like these other incumbent parties, both on the right and the left.

But one thing the narrowness of the Republican victory has left me thinking about is the fact that we’re in a realignment doesn’t mean the Republican Party has realigned into a necessarily winning coalition. It might yet. But this all seems very consistent to me with the realignment looking something like Republicans have 48 percent of the vote naturally, and Democrats have 52 percent.

And so in 2020, you have a very similar coalitional structure. But it’s a bad year for the incumbent because of the pandemic and also because Donald Trump is bad at being president. Trump loses three points for the incumbent effect, and he gets beat in the popular vote by four to five points.

And this year, when the Biden-Harris administration are the incumbents, and it’s a very, very bad year for incumbents, and they lose a couple points as a penalty to that. Trump wins by one to two points. And so you might have a realignment.

But one thing happening in the Democratic Party right now is the sense that they need to rethink everything, that the way the coalitions have restructured is going to consign them to minority status forever, potentially.

Certainly, I think a lot of Republicans feel themselves on the cusp of like, a grand era of winning. And this other story seems possible, too: that the realignment is not actually that advantageous for Republicans, and in a very good year, or what should have been a very good year, they did OK.

And if you look at the Senate races, they actually didn’t do that well. In the battleground states, Democrats won six of the seven contested races, at least as I say this right now, before Pennsylvania is fully called. But it looks to me like Republicans will win Pennsylvania. That’s a perfectly fine outcome for Republicans, I guess.

So they won the Senate, the House — it’s all very close. They won the presidency. But in a year when maybe it could have been much more dominant, it doesn’t make this coalition they’ve assembled look like such an obvious majority coalition.

I agree with that, but we have to keep in mind that neither party is what I call a conventional big-tent party of the kind that existed, you know, in the ’80s, the ’90s, even the 2000s.

The post-Obama Democrats really are this incredibly homogenous, well-policed, on-message machine, with these powerful single-issue progressives kind of dictating the platform. The Republicans are this island of broken toys [laughs] — this coalition of misfits who oppose the post-Obama Democrats for various reasons.

There’s the various elements of Trump’s coalition that he put together, with skill or by accident. They don’t necessarily have much in common with each other. There are antiwoke social Democrats. There are libertarians who hate big government. There are the evangelicals and those were all part of the old Republican coalition.

But then there are also trade unionists who think they’re getting nothing from the Democratic Party. There are growing numbers — they’re still a minority — of African Americans and Latinos who don’t think they have any loyalty to the Democratic Party. So one of the things we’re likely to see if the Republicans get a trifecta, that is they control all three of the elected branches of government, then these tensions are going to come out.

And that can be an opportunity for Democrats. But I think the only way the Democrats can seize that opportunity is to say, “We’re not going to be a homogeneous, conformist machine anymore. We’re going to be a big-tent party, and we can have some Democrats who oppose transgender medicine, and we have others who want a tough line on illegal immigration.”

Like most of the parties from the age of President Martin Van Buren to the present, they pick three or four or five issues that are the litmus test, that everybody has to agree with, and then you have a free vote depending on your constituency on other issues.

One place where I think that the actions of this Democratic coalition are in tension with the narrative about this Democratic coalition is that it often sounds like what people are saying is, “Well, the Democratic Party really abandoned the ***working class***.”

We used to have this trade-unionist party, and the people in it were more ***working class***, and they held much more power in it. And then you have Bill Clinton and the North American Free Trade Agreement. And now here we are. But since Bill Clinton, and as the party has become more college educated and this realignment has been underway, the party’s economic policy has become relentlessly more left.

Barack Obama was well to Bill Clinton’s left. Hillary Clinton ran on an agenda well to Barack Obama’s left. Joe Biden ran on an agenda — and governed on an agenda — to Hillary Clinton’s left. It was a notable and not accidental thing that after the first presidential debate, as this clamor arose for Biden to step aside, his biggest defenders were Bernie Sanders and the squad.

Biden was the most pro-labor president, certainly in my lifetime. It didn’t seem to matter.

So what do you make of both the way in which the Democratic Party did become more economically populist in a substantive way, as it became more the party of this class. And what do you make of the fact that that didn’t seem to protect it at all among the voters that these sorts of material policies were supposed to attract?

Well, I think you have to distinguish two things: You have to distinguish a bipartisan consensus, first in favor of neoliberalism and then in favor of post-neoliberalism — a work in progress from progressivism on these cultural issues. So what has changed is, and you’re quite right about this: In both parties, the Democrats and the Republicans — at least the Trump wing — there has been a bipartisan move away from free-market globalization.

I think with the Republicans — who were really indistinguishable from under George W. Bush from today’s progressives on immigration — the Republicans became more restrictionist. And I think you’ll see more restrictionism from Democrats in the future under pressure from their voters.

So I think we’re undergoing a shift as big as the shift from the New Deal consensus that was shared by Republican presidents like Dwight D. Eisenhower and Richard Nixon to the sort of Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher, Bill Clinton, Tony Blair neoliberal consensus.

And the main reason for that shift, I don’t think is domestic. I think it’s geopolitical. It’s the rise of China that made the business elite and the donor class and more and more intellectuals and economists rethink neoliberal economics. But since this shift is taking place at different speeds in both parties, then it’s kind of like it was in the neoliberal era, where the parties basically agreed on high levels of immigration and more free-trade agreements, at least after 2000.

So they’re going to fight over abortion, and they’ll fight over gay marriage. And I think on these other issues, assuming you have two post-neoliberal parties, the post-neoliberal Democrats and the post-neoliberal Republicans, then these issues are favoring the Republicans.

Let me give you an example: In a Marist Poll of registered voters by National Public Radio, on behalf of NPR, 57 percent of Latinos agreed that all illegal immigrants should be deported. And the number was slightly lower for Black Americans.

This is not what Democrats have been telling themselves. When it comes to voter-ID requirements, that you have to show a photo, a government ID, in order to vote: According to Pew, 75 percent of Blacks, 81 percent of whites, 84 percent of Asians and 85 percent of Hispanics want mandatory photo voter-ID laws.

And this is Pew Research Center — it’s not a right-wing push poll or something. And just one more example: The Supreme Court decision against race-based affirmative action was approved, according to Gallup — again, a nonpartisan agency — 52 percent of Blacks, 63 percent of Asians, 68 percent of Hispanics and 72 percent of whites approved the Supreme Court ban or partial ban on race-based affirmative action.

So the Democrats — it’s not simply enough to say, “Well, we’re post-neoliberal, and we’re more pro-union, and we want strategic trade and industrial policy.” These other issues — they just are not on the right side of these issues, even for their Black and Hispanic constituents.

I think this is a place where it’s very important to look at the power of this nonprofit complex in the Democratic Party. Because part of what that power has been based on, and I see this based on a lot of reporting and good firsthand knowledge, is a sense that the way to understand what many of these collections of voters want — if you’re going to slice them into Black voters and Asian American and Pacific Islander voters and Hispanic voters and union voters, too, by the way.

I mean, you can keep going like this. That the way you’ll understand it is by listening to what the groups purporting to represent them want. And in some cases that can be telling. I think unions are more often reasonably good at telling you what at least parts of their membership want, although they have a broader agenda than just that.

But I think specifically in the case of nonwhite voters, it proved really, really deceptive. So the groups that were, in a sense, representing Hispanic voters within the Democratic coalition — they were part of what was leading Democrats, many of them in 2020, to say they were going to decriminalize border crossing, unauthorized border crossing. But that wasn’t what Hispanic voters wanted.

It was many of the groups representing Black Americans that pushed the Democratic Party toward “Defund the Police” rhetoric. And not all of them went all the way there, but they went much closer. And in cases, Kamala Harris did go there. But that was never popular, and certainly is not now popular, among Black Americans.

And so there’s been this dynamic where you have these groups that are claiming to speak for very, very wide swaths of the electorate and persuading Democrats of things that those parts of the electorate simply don’t believe. In the room where the Democrats are sort of making these decisions, you have staffers from these groups, and they’re often maybe the only Black person in the room or maybe the only Hispanic person in the room, so they’re granted a degree of deference.

But it has proved to be a misleading form of politics. Because these aren’t mass-membership groups. And this is a place where I think the Democratic theory, political theory, has just actually and truly failed. The Democratic Party moved into a position of thinking it was doing more than it ever had before to win over the allegiance of this multicultural electorate.

And it has lost huge amounts of support among that very same multicultural electorate. Because the people it was listening to as its guide to how to win them over were nonrepresentative.

That’s exactly right. If all of the leaders of these various communities are career nonprofit people or academics funded by the Ford Foundation and other big grantors, they’re AstroTurf.

And this is the big difference between modern progressivism and the older liberalism. The two greatest civil rights leaders of the 20th century: A. Philip Randolph was a union leader of the railroad porters union, and Martin Luther King Jr. was a Baptist minister, part of this mass-membership organization.

And then beginning in the ’60s and ’70s — I won’t name names — but the way you become a spokesperson for women or L.G.B.T.Q. or African Americans or Hispanics is not having this mass organization behind you of members. It’s also not winning elections. It’s your success in getting grants for your nonprofit or for your university program.

George W. Bush or maybe it was Karl Rove — I don’t know who came up with this — but was very clever during the Bush administration. They were being denounced as being anti-Black by the designated spokespeople for the Black community in the media and in the nonprofit sector. So Bush invited a bunch of urban Black pastors to the White House who were actual real grass roots leaders. They didn’t approve of him particularly, either, as I recall, but that’s the difference.

Something this makes me think about is the way this has played out in Democratic policymaking, often outside of the major issues people are paying attention to. So one thing that’s been very important to Democrats in the past couple of years, and is obviously central to the Biden administration’s policy legacy, is the decarbonization investments.

Put aside what you think of them. The Biden administration certainly wants to build as much green energy infrastructure as fast as it can. And I’ve done a lot of coverage of the way that permitting and procurement and land-use rules and environmental litigation and legislation have proven to be real obstacles in Democrats building fast and affordably. You have example after example of major energy projects being stalled in environmental litigation, getting sued because this thing that will build a huge number of solar panels and create a huge amount of solar power could conflict with an endangered species or some other set of laws. Even if really just what’s happening is these laws are being wielded by people who don’t want the thing in the first place.

And so I was covering and watching what was happening in Congress as people tried to grapple with this and tried to think about on the Democratic side what permitting reform might look like. And when I would talk to the people working on it, I was just stunned by the power of small groups, environmental justice groups, and so on, that didn’t really represent anybody, or at least not any large numbers of people.

They would just explain to me that if you couldn’t get them on board, they couldn’t move forward with this at all. And I would say, “Well, what is the power of these groups — like, what is their leverage on you?” And there was never an answer. It was just a coalitional decision that had been made in the culture of the way the Democratic Party now made policy.

It wasn’t that somebody thought they would turn votes on them. It wasn’t even anybody thought that one version of this would be more popular or even more noticed than another. It’s just that a culture of how you make policy had emerged, a culture of who you listen to had emerged. And it couldn’t be broken, even if that meant a genuinely smaller chance of achieving a goal that you believed and had told everybody else was existentially important: the speed of decarbonization in the coming 10 years.

And I really began to understand it as that. This is probably where I departed from the version of this calling it a machine. It seems like a culture to me. Not a culture sort of built on anything. It’s a culture built on norms and practices, not exactly on leverage.

Well, it’s not new. Back in the 1990s, I was having a conversation with a Democratic staffer about some sensible educational reform — I don’t remember what it was — and he worked for Senator Ted Kennedy at the time. And he said, “Well, we’ll have to run it past the Groups.”

That was the first time I had heard of “the Groups” — clearly with a capital G. So when you say it’s a culture — but on the other hand, it has to be perpetuated from generation to generation. And if you pull the plug on the funding, then a lot of these groups would wither away. And if you funded other groups — and I take your point about the Democrats being rhetorically and sometimes substantively more pro-labor, but I think the Economic Policy Institute is like that — the only real protrade union think tank of any stature in Washington still, right?

The Economic Policy Institute.

Yeah. It’s been around for 40 years. So money talks. And if these groups are raising money from the same donors that you need to raise money from as an elected politician, then I think it’s perfectly rational to worry that if you stiff the groups, they will go running to Daddy Warbucks and say he betrayed our cause.

How much do you see this as different on the Republican side? Was it different on the Republican side in the era of George W. Bush? And is it different on the Republican side in the era of Donald Trump?

Because it’s not as if there aren’t Republican interest groups, not as if the Chamber of Commerce has not at many times wielded enormous power, the business roundtable. And with Trump, it often seems to me to have moved into — he’s not even listening exactly to groups, he’s listening to individual people who are giving him money. He’s got this very funny but dark riff where he basically says: He didn’t like electric vehicles, but then Elon Musk came to support him, and now he’s got to like electric vehicles.

And I think that’s sort of how he thinks about it. He seemed to change his position on TikTok after meeting with a major donor — who is also a major TikTok investor. Trump had been in favor of, as president, of forcing TikTok to be sold off to an American firm. And he reversed his position on that. Sort of famously suggested to a bunch of oil executives that if they gave him enough money, they could have huge amounts of influence in his administration.

The Democrats listened to the groups. It seems to me now that Trump just kind of has transactional relationships with individual people who can help him, and he’ll sort of do what they say if he decides that it’s worth it to him.

Well, I can’t speak about Trump individually with any authority, but I think going back even to the ’80s and ’90s, while the Democrats have been a coalition of mostly nonprofit, AstroTurf funding groups, the Republicans have been kind of a Trump tribe.

I mean, there’s a group of people. They’ve had the white ***working-class*** for several decades, and it’s expanded now with ***working-class*** people of other races. Their other electoral constituency, not their donors but their electoral constituency, is small-business owners, particularly in the physical world.

I’ll just read you a list of the industries that give the most money, proportionally, to the Republican Party: poultry and eggs, mining, livestock, home builders, automotive, steel, dairy, oil and gas. This is quite different from the Democratic list of tech, education, public sector and so on.

But here’s an interesting point that Jerry Taylor, formerly of the Niskanen Center, made for me — and it impressed me very deeply. He said that most people, in all parties, don’t have this litmus test of issues and you have to check off every issue. They basically kind of belong to one party or the other, and they follow the cues of the leaders. And you particularly see this, I think, on immigration and trade with Trump. So when Bush was the leader, he says, “Oh, immigration is great.” “Free trade — we need more free trade agreements.” And most Republicans, the small-business owners and the white ***working class***, they went along because “He’s the commander in chief of our party.”

And then Trump comes along and says, “No, no, no.” The opposite. And then they sort of follow along with him. And I think this is backed up by the famous political science research that shows that the mass public does not have consistent, systematic opinions. You have to be an intellectual or a member putting together a party platform to try to make sure your different beliefs cohere.

And this gives the Republicans, I think — under anybody, not just Trump — more flexibility than the Democrats. Because the Democrats don’t have, they used to have it, but they don’t have like this, just this demographic base where they say, “OK, we’re going to dial back on trans issues.” Or “We’re going to add nuclear to the list of the Green New Deal.”

They just don’t have that flexibility that the Republicans do. Does that make sense?

It does and it doesn’t to me. Because I would say that if you go back even a couple of years, the Republicans do not feel to like they have very much ideological flexibility. They’ve all signed Grover Norquist’s anti-tax pledge. If you’re thinking about the sort of mid-2000s or 2010s, they all have to be against the Affordable Care Act. They can’t stake a more moderate, or it’s very hard to stake, a moderate position on health care. And what’s interesting to me about Trump and one of the reasons he’s been effective is that he just doesn’t play by those rules personally, that he has a small set of things he cares a lot about.

He’s very anti-immigration, he’s quite anti-trade, very mercantilist, very skeptical of alliances, very zero-sum oriented. But on the other side, he just doesn’t care. And he’ll move around on abortion. He makes his promise to the right wing that he’ll appoint judges for them, and he fulfills that promise, but it’s a very transactional promise.

I don’t think Donald Trump spent a lot of his time as a person thinking about pro-life issues. And he has much less sense or internal pressure of what goes with what than other people do. So he’s much more willing to bob and weave on the things he doesn’t care about. And the list of things he doesn’t care about is very long.

Well, I think that’s right — but it’s also because he’s rich.

And it’s also because he’s rich. But Mitt Romney was rich, too. And Mitt Romney did not go —

Well, your typical Republican member of Congress — even if the public does not want cuts in Social Security and Medicare, your libertarian donors do. And they’re not —

Yeah, but I think if you looked at the number — and there are quite a few of them because members of Congress are overall pretty wealthy, particularly in the Senate. I think if you looked at the Republicans who are independently wealthy — like, look at a Rick Scott. That dude is extremely rich. He’s extremely rich. I don’t think you would find they’re more moderate or more independent in this way than the other ones have been.

No. My only point was: Do you have to raise enormous amounts of money every two years if you’re a member of Congress? And that creates, to me — the big dividing line, which I think will manifest itself if the Republicans do end up having a majority, is their donors are not on the same page as their voters.

And you think that’s still as true as it once was?

Yes. I have it on good authority that the Republican donors in 2024 want to cut deficit spending and have taxes cut, too. Well, the only way you do that is by drastically cutting government programs — and it’s the whole George W. Bush agenda.

And now the heaviest-weight donor on the Republican side is Musk, and he’s been very clear that he wants to cut, I think he called it $2 trillion from the federal government. I had Vivek Ramaswamy on the show, and having him on — it was a very interesting conversation — convinced me that there’s a much bigger part of the MAGA movement that on a lot of these government-spending issues looks like the Republican Party used to look, with a much more nationalist and internationally skeptical set of trappings or, even, you could say, commitments. But that in terms of how they feel about federal spending, that they remain much more libertarian. And Musk, who clearly wants to and will probably exert tremendous influence in the Trump administration, I think, has very strong antiwoke feelings.

But if you look at his beliefs about government and taxes and so on, they’re pretty standard Republican rich-guy feelings. And so some of the ideological swerve that people assumed was going to happen when JD Vance was picked on the ticket — it may not happen, because I do see a Republican donor class more authentic to the Trump movement emerging and cohering, and it wants to ban a bunch of books from schools, but it also wants tax cuts and big government spending cuts.

Well, I think that’s right. You can think of the Republican Party as being three parties: There’s the donor party, and they’re just libertarians. They’re pro-gay rights, and they’re pro-abortion and all of that but also free trade, and they want unlimited labor arbitrage, and they’re anti-union.

Then there’s the Republican primary electorate. The primary voters who, like the Democratic primary voters, are much more likely than the public to be college educated and to be philosophically ideological and consistent. And these are your small-business owners, the kind of proverbial local car dealer in the small town or the suburbs.

And they are politicizing. Today, as in the past, utterly opposed to organized labor, to a higher minimum wage and all of that, because many of them have low-wage service businesses. And then finally, there’s the Republican general electorate, which Trump has successfully expanded and advances well by reaching out to African Americans, to Hispanics and to others. But between elections, the politicians are going to hear mostly from the donors, and they’re going to be eyeing the next primary, when the primary electorate is much more anti-government than the general electorate.

When you think about these parties going forward: Let’s say you’re the Democratic Party, and you want to win back these ***working class*** voters. You think the realignment that is now sort of found — or seems to be nearing an almost terminal form — where Democrats really are the party of the affluent and the college educated, and Republicans really are the party of most people who don’t have a college education.

You want to do something about it. And you look at Joe Biden, and you think, “Well, this guy tried to run a full employment policy. He tried to have much more industrial policy. He tried to be very pro-union.” I mean, certainly supportive of minimum wage increases.

And it didn’t work. It anti-worked, right? It failed.

What do you do? Is it aesthetic? It’s the kind of person you’re nominating? It’s the cultural issues? If you were a candidate who — like, a new era for Democrats has to begin. Like, I believe the Obama era has ended. And at this point, the politicians sort of photocopying what he did are getting too far from what he was able to do and the sort of influence he was able to exert.

What sends strong enough signals that it breaks the way the system is realigning? Do you look around and see people who are an example of that or have been successful at that?

Well, Bill Clinton. I think you need to have a Sister Souljah moment with some of these nonprofit groups, and it can be the Greens or it can be the trans movement or something else. And just say, “Look, you’re a part of our team, and we agree with you on many things, but we’re not going there.”

The other thing that Clinton and Gore did successfully was to build up the Democratic Leadership Council, which I think some on the left called Democrats Looking for Cash. But in a big-tent party, you could say, “Well, we’re a different kind of Democrat.”

But there are various kinds of Democrats. There’s not just one kind of Democrat. So there’s historical model for this. When it comes to appointing people to office — and this is something I would advise both parties to do, Republicans as well as the Democrats: Don’t appoint ideologues — whether they’re from left-wing nonprofits or from right-wing Substack accounts or whatever.

Appoint staffers and former elected officials and staffers who worked for elected officials, like congressional staffers to the executive branch and to agencies. Because even if you’re kind of a young, very online staffer for the Senate committee or a House committee, through your boss, you do have a sense you have to make concessions to be politically viable.

So I think with the Democrats, in particular, I would have more appointees to the executive branch in the future from the government itself — both elected officials and government staffers. It could be state legislatures and city councils. And fewer people from the World Wildlife Fund or whatever.

When you imagine where the Democratic Party might evolve from here, what should the power centers be?

I mean, it is going to be a collection of institutions — all parties in a way are. And political parties themselves are much weaker than they once were for all kinds of reasons, including campaign-finance laws. So when you imagine this party that has created its Sister Souljah moment with at least some of the groups — certainly they’ve declared some independence from them. Maybe a stronger leadership that is able to say no more easily.

But are there alternative bases of support? If you imagine a healthy party, are there institutions and power centers that should, that exist now but should be wielding more power than they are? Is this just subtraction or is it also addition?

Well, I think it’s mainly subtraction of the influence of big donors and of the nonprofits. Because if you look at normal political parties in the U.S. past and also in modern-day democratic Europe and Asia, the party line, the agenda, the policies, the campaign strategies — they are set by career politicians and their staffs. They’re political parties. And it’s very odd to have any political party in any democracy where basically the politicians have to accept this agenda from like, nonprofit organizations funded by the donors that they have to raise money from.

So I think at the end of the day, the party politicians are going to have to emancipate themselves from dependence on nonprofit staffers and from megadonor contributions. I don’t know how they do this now with the Supreme Court being so hostile to campaign-finance reform. One suggestion I made to a Democratic friend is that you make the leaders of the Democratic Party and the campaign committees, and so on, Democrats elected from swing districts.

Because it’s a problem for both parties when you have your Democratic leaders like Nancy Pelosi or Chuck Schumer and the Democrats and like Mitch McConnell and the Republicans being from the safest seat. And so my Democratic friend explained, “Well, but they do that so that your Democratic leader does not lose the next election in the swing district.”

So —

That’s happened to Tom Daschle.

So I can see that. But I do think that if your leaders come from these completely safe seats, then just because of their environment, they’re not going to be as sensitive to the need for the party to attack to one direction or another as the more exposed elective representatives.

I think that’s a good place to end. Always our final question: What are three books you’d recommend to the audience?

Well, a couple of books that I’ve read in the last a year or so, that I think are more timely than ever: John B. Judis and Ruy Teixeira’s “Where Have All the Democrats Gone?: The Soul of the Party in the Age of Extremes” (2023), making similar criticisms of the captivity of the Democratic Party to what they call the shadow party of nonprofits. And I think Democratic leaders thinking about rebuilding the party ought to read “Where Have All the Democrats Gone?” by Judis and Teixeira.

On the New Right, you have some really dynamic, innovative thinkers. One of them is Sohrab Ahmari in his book, also from last year, “Tyranny, Inc.: How Private Power Crushed American Liberty — and What to Do About It.” Whether this is influential or not in the Trump-Vance administration, we’ll see. But it’s worth reading by itself.

And my third book is about one of my heroes or heroines: Mary Harris Jones — Mother Jones, as she was nicknamed — who lived from 1837 to 1930. Great Irish American immigrant labor activist. And the book is, from 2001, Elliott J. Gorn’s “[*Mother Jones: The Most Dangerous Woman in America*](https://apps.apple.com/us/app/nyt-audio/id1549293936).”

And I’ll leave your listeners with a quote from Mother Jones: “Sit down and read. Educate yourself for the coming conflicts.”

Michael Lind, thank you very much.

Thank you.

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[***A Trump Rally Speaker Trashed Puerto Ricans. Harris Reached Out to Them.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D8Y-P821-DXY4-X39Y-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Erica L. GreenErica L. Green is a White House correspondent, covering President Biden and his administration.

**Highlight:** Her campaign moved swiftly to highlight that even as a speaker at Donald Trump’s rally in New York made offensive remarks about Puerto Rico and Latinos, she was visiting Puerto Rican voters in Philadelphia.

**Body**

Her campaign moved swiftly to highlight that even as a speaker at Donald Trump’s rally in New York made offensive remarks about Puerto Rico and Latinos, she was visiting Puerto Rican voters in Philadelphia.

Vice President Kamala Harris’s campaign moved quickly on Sunday to elevate and denounce [*racist and inflammatory remarks*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/27/us/politics/trump-hinchcliffe-msg.html) made by speakers at a rally for former President Donald J. Trump at Madison Square Garden in New York.

Before Mr. Trump had even taken the stage, warm-up speakers had called Puerto Rico an “island of garbage,” referred to Ms. Harris as “the devil” and “the Antichrist,” and made racist or derogatory remarks about Latinos generally, African Americans, Palestinians and Jews.

The remarks at the rally came as Ms. Harris wrapped up a day in Philadelphia, where she spent time courting Pennsylvania’s significant Puerto Rican population by visiting a local Puerto Rican restaurant. While there, she talked about [*a new plan she announced on Sunday*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/27/us/politics/trump-hinchcliffe-msg.html) to bring economic opportunities to Puerto Rico, discussed her visit there after Hurricane Maria, and said that even as a senator she had “felt a need and an obligation” to “make sure Puerto Rico’s needs were met.”

“This is not a new area of focus for me,” she said. She received a warm reception from the crowd, with chants of “Sí, se puede.”

Before the Trump rally on Sunday, Ms. Harris had already taken aim at her Republican rival in [*a video message*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/27/us/politics/trump-hinchcliffe-msg.html) to Puerto Rican voters. She noted that, as president, Mr. Trump had resisted sending aid to the island after back-to-back hurricanes, adding that he had offered nothing but “paper towels and insults.”

“I will never forget what Donald Trump did and what he did not do when Puerto Rico needed a caring and a competent leader,” she said.

The video was widely shared, and the Puerto Rican superstar Bad Bunny posted it on Instagram. He is one of the biggest recording artists in the world and among the most influential Latino artists. Other celebrities with Puerto Rican backgrounds also shared the video, including Jennifer Lopez and Ricky Martin.

“Quite a split screen,” Kevin Munoz, a Harris campaign spokesman, said in a statement, calling the offensive language at the Trump rally “no surprise.” The campaign also sent out a news release titled “All the Crazy Things (So Far) at Trump’s ‘Closing Argument’ Madison Square Garden Rally.”

The Trump campaign appeared wary of the political fallout from the “island of garbage” remark and other comments. A senior adviser, Danielle Alvarez, said in a statement, “This joke does not reflect the views of President Trump or the campaign.”

Fresh off a blitz of star-studded rallies, Ms. Harris focused on retail politicking in Philadelphia on Sunday as her campaign makes its final push to mobilize ***working-class*** communities and people of color to the polls.

In neighborhoods across the city, Ms. Harris delivered tailored messages to different groups of voters as she continued her effort to secure the crucial “blue wall” states of Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin. It was Ms. Harris’s 14th visit to Pennsylvania since she became the Democratic presidential nominee, and her seventh to the Philadelphia area.

“Victory runs through Philly,” she said while visiting a Black bookstore, Hakim’s Bookstore and Gift Shop. “It runs through Pennsylvania.”

Ms. Harris started the day at a predominantly Black church, where she warned parishioners that “these next nine days will test us,” and brought them to their feet when she told them, “We were born for a time such as this.”

At a barbershop, Philly Cuts, she talked about the need to recruit and retain more Black male teachers, which was part of [*an economic agenda her campaign unveiled*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/27/us/politics/trump-hinchcliffe-msg.html) this month that was targeted at Black men. Ms. Harris spent an hour at the barbershop speaking with several Black men, and was invited to sit in a “magical” chair at the back of the shop; the barbers said every candidate running for elected office who had sat in the chair had won her or his election.

Darryl Thomas, 52, the owner of Philly Cuts, said that Ms. Harris had spent much of the time discussing what Black men were looking for from their next president. He said that she had “good dialogue” with the group.

“Black males are the most disenfranchised individuals in America,” he said. “This is a time when the playing field needs to be leveled and fair. We’re not asking for extras.”

Ms. Harris ended her day with a get-out-the-vote rally at a community center, during which she told energetic supporters they had the “power” to make their voices heard at the ballot box.

“There is too much on the line, and we must not wake up the day after the election and have any regrets about what we could have done in these next nine days,” she said. “So let’s spend these next nine days knowing we did everything we could.”

Mattathias Schwartz, Jazmine Ulloa and Katie Rogers contributed reporting.

Mattathias Schwartz, Jazmine Ulloa and Katie Rogers contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Vice President Kamala Harris spent Sunday in Philadelphia, where she courted Pennsylvania’s significant Puerto Rican population by visiting a Puerto Rican restaurant. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Erin Schaff/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Baldwin, With Shapiro in Tow, Looks For ‘Trump-Tammy Voters’ in Wisconsin***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D1T-9GW1-DXY4-X1YY-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** The Democratic senator, who is seeking a third term in a politically competitive state, rallied with the Pennsylvania governor, who has a track record of appealing to voters in rural, conservative-leaning areas.

**Body**

The Democratic senator, who is seeking a third term in a politically competitive state, rallied with the Pennsylvania governor, who has a track record of appealing to voters in rural, conservative-leaning areas.

Gov. Josh Shapiro of Pennsylvania was stumping for Senator Tammy Baldwin outside a refurbished gas station here in central Wisconsin on Saturday when a heckler drove by shouting, “Trump 2024!”

“I don’t think he’s for us,” Mr. Shapiro told the assembled crowd outside the building, which now serves as the Richland County Democrats’ office. “That’s OK.”

It was at least the third disruption during a short campaign stop that was punctuated by cars and pickup trucks driving by, revving their engines over the Democratic duo and shouting pro-Trump slogans.

The hostile territory was the point. Ms. Baldwin had brought Mr. Shapiro, a Democrat whose talent for appealing to Republicans and independents has become a central part of his brand, to help her as she faces a tough re-election bid in her own battleground state. The two made campaign stops over the weekend here in south-central Wisconsin, in a pair of rural counties that reliably voted for Donald J. Trump in 2016 and 2020.

Despite the deep well of support here for Mr. Trump, Ms. Baldwin won [*these counties by double digits in 2018*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/11/06/us/elections/results-wisconsin-elections.html), victories that helped her coast to a second term in the U.S. Senate. But this year, Mr. Trump is on the ballot, posing a steeper challenge. To win her re-election race in November against Eric Hovde, a Republican banking executive, Ms. Baldwin will have to replicate the same success — or at least limit a hemorrhaging of support from Trump voters — this time with the former president atop the ticket.

“In my last race, in 2018, about 10 percent of voters walked into the voting booth and voted for Scott Walker for governor and Tammy Baldwin for U.S. Senate,” Ms. Baldwin said, referring to the Republican who led the state but lost his re-election bid that year. “So, yes, there’s a lot of split-ticket voters. I do think that that has diminished. Obviously, there’s a difference between a midterm and a presidential, but I know some Trump-Tammy voters.”

Polling has shown Ms. Baldwin’s lead over Mr. Hovde shrinking in recent weeks, setting up Wisconsin’s as one of the most competitive Senate races in the nation as the two parties vie for control of the chamber. So it made sense for her to enlist Mr. Shapiro, the popular Pennsylvania governor whose national profile has risen since he was on Vice President Kamala Harris’s short list for running mates, to help her appeal to a critical swath of voters in the quiet rolling hills of the state.

As Democrats have faced eroding support from ***working-class*** voters in rural areas, the party has begun to lean on messengers like Mr. Shapiro and Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, now the vice-presidential nominee, who have proved their ability to appeal to voters in more conservative areas. A handout at the Democratic offices here for volunteers speaking with voters stressed that Mr. Walz is a “lifelong hunter and gun owner” and “believes in Midwest common sense, being a good neighbor and allegiance to the U.S. of America.”

“There’s a handful of states that are likely to determine the outcome of this election,” Mr. Shapiro said, when asked what he was doing on the campaign trail in Wisconsin. “Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Michigan — the three ‘blue wall’ states, so to speak — are critical. And I want to do everything I can to not just get the vote out in Pennsylvania but get the vote out in those states, as well.”

The pair of events in central Wisconsin on Saturday with Ms. Baldwin — including one held inside a barn in Dodgeville, steps away from a yellow cornfield where attendees sipped cider and munched on cubes of cheddar adorned with tiny American flags — were Mr. Shapiro&#39;s first stops as a surrogate outside of his home state.

They are not likely to be his last.

He has already [*campaigned extensively in rural and* ***working-class*** *counties*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/11/06/us/elections/results-wisconsin-elections.html) of Pennsylvania on behalf of the Harris campaign, in patches of the state where he outperformed President Biden in order to win the governorship in 2022. In that race, he put money behind television ads featuring Trump voters who were supporting him.

“Finally, a Democrat I can vote for!” one enthused in a direct-to-camera shot.

“I think it was important that we showed up on their terms,” Mr. Shapiro said of the 2022 contest during an interview over lunch with Ms. Baldwin. He noted that he had campaigned in urban areas and more rural ones, including meeting voters at their local gun club in Butler County, Pa., “which actually doesn’t look a whole lot different in some parts from here in this area.”

“When you actually drill down and listen, even though the communities look really different, folks kind of basically want the same few things,” he continued. “They want good schools and safe communities. They want opportunity — economic opportunity — whether it’s running their small business or being able to have the opportunity to afford your home. And they kind of want their rights and freedoms protected. They want government to be out of their lives. And that is what I hear in rural areas, suburban, urban areas.”

He was talking about voters like Marvin Ford, the kind that Ms. Baldwin will need to win in November.

Mr. Ford, who is self-employed, came to Ms. Baldwin’s rally in Richland Center, where he lives, to hear her message on the economy and immigration. Before the event, he said he was not sure whom he would vote for in November, either for president or senator, but said that he had voted for Mr. Trump in 2020 because he wanted to support someone who would secure the southern border.

He had not voted for Ms. Baldwin previously, he said, but thought she had done “a great job so far,” and was rethinking his support for Mr. Trump because he was concerned about “his ethics.”

“You know, all his investigations, criminal trials,” Mr. Ford said.

In her remarks, Ms. Baldwin did not address immigration, but spoke about her work to include “Buy American provisions” in the Biden administration’s bipartisan infrastructure bill.

“There’s [*a company in Kenosha, Wis*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/11/06/us/elections/results-wisconsin-elections.html)., that’s doubling from 200 employees to 400 employees to make some of the components we need for our broadband buildup,” she said. “We are seeing those jobs come back. You can stand up to powerful interests and you can win.”

Mr. Ford appeared particularly interested in Mr. Shapiro’s comments, nodding along as the governor praised Ms. Baldwin for running on what he called “common-sense principles; around the idea of getting stuff done; of showing up in communities, not writing certain people off because of maybe how they vote in a national election.”

Afterward, before posing for pictures with both elected officials, he said he remained undecided but was now leaning toward supporting Ms. Baldwin because of her comments about her support for the Affordable Care Act.

For weeks across the state, in speeches that span her positions on preserving reproductive rights, boosting American jobs and Wisconsin’s dairy farms, and supporting gay marriage, Ms. Baldwin has drawn the biggest applause when she spoke about how she pushed for the health care law to allow young people to stay on their parents’ health insurance until age 26.

“I’m on Obamacare right now,” Mr. Ford said. “So, you know, I don’t want it to end.”

Still, in counties like these with Mr. Trump at the top of the ticket, Ms. Baldwin has an uphill battle on her hands.

Departing the Democratic office, one voter called out to a member of Ms. Baldwin’s staff: “How does someone get the courage to put a Tammy sign up when you have a neighbor who has, like, 16 Trump signs up?”

Bev Pestel, who leads the Richland Center chapter of Economic Equity Now, which is funded by [*the Patriotic Millionaires*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/11/06/us/elections/results-wisconsin-elections.html), conceded at the Dodgeville rally that the area was home to “a lot of devoted MAGA folks who are very angry.”

“Our mission,” she said, “is to chip away one voter at a time.”

PHOTO: Polling has shown Senator Tammy Baldwin’s lead over her Republican opponent in Wisconsin shrinking in recent weeks. (PHOTOGRAPH BY NARAYAN MAHON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A20.

**Load-Date:** September 26, 2024

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[***The Rise of Malört, an Unexpected Midwest Princess***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DDW-V5K1-DXY4-X37K-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 15, 2024 Friday 22:16 EST

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**Section:** DINING; drinks

**Length:** 1170 words

**Byline:** Charlie Kolodziej

**Highlight:** The divisive yet beloved liquor, once available only in Chicago, has gained devotees nationally. Can it retain its roots?

**Body**

Malört is, in one word, unforgiving. Made from neutral spirits, wormwood and sugar, it tastes a little like sucking dandelion juice through a straw made of car tires. It is also kind of good. Intensely bitter, it’s herbaceous and a touch citrusy, as if you were to bite a grapefruit like an apple.

It is also, in five words, the unofficial liquor of Chicago.

Carl Jeppson, a Swedish immigrant to the city, peddled [*Jeppson’s Malört*](https://malort.com/) as a digestif as early as the 1930s. “It was the only liquor to survive Prohibition because no one believed that a human being would drink that on purpose, and that it had to be medicinal,” said J.W. Basilo, the manager of [*the Promontory*](https://malort.com/) and a bartender in Chicago for more than 20 years.

Around a decade ago, career bartenders like Mr. Basilo began embracing Malört as a symbol of industry cool. They liked that it was only 35 percent alcohol by volume, so you could down several shots in a shift and still manage to count change.

Locals liked that it had an unfriendly edge, and that you could get it only in Chicago. Tasting of citrus pith and pencil shavings, it became the designated initiation shot, something you downed to prove your Midwest mettle — a difficult drink for a difficult place to live.

But in recent years, Malört has built a following in seemingly unlikely locales, popping up in cities like Seattle, New Orleans and Denver, as a devoted group of Malört evangelists takes the dispiriting spirit a little more seriously.

In just over a decade, the drink has gone from being sold exclusively in Illinois to checkering back bars across 33 states. Malört was first distributed outside of Illinois in 2013, to Wisconsin, and then to four more states and the District of Columbia five years later when [*CH Distillery*](https://malort.com/) bought the brand from Pat Gabelick, who owned it for 20 years. In 2018, distribution outside of Illinois accounted for only 6 percent of total Malört sales. Today, that number is 37 percent.

But some bartenders and fans [*are concerned*](https://malort.com/) that the liquor is losing the down-home energy that made it popular. “When it went national, it stopped being a quirky local secret,” Mr. Basilo said, “and turned into the kind of thing annoying tourists ask about.” You can take Malört out of the Midwest, but can you take the Midwest out of Malört?

At [*Pepp’s Pub*](https://malort.com/) in New Orleans, the only self-described “Malört-centric bar” in the United States, everyone gets a free Malört initiation shot. Hundreds of Malört die-hards flock to the pub each July for “Malörtigras,” a Mardi Gras parody event the owner Sam Wurth has hosted for five years.

Mr. Wurth, who tended bar in Chicago for 10 years before moving down South, takes Polaroids of Malört first-timers and asks them to write descriptions of the drink on the border. Hundreds of snapshots plaster the walls of the bar’s two bathrooms. A sampling of their tiny captions: “Swamp grass in July,” “Pain” and, Mr. Wurth’s favorite, “The powder inside of a balloon.” Malört turns even the most prosaic into unexpected poets.

The seltzer revolution has significantly altered bar culture’s DNA, he said, as customers are drinking less and choosing prepackaged beverages more often. As a consequence, bars have lost some of the charm that once made them communal spaces. Malört inspires the sort of Schadenfreude that gets people talking again. “One of my favorite things is when people try Malört for the first time, all of the other bar regulars will look at them and then laugh or react,” Mr. Wurth said. “It just makes people a part of a community.”

Even as the Malört diaspora grows, its reputation as a conversation starter would seem to cement it as a uniquely Midwestern liquor. What could be more Heartland than wanting to chat up every patron at the bar?

For most of its lifetime, Malört was known only as something your grandfather knocked back with his buddies at the local dive. It is a type of Swedish besk, and for years it survived on the paychecks of Chicago’s large communities of Scandinavian and Eastern European immigrants, according to Josh Noel, a journalist and author of the book “[*Malört: The Redemption of a Revered and Reviled Spirit*](https://malort.com/).”

This association with an old-school, ***working-class*** slice of the Midwest is one reason Malört has done so well in Seattle, said Dustin Haarstad, who owns the punk and metal bar [*Black Cat*](https://malort.com/) there. “Ever since this massive gentrification of my hometown, I think there’s been this cry out for some sort of attachment to a more roughneck, blue collar mentality that was Seattle for so long,” he said. “I think that Malört just really sings that song.”

Black Cat has the somewhat dubious distinction of being the first bar in the country to feature a Malört tap designed by CH Distillery. Still, you won’t find many ordering a Malört cocktail in Seattle — or anywhere else for that matter. Despite Malört’s rise, it remains a shot you down alongside a cold, local beer — a pairing known as a Chicago Handshake.

Despite worries that the drink would lose its edge as it went national, Malört continues to cut through the cocktail cacophony, offering a bitter but refreshingly relaxed counterpoint to the highbrow mixology popularized over the last two decades.

Outside of Chicago, [*Honore Club*](https://malort.com/) in Bushwick, Brooklyn, may be the only place you can try the closest thing to a signature Malört cocktail: the Hard Sell, a mix of Malört, gin, lemon and elderflower liqueur.

Stepping inside Honore Club is like stumbling into your hometown’s V.F.W. hall, all wood paneling and Formica countertops. The Bushwick bar is emblematic of a sort of Midwest cultural renaissance. It seems no coincidence that Malört’s star is rising as Chappell Roan, one of the year’s biggest pop stars, claims the title of “Midwest princess,” and “The Bear” spawns myriad Italian beef pop-ups. In uncertain times, people crave coziness and a Midwest sincerity. People want Malört.

Mr. Wurth, the bar owner in New Orleans, doesn’t seem too concerned about the drink losing its Midwestern ethos as it crosses state lines, nor does he worry about it fully breaking into the mainstream. Malört’s unique astringency will weed out fake fans, he said, and keep the drink on the back bar and off the cocktail menu. “Malört isn’t Taylor Swift. Malört is the Ramones. Both are awesome, but they’re different awesome.”

Follow [*New York Times Cooking on Instagram*](https://malort.com/), [*Facebook*](https://malort.com/), [*YouTube*](https://malort.com/), [*TikTok*](https://malort.com/) and [*Pinterest*](https://malort.com/). [*Get regular updates from New York Times Cooking, with recipe suggestions, cooking tips and shopping advice*](https://malort.com/).

PHOTOS: Clockwise from far left: Dustin Haarstad, the owner of Black Cat in Seattle, pouring from the bar’s Malört tap; it is served at Honore Club in Brooklyn as part of the Hard Sell, a cocktail; Sam Wurth, the owner of Pepp’s Pub in New Orleans, takes Polaroids of customers’ reactions; and a Black Cat regular sports a Malört pin on his overalls. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHONA KASINGER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; MARISSA ALPER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; BRYAN TARNOWSKI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page D10.

**Load-Date:** November 27, 2024

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[***Bryan Ferry Enjoys the Kansas City Chiefs’ ‘Outfits’; My Ten***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D8K-8CB1-JBG3-653Y-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 26, 2024 Saturday 21:23 EST

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**Section:** ARTS; music

**Length:** 824 words

**Byline:** Rob Tannenbaum

**Highlight:** As the Roxy Music frontman readies a boxed set of his solo work, he reflects on the cultural inspirations that keep him fueled with glamour and drama.

**Body**

As the Roxy Music frontman readies a boxed set of his solo work, he reflects on the cultural inspirations that keep him fueled with glamour and drama.

While Bryan Ferry was picking songs for “Retrospective: Selected Recordings 1973-2023,” — a new boxed set recapping his long solo career apart from Roxy Music, the pioneering British art-rock band he led — the singer noticed a recurring theme. “There’s a lot of love songs, a lot of romantic songs,” he said, speaking by video from his London recording studio.

Ferry’s love songs, though, tend to be fraught with anxiety and blue with longing. The boy doesn’t get the girl; instead, the boy pines for the girl and can’t get her out of his mind. “But those are always the best love songs, aren’t they?” he asked with a chuckle. “I do like music that’s introspective, and a bit on the sad side.”

The set begins with material from “These Foolish Things” (1973), on which Ferry brashly covered a broad array of songs, including one of Bob Dylan’s prolix metaphorical rambles and “It’s My Party,” Lesley Gore’s campy teen heartbreak lament. Ferry had studied at art school with the British Pop Art provocateur Richard Hamilton, who believed there was no hierarchical distinction between high and low culture, an idea the singer has sustained throughout his work.

Last month, Ferry turned 79, and he’ll have a new album next year, but indicated that his touring days might be over: “As you get older, the travel is a bit tiring.” The singer grew up ***working class*** outside Newcastle — his father tended to horses that worked in local coal mines — but as Roxy Music gained popularity and cultural cachet in the 1970s, he developed appreciations for all things luxe. His list of 10 essential inspirations mixes the urban and the rural, the modern and the old-fashioned, with a consistent eye for glamour and drama. These are edited excerpts from the conversation.

His own recording studio

I’ve worked in a lot of studios and it’s great to finally have this place. Prince used this studio for an album he did with a girl band [“Plectrumelectrum,” by Prince and 3rdEyeGirl], and they were really good. I like to think some of it might’ve rubbed off.

His garden

On weekends, I get out of London and go to the country for fresh air. If you’re a musician, you can be trapped indoors for days on end and it’s nice to have some respite from that. I’ve got a beautiful garden with an apple orchard, and at this time of the year, the fruit is getting ready to pick.

Charlie Parker

When I started collecting records, they were 78s — Little Richard, Fats Domino, some early Elvis. The first EP I bought was “The Magnificent Charlie Parker.” I still have it. I was amazed because he seemed so free, and there was a kind of angularity about his saxophone playing. It was spiky, yet he could do wonderful, fluid runs.

Seville, Spain

I went to Seville last week for my birthday. It’s still relatively unspoiled and old-fashioned — you can take a horse and carriage around the park. I like flamenco music for the spectacle of it — incredible guitar players, dancing, singing, all in very small spaces.

Books

I like being surrounded by piles of books. I’ve never read them on an iPad — I like to have physical things. I loved poetry when I was at school and I’m still very into Sylvia Plath. I just started “Three-Martini Afternoons at the Ritz,” a book about Plath and a contemporary of hers, Anne Sexton. It’s a good title, isn’t it?

American football

All the times I toured America, I enjoyed watching football with the sound turned off. I like the spectacle of it — the cinematography is fantastic. Kansas City is a really good team that’s been doing very well the last couple of years. I like their outfits, too.

Art galleries

On tour, I got to see all the great galleries and museums. My favorites in America are the Frick in New York, which has wonderful Gainsboroughs in a beautiful old building, and the Philadelphia Museum of Art, because they have [*the Duchamp*](https://philamuseum.org/collection/object/54149). Whenever I have a day off on tour, I go to a museum and then find a good restaurant, because I love eating and drinking. Old-fashioned stuff.

American cars

There’s a lot of American stuff in this list, isn’t there? The music, of course, has shaped my life. When I was at college, I had a beautiful Studebaker Champion, a sleek American car. And I had an extravagant Cadillac DeVille on the second Roxy album cover. With the Studebaker, I had to push it when I drove it, but it looked so cool.

Ballet

With ballet, you get choreography, music, you see the orchestra playing in the pit, great dancers, costumers, set design, lighting. It all combines to make something magical.

Persol sunglasses

Finally, I wanted to include something trite. I like the shape of old-fashioned Persol sunglasses. When I put them on, I can pretend for a minute that I’m an Onassis or someone like that.

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY ASTRID STAWIARZ/GETTY IMAGES) This article appeared in print on page AR3.

**Load-Date:** October 30, 2024

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[***‘There’s a Trap Here’: Four Columnists Brace for the Vance-Walz Debate; David Brooks, Ross Douthat, Tressie McMillan Cottom and Pamela Paul***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D38-0YS1-DXY4-X0W6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 1, 2024 Tuesday 16:20 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 4192 words

**Highlight:** With Harris and Trump locked in a tight race, will the vice-presidential debate do anything to help or hurt either ticket?

**Body**

Patrick Healy, the deputy Opinion editor, hosted an online conversation with the Times Opinion columnists David Brooks, Ross Douthat, Tressie McMillan Cottom and Pamela Paul about Tuesday’s debate between JD Vance and Tim Walz.

Patrick Healy: Heading into tonight’s vice-presidential debate, what are you most curious about? What do you want to hear or see from the candidates?

David Brooks: Policy! Here are some questions I’d love to see answered: Do you support Israel’s attack on Hezbollah? How can we best confront China? How can the government make parenting easier? Does industrial policy work?

Ross Douthat: I’ll see David’s wonkery and raise it. JD Vance should get a very specific question about why he and his running mate disagree with the consensus of economists about the likely effects of their plan for a big new tax on foreign goods. He should also get a broader question about how he thinks a Trump-Vance administration can pursue populist policies under conditions of increasing fiscal constraint without bringing inflation back — especially the expensive list of policy promises that Donald Trump himself has been making in the waning weeks of the campaign.

Healy: Anything you’d pose to Walz, Ross?

Douthat: A lot of foreign policy questions — because that’s the area where a Harris administration would have the most freedom of action and face the most substantial challenges. How long can the Ukraine war go on if Ukraine keeps losing territory? What is the U.S. plan to contain China across the next 10 years? Are we equipped to face a coordinated challenge from Moscow, Beijing, Tehran and Pyongyang — and if not, will a Harris administration support a big increase in defense spending?

Healy: You guys are proposing questions I’d like to hear at a second Trump-Harris debate. But we’ll get to that later. Pamela, Tressie, what do you want from tonight’s debate?

Pamela Paul: I’m with David and Ross on wanting more policy specifics, particularly on the economy and on foreign policy. Please let Walz expound on anything other than small-business tax incentives and child tax credits. But I also would like a better sense of who Vance and Walz really are when they are not operating in their respective bubbles. We go into this debate knowing that JD Vance is smart but mean and that Tim Walz is a really nice dad. Vance is the smartass bully to Walz’s affable coach.

Healy: What are the biggest “known unknowns” for you on each V.P. candidate?

Paul: For Vance it’s this: In his tortuous journey from liberals’ pet Republican to Trumpist stooge, does anything remain of the guy people were drawn to from “Hillbilly Elegy”? Does he have a core and if so, is it at all decent?

As for Walz, what qualities does he bring to the table other than being a guy Kamala Harris gets along with? I have no doubt he is well intentioned, but I don’t yet know whether he is well informed.

Tressie McMillan Cottom: I will be watching this debate with a group of college students who, by and large, seem intrigued by Tim Walz. They also seem as reactive to JD Vance as they are to his running mate. The students and I want to see the candidates answer for their respective presidential nominee’s weaknesses. That means Walz perhaps softening Harris’s very hawkish foreign policy stance. Vance should be translating Trump’s rants into something more palatable for voters who want to vote for Trump despite their personal distaste for his brand of politics. I don’t believe voters are looking for real policy proposals from vice-presidential candidates. Voters are looking for assurance. I am also looking for how these vice-presidential candidates look as future presidential candidates.

Healy: Rule No. 1 for vice-presidential debates is “first, do no harm” — don’t say anything that creates problems for the top of the ticket. JD Vance has the bigger burden here, because the moderators are likely to press him on his [*past criticisms*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/27/us/politics/jd-vance-trump-criticism-car-seats.html) [*of Donald Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/27/us/politics/jd-vance-trump-criticism-car-seats.html) and his attacks on “[*childless cat ladies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/27/us/politics/jd-vance-trump-criticism-car-seats.html)” and [*false claims*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/27/us/politics/jd-vance-trump-criticism-car-seats.html) about migrants eating neighbors’ pets. Millions of people will be watching. Do you think Vance will help or hurt the ticket by the end of the night?

Douthat: My guess is that Vance, who now has a lot of experience sparring with hostile moderators about his past comments, Trump and everything else besides, will do a creditable job on a question-by-question basis and probably win the debate on points. If I’m right, debate watchers who like him going in will have no reason to be disappointed in his performance.

But merely winning the debate is not enough. His challenge is more personal and intangible: Not just to seem like a normal guy rather than [*a right-leaning opinion journalist*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/27/us/politics/jd-vance-trump-criticism-car-seats.html) (notable weirdos, the lot of them), but to seem like a relatively easygoing, relatable and above all optimistic leader, not just a scourge of the liberal establishment.

Paul: As Ross notes, Vance has a lot to make up for. He has only hurt the ticket with people who aren’t hardcore Trumpists. So Vance needs to use this opportunity to win over or at least neutralize the perception of people who view him negatively, which according to [*a recent Times/Siena poll*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/27/us/politics/jd-vance-trump-criticism-car-seats.html) is now a higher percentage (48 percent) than his favorability ratings (42 percent) in Ohio, Michigan and Wisconsin. Vance has admitted to being willing to lie and [*make up stories*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/27/us/politics/jd-vance-trump-criticism-car-seats.html) to win. He needs to persuade undecideds and swing voters that he’s still the guy who supposedly tells hard truths and not just blatant untruths.

Cottom: I agree that Vance has not done a good job of moderating Trump’s excesses. I fully expect Vance to continue to promote his own political brand over Trump’s.

Brooks: I’m genuinely unsure of what kind of tone Vance should adopt. A couple of weeks ago I argued that Americans are tired of the politics of anger and negativity, and Harris was [*benefiting from this shift in the zeitgeist*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/27/us/politics/jd-vance-trump-criticism-car-seats.html) to something more hopeful. But I could be wrong! It could be that most ***working-class*** voters are still feeling alienated and ignored by the elites. In that case Vance’s message — I’m willing to rip the bark off those coastal types — is probably right. I notice that Trump is doing better among Hispanics than he did in 2020. Further signs that right-wing populism is more potent than the left-wing kind. It also could be that we no longer have a national zeitgeist, but instead we are living in two different zeitgeists. I spent a lot of the last two months in rural red towns and they are not doing well, so bitterness about American carnage may still have some potency!

Healy: Ross, [*you interviewed JD Vance for a long*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/27/us/politics/jd-vance-trump-criticism-car-seats.html) Q. and A. last spring, and you’ve known him for years. In Vance’s comments at rallies and in interviews, have Americans been seeing the “real” Vance, or is this a Trump-campaign-molded version of Vance? Would Vance be talking so much about Haitian migrants in Ohio if he was running with a candidate other than Trump?

Douthat: In general, not just with Vance, I think it’s a mistake to look at different facets of any public figure and try to discern which ones represent a “real” self and which ones are some kind of politician’s mask. Is the Vance who wades into a thread on social media to argue substantively about, say, family policy the real JD Vance? Yes, absolutely: He’s a smart guy with serious ideas who has a much more nuanced grasp of policy detail than either his running mate or his rivals on the other ticket. Is the Vance who campaigns as an angry tribune of people he thinks have been betrayed by our trade and immigration policies the real Vance? Yes, absolutely again. Of course there is calculation involved in all campaign rhetoric, but I don’t think he’s ended up as Trump’s running mate as a cynical performance.

Healy: Being someone’s No. 2 can shape your public presentation, though. Unless you’re Dick Cheney, who [*never seemed to buy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/27/us/politics/jd-vance-trump-criticism-car-seats.html) into Bush’s compassionate conservatism.

Douthat: Yes, certainly being Trump’s running mate, and playing the role the campaign has given him, has pushed Vance away from wonkish policy engagement and toward a role as the campaign’s designated owner of the libs (as happened already in his race for Senate, too). And from his own political perspective, for his prospects as a national leader in the hypothetical world A.T. (After Trump), there’s a trap here, a typecasting that may not hurt Trump’s campaign but I suspect Vance would do well to escape.

Brooks: Like Ross, I’ve known Vance for a long time. In 2018, I gathered some friends at my house to help JD think through his life options. This route wasn’t the one we recommended! (And he didn’t think he’d have a career in politics, at least any time soon.) Nonetheless I don’t think Vance is being totally opportunistic. Yes, he has totally flip-flopped on Trump’s character. But his life mission is pretty much the same: to upend the policies that have favored knowledge workers and, in his view, betrayed other kinds of workers.

I think the emergence of the angrier kind of Vance that Ross alludes to occurred when the “Hillbilly Elegy” movie came out. Many critics not only savaged the movie (I thought it was melodramatic, but pretty decent). They also savaged Vance as a man, in snobby and immature ways. I spoke with Vance at the time and understood that anybody would be affected by this coastal condescending scorn. It was a classic red-pill moment. So if Vance returns the nastiness, he is not faking it.

Cottom: I speak to very different people than Ross and David do when it comes to Vance. I speak to people from Appalachia, the very people that Vance supposedly wants to save from coastal scorn. I was in West Virginia and Kentucky this past weekend. The ***working-class*** Appalachians I speak to see Vance as a poser and very much a member of the coastal elite that Vance considers himself in opposition to. These ***working class*** Appalachians were just as scornful of Vance’s portrayal of them. Many of them reject his political rhetoric and policy approaches. I do not believe Vance is running for those voters. He is running on those voters. The question will be how much more mileage he thinks he can get out of that shtick.

It is worth pointing out that a lot of those Appalachian voters are dealing with [*a massive national emergency*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/27/us/politics/jd-vance-trump-criticism-car-seats.html) this week. Many won’t have power or access to the debate news. And many are angry and scared about the perceived lack of national support for them during this crisis. Both candidates would do well to keep that in mind but Vance, in particular, should do so.

Healy: Tim Walz has come under attack by Vance and Trump over [*his experience*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/27/us/politics/jd-vance-trump-criticism-car-seats.html) in the [*Army National Guard*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/27/us/politics/jd-vance-trump-criticism-car-seats.html) and his strong support for [*L.G.B.T.Q. rights*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/27/us/politics/jd-vance-trump-criticism-car-seats.html) and the rights of parents of transgender children. Republicans [*have portrayed Walz*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/27/us/politics/jd-vance-trump-criticism-car-seats.html) as a progressive extremist — and lopped in Harris with him. Do you see vulnerabilities for Walz onstage tonight?

Cottom: The Harris campaign is doing a good job of lowering expectations for Walz. They did the same for Harris. I watched Walz’s previous debate performances. I expect him to perform better than predicted. Voters respond strongly to his rhetorical style. His folksiness is a powerful contrast to Trump and Vance’s angry interpolation of ***working-class*** anxieties. If angry voters are looking for a way to vote their politics without sacrificing their rage, Walz’s palatable “Midwestern nice” approach to conflict could be effective. It’s anger without the bite.

Douthat: Walz has a lot of potential weaknesses. Like his running mate, he embraced a number of not-exactly-popular progressive causes in the heyday of the Great Awokening. He is, if not a fabulist, at least a serial exaggerator when it comes to his military record. And honestly I’m not sure the whole politician-as-Midwestern-coach shtick wears that well; the portrayal of Walz in [*this past weekend’s “Saturday Night Live”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/27/us/politics/jd-vance-trump-criticism-car-seats.html) suggested a politician in danger of being typecast as a mildly ludicrous lightweight.

That said, Walz’s poll numbers have been just fine so far, and there’s a way in which seeming like a bit of a lightweight might actually inoculate him against some of the more ideologically freighted attacks — because even if he went along with radical policies, he doesn’t come across as a radical himself. So I think he could potentially eye-roll his way through a Vance attempt to strafe his record — sort of the way Joe Biden defeated Paul Ryan in the V.P. debate in 2012. I’m not sure a debate in the weeds of that record is actually where the G.O.P. ticket wants to be.

Paul: I don’t think Walz is a progressive extremist. The fact that [*he stood up for gay kids*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/27/us/politics/jd-vance-trump-criticism-car-seats.html) as a teacher shows he is someone with character and compassion. As for transgender rights, I expect Walz will continue to uphold the protections established by the Supreme Court, which is more than one can say for Trump-Vance. When it comes to gender dysphoric children, Walz’s thinking is probably akin to Biden’s — more ignorance than ideology. Walz’s view essentially mirrors that of the progressive wing of the Democratic Party, which frames gender distress in minors as a rights issue and a protected identity issue rather than one of youth mental health. We need to hope and trust that a Harris-Walz administration will be open-minded and follow the science to work toward a better, more judicious approach. Harris has already shown that flexibility — when the facts change, she changes her position. That’s as it should be. Meanwhile, Vance would take the Republican Party’s approach to the issue, which is one of fear and hate rather than compassion and care.

I am more interested in Walz’s positions on education, where he has real experience and expertise. What does he think the federal government should do to improve education and on what issues, if any, does he part ways with the teachers unions? What we’ve gotten from Trump-Vance is abolishing the Department of Education, a move that would only hurt the lower-income Americans that Vance says he is trying to represent.

Cottom: The Democratic Party has been very effective with linking Trump to Project 2025 and its scary plans like abolishing the Department of Education. As a former teacher, Walz has a lot of legitimacy on this issue. I not only want to see him tackle the issue of education, but I also want him to embrace his teacher persona. Vance often looks like an angry child when he goes on the attack. An elder male figure with a coach-teacher’s gravitas could diminish Vance and make Trump’s educational policies look like naïve.

Healy: David, how do you think Vance will try to take on Walz? Does Vance risk overdoing it?

Brooks: I’d say of the four candidates, only Vance has a developed worldview. Trump is all about himself. Harris and Walz embody the combined wisdom of the Democratic Party. I can’t think of a single area where their views contradict Democratic orthodoxy. (Trump and Vance represent a revolution in what used to be Republican orthodoxy.)

As for debate performances, I genuinely don’t think it matters electorally. V.P.s scarcely matter even in the most volatile of campaigns. This year voters are locked in. The election is being shaped by basic demographic and economic realities, not the day-to-day doings of the candidates. Harris did a total beat-down on Trump in the debate and it helped her in the national polling a bit, but not by much. I’m struck by how few people I meet want to talk about the campaign.

Cottom: I agree that this debate will not matter electorally. No one chooses a president based on a vice-president debate. The only real risk is a narrative shift this close to the election, for either ticket.

Healy: In interviews and our Times Opinion focus groups, some voters have said they had a pretty positive impression of Vance when Trump picked him in July — mostly from his book, “Hillbilly Elegy,” and his Republican convention speech — but [*their opinions changed for the worse*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/27/us/politics/jd-vance-trump-criticism-car-seats.html) in the last couple of months. What if anything could Vance do to change that tonight? Or is he better off focusing on achieving something else at the debate (and if so, what)?

Paul: Vance’s real strengths are his intelligence and his deep knowledge of the issues, both from firsthand experience and from study. His best bet tonight would be to focus on issues where his party has shown strength: immigration and the economy. He needs to offer both big ideas and specific policy positions in a way that Trump is incapable of articulating.

Healy: Can he do anything to help himself in the likability department?

Paul: He needs to demonstrate that he is a serious person who knows how to behave himself. In 2016, Mike Pence offered voters some assurance that he was the grown-up in the room. So far in this campaign, Vance has been the annoying kid brother — or as Tressie put it, an angry child.

Cottom: Vance’s problem is that he’s most authentic when he’s nasty. He comes across as smarmy when he tries for sensible. He never comes off as an intellectual to me. He does manage to come off as a credentialed elitist when he leans into his Ivy League wonkism. That’s tricky for him. The more he demonstrates policy expertise, the more he highlights his very elite educational background. That runs counter to his white ***working-class*** bona fides. In fact, I continue to think of this contest as one between elite universities and nonelite universities. Harris-Walz are an institutional departure from the Ivy’s grip on presidential politics. Given how Americans feel about higher education at the moment, the more Vance looks like a Yale lawyer, the better it is for Walz.

Brooks: Here’s what I’d love to hear Vance say: “In the past I have made derogatory comments about people who are childless. Upon reflection I think those were kind of dumb. I do think the American family is in crisis. I do support measures that will try to raise the fertility rate. I do think we live in a culture that puts too little emphasis on marriage and parenting, and that many people find themselves in their late 30s and 40s regretting some of the choices they made. But I don’t think it’s helpful for Republicans to pretend that there is only one correct family form.”

This sort of statement (which will never happen) would humble and humanize him. I also think it would help him encourage more pro-family policy ideas for a party often accused of wanting to return America to the 1950s.

Douthat: I agree that Vance should just say that the “childless cat ladies” crack was dumb. From a substantive perspective, the challenge is that the debate about the collapsing birthrate and the crisis of the family — really a global crisis, not just an American one — is incredibly important but also inevitably comes across as weird to a lot of people, for reasons I’ve tried to write about before, because it’s an issue that’s connected to all kinds of intimate questions and one we aren’t accustomed to debating.

Healy: Is a debate an effective forum to dig into this, Ross? I suspect we both think it isn’t.

Douthat: You suspect correctly. Having had the idea introduced via his polarizing podcast quotes, I’m skeptical that there’s a perfect way for Vance to brilliantly expound on it now. As I said earlier, I think his challenge in the debate is more general and personal: to make himself appear a little less grim and a little more Reaganesque, cheerful and upbeat even when he’s taking shots at liberals, like someone who thinks America can be great again, and soon, even if it isn’t at the moment.

Cottom: I agree with Ross that the childless cat lady crack was dumb. It unfortunately was also exactly the kind of red meat that many Trump voters like. Vance just wasn’t as good at the messaging as Trump often is. Democrats love it when Vance doubles down on his many obsessions with birthrates. The gender polarity in this election matters. Vance sounds creepy and weird when he talks about women, whether he is obsessing over their birthrates or even talking about [*his wife’s ethnic background*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/27/us/politics/jd-vance-trump-criticism-car-seats.html). The problem is, this seems to be what Vance really cares about. I don’t think he can put a positive spin on the politics where he feels strongest. I also don’t think he is rhetorically gifted enough to pretend.

Healy: Harris is in [*a dead heat in all seven swing states*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/27/us/politics/jd-vance-trump-criticism-car-seats.html) against Trump, despite his low favorability ratings and divisive rhetoric and record. Harris wants another debate against Trump but so far [*he’s a no*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/27/us/politics/jd-vance-trump-criticism-car-seats.html) on that. Tressie, does the Harris-Walz ticket have more riding on the V.P. debate than the Republicans?

Cottom: As someone who lives in North Carolina, I am paying a lot of attention to the changing fortunes in this state. Although within the margin of error, Harris-Walz’s slight lead in some N.C. polls has a lot of local election watchers cautiously excited. The D.N.C. is following this up with real investment in state races. From my local perspective, all Walz needs to do is not ruin that. If he keeps the spotlight on Harris, plays to the centrist desire for a return to reasonable politics and keeps Vance tied to Trump’s rhetorical style, this state continues to be in play.

Paul: The Democrats have more to gain and more to lose. Because Trump-Vance are still more of a known quality, and voters already either love that or hate what they offer.

Walz can help the ticket by expanding on some specifics on issues where Harris has not yet clearly articulated a policy or a vision: education, health care, climate, poverty, federal regulation, drugs, gun control, foreign policy. I know that the Democratic Party is trying to avoid alienating any possible segment of its broad coalition. But we need to hear more from the ticket beyond Harris’s broken-record talk about small businesses, middle-class Americans and abortion rights, as safe and winning as those ideas may be. At a certain point, evasion starts to sound squirrelly and potentially weak. Voters want a straight shooter. Walz could help by offering some more specifics, especially on the economy and immigration.

Brooks: We could be days away from an Israeli ground invasion of Lebanon and a Russian breakthrough in Ukraine. The world is getting more dangerous by the minute and we have four candidates who are not exactly foreign policy experts. It would be nice if either Vance or Walz showed some semblance of foreign policy chops. I’d say they both have an equally low chance of doing that.

Cottom: Love her position or hate it, Harris has consistently been her most coherent on foreign policy. Walz should not try to draw any contrasts on this point. As a white male, he could usurp her authority here and, above all, his job is to not fall into that trap.

Healy: Final question — do you think there will be another Harris-Trump debate before Election Day? And who does it help or hurt more if there is not another debate between them?

Brooks: I don’t think there’s going to be another debate. Trump may not admit his fears, but he is motivated by them. Going through that first debate did not seem fun for him. I don’t know who that hurts because I don’t know who is behind in this campaign. The remaining undecided voters don’t fall into any coherent bloc, as far as I can tell, and so are radically unpredictable. The key voters are the ones who are tempted to stay home, and it’s hard to know what will motivate them to get out of the house to vote.

Douthat: I think Trump’s team sees a clear-enough path to victory and doesn’t see enough upside in risking another debate-stage loss. They may be deluded about that path; as David says, the polls offer paths enough to fit any prediction. But my sense is that the Trump campaign would expect to win if the election were held today, and that expectation will keep them from accepting a second bout with Harris.

Paul: We have to remember that Trump is producing a TV show as much as he is running a campaign, so anything could happen. He loves a surprise plot twist! That said, if he plays it smart, he will avoid another debate because that could only help Harris. First of all, it would deprive her of another high-profile opportunity for her to introduce herself and make her case, especially if she continues to avoid national media interviews. Second, she has proved herself to be a far better debater. And third, the more people see of Trump, the more they are reminded of what they dislike about him. He is very good at making a case against himself when he’s not in his red-media, acolyte-rally comfort zone.

Cottom: If Donald Trump, one of the most narcissistic public figures in modern history, is able to let a younger, better-educated running mate get the last word in this election, I will eat my hat. Having said that, Trump has lost a step. He is afraid of losing any more. He could wimp out. I just wouldn’t bet on it.

Tressie McMillan Cottom (@[*tressiemcphd*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/27/us/politics/jd-vance-trump-criticism-car-seats.html)) became a New York Times Opinion columnist in 2022. She is an associate professor at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill School of Information and Library Science, the author of “Thick: And Other Essays” and a 2020 MacArthur fellow.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Illustration by The New York Times; source photographs by Erica Dischino/Reuters and Paul Sancya/Associated Press FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Saving England’s Music Oasis From a New Wave of Development***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DN1-YSP1-DXY4-X4DS-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** REALESTATE

**Length:** 1731 words

**Byline:** Helen Barrett

**Highlight:** The ***working-class*** city of Manchester has birthed legendary bands for decades. But in its quest for growth, its musical legacy is in danger of being muted.

**Body**

Glass towers crowd the skyline in Manchester, encroaching a bit more each year on the legacy of this northern English city with a musical soul.

The sprawl is now creeping toward the Star &amp; Garter pub, a slab of Victoriana built in 1877 with checkerboard turrets, fancy brickwork and scrolled pediments. It’s one of the first buildings new arrivals see when the airport train rolls into town, and it bills itself as “the last truly independent music venue you will ever know.”

The kernel of truth in that claim is cause for concern.

The pub, whose curious name is derived from a royal insignia, was once part of a national network of music venues sometimes called the “Toilet Circuit” — scruffy boozers with back rooms for gigs. Countless British bands sharpened their live acts in these pubs. Radiohead toured the circuit in the early 1990s, as did Oasis and PJ Harvey.

“I first saw Oasis play to 30 people, and when I say that, I’m not trying to boast,” said Dave Haslam, a Manchester-based author and D.J. “I’m underlining the fact that Manchester’s small venues are where those bands served their apprenticeship.”

In the decades since, Manchester has sacrificed many of its iconic music clubs at the altar of development. The Star &amp; Garter has emerged as an exception — but, ironically, only because it was recently rescued by a developer. The £1.5 billion Mayfield development aims to transform a slab of dilapidated brick warehouse spaces and disused transit stations into a mixed-use wonderland with nearly 1,500 new homes, shops, restaurants and one of the biggest nightclubs in Europe. Some of that is already in place. The apartments are yet to be built — work is expected to begin imminently — but many will be covetable homes designed for the skilled professionals whom Manchester hopes to lure from London and beyond.

“Manchester is an increasingly blingy city,” said Laura Percy, development director of LandsecU+I, the private developer of the Mayfield partnership. “There was uncertainty over the Star &amp; Garter’s future, and that was an obvious moment because it had become an icon for a different sort of Manchester. It wasn’t part of the bright new city. It was a home for people who didn’t necessarily have others.”

Mayfield says it bought the Star &amp; Garter to help preserve the city’s small music-venue scene. But the developer understands that the commercial value of these buildings may far outstrip the land on which they sit. Previous proposals to close the pub were met with noisy resistance by locals. And the young professionals whom Mayfield hopes will buy its high-end apartments choose Manchester, at least in part, because of the city’s raw appeal.

The rescue of the Star &amp; Garter is a sign that the city may finally be learning to preserve some of its culture rather than constantly try to replicate what it has lost.

The music groups who sprouted here — including post-punk icons Joy Division, the Fall, the Smiths and New Order, and later Britpop pioneers like the Stone Roses and Oasis — rose from the rubble of an industrial city pulverized by the Luftwaffe in World War II, and again in 1996 by an IRA bomb, leaving much of its center derelict. Many local artists who achieved worldwide success were from poor families and flourished because the erstwhile mills and abandoned factories could be commandeered at low cost.

Today Manchester, whose metro population has grown to 2.8 million, still calls itself “birthplace of the industrial revolution,” and still trades on that musical heritage, but those buildings are no longer available. The Boardwalk, a club where Oasis played their first gig in 1991, is now offices. Brunswick Mill, a former cotton mill just outside the city center that once was home to musicians’ studios, is soon to be apartments.

“The issue of Manchester trading in its past is controversial because a lot of what’s talked about is about what previous generations have done,” Mr. Haslam said. “We need the small venues because we need emerging bands.”

Britain as a whole lost nearly 10 percent of all its small music venues in 2023, according to the British charity Music Venue Trust, which blamed rent demands and increased complaints about noise, among other factors. In May, alarmed by their decline, a House of Commons committee [*published a report*](https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm5804/cmselect/cmcumeds/527/summary.html) on the demise of small music venues, with recommendations on how to save them, including tax relief and a voluntary tax on stadium ticket sales.

As Paul McCartney [*said via the Music Venue Trust*](https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm5804/cmselect/cmcumeds/527/summary.html), “if we don’t support live music at this level then the future of music in general is in danger.”

After the Mayfield partnership bought the Star &amp; Garter in conjunction with other private and public bodies in 2019, it handed a 10-year lease to Andy Martin, a Mancunian music fan who had run the bar since 1997. There were no conditions, and no plans to smooth its rough edges.

“It’s not going to be a place that will sell Cronuts,” Ms. Percy said.

The deal is unusual. Cities around the globe are wrestling with this gentrification conundrum: When they capitalize on a distinctive cultural history to attract investment, the ensuing development threatens to obliterate that history.

“It’s a pattern we see,” said Paul Swinney, director of policy and research at the Centre for Cities, a British think tank. “There’s an early phase where not many people want to be there. Then come the risk-takers doing something edgier on a budget but willing to take up space. As demand picks up and money flows in, people feel disgruntled. There’s always going to be tension, but the question is: What do you do about it?”

The Mayfield project, he said, is a step in the right direction, “because the developers have seen the benefit of character.”

Manchester’s most lamented casualty is the Hacienda, a dance club that opened in 1982 in a 19th-century warehouse. It was financed by Factory Records, home to new-wave pioneers Joy Division and New Order. The club closed in 1997 and was demolished five years later to make way for Hacienda-themed apartments.

The club’s enigmatic black doors are valuable relics. This year, they were on display in the public auction rooms at nearby Omega Auctions. In 2023, a Haçienda [*brick*](https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm5804/cmselect/cmcumeds/527/summary.html) signed by Peter Hook, New Order’s bassist, sold for £500. Today, where the entrance once stood, an estate agent’s office displays Hacienda-style black-and-yellow branding. Endless bars around town borrow the Hacienda’s 1980s industrial aesthetic, with varying degrees of success.

“Exposed piping, brickwork — it’s kind of a cliché,” said Ian Jones, a promoter and DJ whose electro-indie, anti-nostalgia night Keys Money Lipstick was a fixture in the 2000s.

A mile down the road from the old Hacienda, the Star &amp; Garter stands proud, a wobbly old tooth in a mouth full of shiny dentures. “This might sound dumbed down, but I would describe the Star &amp; Garter as the Hacienda’s little brother,” Mr. Jones said.

Upcoming attractions include a mix of startups and veteran punk bands, as well as regular fixtures like Morrissey/Smiths Disco, a long-running night dedicated to Manchester’s indie heroes. Downstairs, the barroom has battered Victorian bones, a scruffy vinyl floor and black paint on the ceiling. The menu offers no-frills booze at low prices: lager and Guinness at £5.50, cider at £5.

Meanwhile, a couple of miles east, Manchester’s brand-new, 23,000-seat Co-Op Live Arena is now Britain’s biggest music venue, backed partly by City Football Group, which manages teams including Manchester City and New York City FC under the majority ownership of Abu Dhabi’s United Group.

“A soulless enormo-dome doesn’t offer itself as a place to nurture local talent and add to the sense of Manchester as an interesting creative place, because it isn’t interesting or creative,” said Mr. Haslam, one of the Hacienda’s original D.J.s.

Much like the local music scene, Manchester’s city center has been transformed following waves of regeneration efforts. At every turn is the sound of jackhammers, and around every corner the glitter of new apartment blocks. People want to live here. The university sector and new tech, biotech and media industries mean high-paying jobs. The population in the center grew nearly 10 percent between 2011 and 2021.

Locals call the arrivals “New Mancs,” mostly with affection. In November, a two-bedroom loft-style apartment in a converted Victorian shipping warehouse could be rented for £1,720 ($2,234) a month. In London’s artsy Shoreditch neighborhood, a similar apartment was advertised at close to £5,800 ($7,534).

But where can they find that Manchester musical experience?

“In the home of the warehouse, you’re unable to find a warehouse,” said Oliver Wilson, founder of Beyond the Music, an international music conference and festival, a showcase for young Manchester bands. Mr. Wilson is also the son of the late Tony Wilson, founder of Factory Records and the Hacienda.

These days, the adventurous listeners head out to the suburbs. “There’s one called Rainy Heart in a disused shopping mall about five miles out,” Mr. Wilson said. “Live music for £5 and you can’t get a ticket because they’re queuing around the corner.”

This past March, Mr. Martin, the old Star &amp; Garter landlord, died suddenly at age 52. About 100 people attended a memorial event. Dan Philips, Mr. Martin’s nephew, who has worked behind the bar for a decade, said his family and friends will continue to run it in the same way. Mr. Martin’s wife, Helen Kitchen, is now in charge.

It may not be Manchester’s last independent music venue, but it is precious. “If people had ideas, Andy would give them a chance to explore them,” Mr. Phillips said. “That’s the point of the Star &amp; Garter. It’s a sand pit. Trial and error stuff.”

PHOTOS: From top: Manchester warehouse spaces scheduled for development; the Mayfield Depot; the skyline.; Top, the Star &amp; Garter pub in Manchester. Above, the Hacienda club in 1989. Left, the Hacienda apartments.; Top, a mural of the Joy Division singer Ian Curtis on the back of the Star &amp; Garter, a reminder of Manchester’s outsize musical impact; above left, Dan Philips, who has worked there for a decade; above, downstairs, it has battered Victorian bones, a scruffy vinyl floor and black paint on the ceiling. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY TOM JAMIESON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; GETTY) This article appeared in print on page RE8.

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[***Chinese Carmakers Are Taking Mexico by Storm While Eyeing U.S.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DM0-5CG1-JBG3-63J7-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** BUSINESS

**Length:** 1735 words

**Byline:** Jack EwingJack Ewing writes about the auto industry with an emphasis on electric vehicles.

**Highlight:** BYD and other manufacturers are importing cars from China and scouting factory sites in Mexico as part of a global expansion that, for now, excludes the United States.

**Body**

BYD and other manufacturers are importing cars from China and scouting factory sites in Mexico as part of a global expansion that, for now, excludes the United States.

Behind a crumbling brick wall in a ***working-class*** neighborhood of Mexico City lurks a seemingly innocuous car lot. But it could be a sign of a potentially grave threat to the North American auto industry.

A makeshift dealership for the Chinese electric vehicle company BYD has sprung up in this dusty lot. Esteban Alegría, an employee, said the dealership was selling cars as fast as they arrived from China. Mr. Alegría’s top seller is the Dolphin Mini, a small but capable four-door electric compact that costs about $18,000, about $10,000 less than the cheapest battery-powered vehicle available in the United States.

Mr. Alegría’s dealership is one of dozens that Chinese carmakers like BYD, Chery, Geely and SAIC are opening up around Mexico as they establish a foothold in North America.

Chinese carmakers are effectively barred from the United States by tariffs that double the sticker price of vehicles imported from China, and they are not yet manufacturing significant numbers of vehicles in Mexico that could be exported across the border.

But their ambition to expand overseas is on vivid display in Mexico and across Latin America, Asia, Europe and Africa. Ads for Chinese brands are in airports and soccer stadiums and loom above Mexico City streets on large billboards. Chinese cars, both gasoline and electric models, are an increasingly common sight.

BYD and others are also looking for places to build factories in Mexico, although none have announced firm plans. Initially, the plants would serve Latin America, part of a campaign by Chinese automakers to erode the dominance of Japanese, American and European carmakers in places like Brazil and Thailand.

But there is little doubt that, eventually, Chinese carmakers hope to use Mexico as an on-ramp to the United States.

“Maybe next year BYD can enter the United States,” Mr. Alegría said optimistically, as salsa music blared from a speaker hung on a pole and two men washed the dust from a newly arrived Dolphin. Nearby, workers mortared a cinder block wall, part of a new building that will replace the one-room sales office made of rough bricks topped by a corrugated metal roof.

“If not,” Mr. Alegría added, with a smile, “I can deliver.”

It is very unlikely that the Dolphin or any other Chinese car brand will be available in the United States soon. Because of the high tariffs, Chinese carmakers have not tried to establish dealerships or get approval from federal regulators to sell in the United States. (BYD does make electric buses in California.)

And someone buying a BYD from a Mexican dealer like Mr. Alegría would have a hard time registering and insuring it in the United States because the cars have not demonstrated that they meet safety standards.

President Biden and President-elect Donald J. Trump have been emphatic about wanting to keep Chinese automakers out of the United States, well aware of the threat they pose to U.S. car and auto parts factories that employ a million workers.

Mr. Trump has threatened 25 percent tariffs on all Mexican products, including cars. Mr. Biden has pursued policies aimed at fending off the challenge from China, including subsidies for U.S. battery factories. The Chinese government has long subsidized carmakers with the goal of becoming a major auto exporter.

But in the years to come it may be difficult to explain to consumers in the United States why they’re not allowed to buy inexpensive electric vehicles that are readily available across the border, especially if they’re made in Mexico, which already manufactures millions of cars for the United States.

Less than 20 years ago, Chinese cars were widely seen as inferior, even by many Chinese drivers. But in recent years, the country’s manufacturers have pulled even with foreign rivals in mechanical quality, analysts say, and often surpass U.S., Japanese and European carmakers in battery technology, autonomous driving and entertainment software. (Think in-car karaoke and rotating touch screens.)

Chinese carmakers have clawed significant market share domestically from once-dominant companies like Volkswagen. Even Tesla, which has a large factory in Shanghai, has lost ground to BYD and other Chinese carmakers. Elon Musk, Tesla’s chief executive, will be in a position to influence U.S. auto and China policy after [*spending more than $250 million*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/05/us/politics/elon-musk-trump-rbg-election.html) to support the Trump campaign and becoming a close adviser to the president-elect.

“Before the pandemic, the rules were set down by the Western carmakers,” said Felipe Munoz, global analyst at JATO Dynamics, a research firm. “Now it’s the opposite.”

Representatives of several Chinese carmakers declined to comment or did not respond to requests for comment. Jorge Vallejo, BYD’s director general for Mexico, agreed to an interview but canceled abruptly as New York Times reporters waited outside his office in Mexico City. The company’s representative declined to reschedule or make other executives available.

China’s car market is the world’s largest by far, and the growing prowess of domestic producers is having far-reaching effects. General Motors said on Wednesday that it would take a [*more than $5 billion hit to its profit*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/05/us/politics/elon-musk-trump-rbg-election.html) as it restructured its operations in China, which have been losing money in recent years.

Mary T. Barra, G.M.’s chief executive, acknowledged the price pressure from Chinese carmakers during an interview in October. “We’ll continue to look at smart ways to take cost out,” she said, while insisting that the company could still compete with China.

Arno Antlitz, the chief financial officer of Volkswagen, noted that the industry had dealt with new competitors before, including Japanese carmakers in the 1970s and South Korean carmakers in recent decades. “We think we have a competitive setup,” he said in an interview in October.

Still, the auto industry does not appear to have seen anything like the current wave of Chinese brands, which have quickly overtaken Japanese companies as the world’s largest auto exporters.

Chinese carmakers have made deep inroads in countries where they have local production or face few significant trade barriers. In Brazil, Chinese brands have a 9 percent share of car sales, up from 1 percent in 2019. [*In Thailand*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/05/us/politics/elon-musk-trump-rbg-election.html), they have 18 percent of the market, up from 5 percent in 2019, according to JATO.

In Mexico, Chinese brands now account for 9 percent of new car sales, up from effectively nothing five years ago.

“They gained market share when other brands didn’t have inventory and there were long waits to get cars in Mexico,” said Guillermo Rosales Zárate, president of the Mexican Association of Automobile Distributors.

In San Luis Potosí, an industrial hub 250 miles north of Mexico City, BYD models are taking customers from Toyota, said Fernando López, manager of a dealership that sells both brands from a showroom in an upscale neighborhood.

BYD’s Shark pickup, a $45,000 plug-in hybrid, is poaching buyers from the Toyota Tacoma, he said, while the BYD Song, a $30,000 plug-in S.U.V., is luring customers from the Toyota RAV4. The Chinese models cost $10,000 less than the comparable Toyotas.

“I don’t know if people are going to let them sell in the United States,” Mr. López said, referring to BYD, “but they can compete with any brand.”

Mexico is the world’s seventh-largest auto producer, just behind South Korea and Germany. Most major carmakers have factories in Mexico, including G.M., Ford Motor, Stellantis and Volkswagen. Many use parts from Chinese companies like Minghua, which produces bumpers and other components from a plant next to a large [*BMW factory*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/05/us/politics/elon-musk-trump-rbg-election.html) outside San Luis Potosí.

Almost 80 percent of vehicles produced in Mexico, more than two million through September, went to the United States, according to the Mexican Automotive Industry Association.

Although U.S. tariffs on cars made in China are high, in theory Chinese cars made in Mexico and exported north of the border would currently have to pay a maximum tariff of just 2.5 percent.

But the United States would probably put pressure on the Mexican government to erect barriers to Chinese automakers. Mexico’s new president, Claudia Sheinbaum, has played down talk of a BYD factory in Mexico and emphasized that relations with the United States are the government’s top priority.

Mexico is “so economically tied to the U.S., at the end of the day this is a straightforward calculation,” said Joshua Meltzer, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution who focuses on international economic relations. In October, the Mexican government raised the tariff on imported cars to 20 percent from 15 percent, in what was widely seen as a reaction to growing sales of Chinese vehicles.

The threat from China will grow as electric vehicles become more popular. Those cars already account for half of all new cars in China, giving the country’s carmakers a head start.

Auto executives expect electric vehicles to eventually supplant gasoline and diesel models even if Mr. Trump removes financial incentives for such cars and trucks. G.M., Hyundai, Mercedes-Benz and others have staked billions of dollars on electric-car and battery factories.

In Mexico, electric vehicles account for less than 2 percent of new car sales, but have grown more than 40 percent this year despite a dearth of public chargers. Electric vehicles in Mexico City are exempt from restrictions that apply to gasoline and diesel vehicles on days when air pollution is very bad.

That helps the Dolphin Mini, said Daniela Alvarez, a saleswoman at another BYD dealership squeezed into a storefront beneath a Mexico City parking garage.

Ms. Alvarez rattled off the Dolphin’s technical specifications, including its advanced battery technology, rotating video display and four airbags. While Chinese electric vehicles still cost more than gasoline models, she said, they cost only 30 percent as much to fuel.

“Electricity is cheaper than gas,” she said. “You can make up the difference.”

Miriam Castillo contributed reporting.

Miriam Castillo contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Esteban Alegría works at a BYD dealership in Mexico City, one of the dozens of dealerships that Chinese carmakers have been opening around Mexico. (PHOTOGRAPH BY BENEDICTE DESRUS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (B4) This article appeared in print on page B1, B4.

**Load-Date:** December 12, 2024

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[***Democrats, It’s Time to Say Goodbye to Our Neoliberal Era; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DG4-NRJ1-JBG3-62HG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 21, 2024 Thursday 22:04 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1247 words

**Byline:** Antonio Delgado

**Highlight:** The Democratic Party can seize defeat to establish a new order, but the era of tinkering around the edges is over.

**Body**

In the months ahead, Democratic Party officials and operatives will analyze election returns and voting patterns to try to make sense of what happened on Election Day. There will be a push to identify problems that can be easily solved by the same campaign experts who have allowed one of the least popular politicians of our time to dominate politics for three consecutive elections and rewrite the political order in a way we haven’t seen since the Goldwater movement laid the groundwork for Ronald Reagan’s presidency.

Like Goldwater after 1964, the Democratic Party can seize defeat to establish a new order — but the era of tinkering around the edges is over.

Donald Trump didn’t just win. He won big, including longstanding Democratic constituencies. Look no further than solid blue New York: Vice President Kamala Harris had the worst statewide performance for a Democrat [*since 1988*](https://nystateofpolitics.com/state-of-politics/new-york/politics/2024/11/06/harris-won-blue-new-york--but-by-smaller-margins-than-past-democrats). In New York City, her margin of victory was 17 points lower than Joe Biden’s in 2020.

The numbers don’t lie: This was a rejection of our party’s leadership.

How did we get here?

The contemporary Democratic Party emerged from the “greed is good” era of the 1980s in part by co-opting pieces of the Reagan agenda. President Bill Clinton built a coalition — part ***working class***, part Wall Street — that led Democrats back to the White House without redefining the political system. The limitations of this “third way” came to a head during the long recession following the financial crisis, when the party was tasked with charting a new direction. The truth is, it never did.

Faced with a global economic crisis, leaders of both parties worked to perpetuate a neoliberal order that people no longer trusted. Rather than create an agenda intimately tied to the people’s pain, the Democratic establishment helped [*rescue the institutions*](https://nystateofpolitics.com/state-of-politics/new-york/politics/2024/11/06/harris-won-blue-new-york--but-by-smaller-margins-than-past-democrats) that had just pushed the economy to the brink of collapse, further cementing the public’s view that our political and economic system was rigged for the rich and powerful.

Tragically, our party has failed to rescue itself ever since. Mr. Trump’s success in 2016 and this month underscored the flaw inherent in the Democratic approach of promising to move forward while looking backward.

To be fair, President Biden sought to reverse decades of flawed economic policy by taking on monopolies, building up our infrastructure, encouraging domestic manufacturing and playing hardball with China. Unfortunately, much of this good work was drowned out by the crisis at the border and punishing inflation. In the end, he was the wrong messenger for the way forward.

President Biden should never have run for a second term. It betrayed our party’s collective will to be bold and fresh. Clamoring to be the savior of democracy, the Democratic Party engendered disdain from the very people it sought to serve — everyday, hard-working Americans fed up with being lied to and squeezed out of opportunity.

Mr. Trump wins over these voters because most Americans distrust both major parties. He campaigns like a populist, even though he governs like an oligarch and couldn’t care less about the fact that the top 1 percent has [*more wealth than the bottom 90 percent*](https://nystateofpolitics.com/state-of-politics/new-york/politics/2024/11/06/harris-won-blue-new-york--but-by-smaller-margins-than-past-democrats).

This presents an opportunity for Democrats, but only if we are willing to challenge the systems and institutions that have caused Americans to lose faith in government. Our philosophy must make clear that the real threat to democracy is widening economic inequality and the colossal power of big money in politics. As Franklin Roosevelt [*said*](https://nystateofpolitics.com/state-of-politics/new-york/politics/2024/11/06/harris-won-blue-new-york--but-by-smaller-margins-than-past-democrats) in 1936, “We know now that government by organized money is just as dangerous as government by organized mob.”

The Democratic Party must lay out a new vision of economic security and independence for working families. That requires remembering that the interests of labor are the counterweight to the interests of capital and that our role as public servants is to ensure balance between the two. Not all solutions should be based on the market; the market tends to reward greed, and cultivating greed should never be the mission of a democratic government.

This vision also means committing to policies like universal pre-K, paid family and medical leave, expanded community banking, raising the minimum wage and a public option for health insurance. And it means taking on the grotesque concentration of wealth among the very few and price fixing, which fuels the affordability crisis and widens economic inequality.

The prospect of upsetting the donor class, lobbyists and special interest groups must not prevent us from doing right by our principles. Common sense should rule the day. Yes, we have to secure the border and protect American workers from bad trade deals made in the name of globalization.

The challenge for Democrats now is to prove we can govern. Republicans will control Washington, but we control cities and states across the country. Let’s prove ourselves to be the party of competence by improving people’s lives with homes they can afford, quality health care, clean air and safe drinking water, high-performing schools and reliable transportation. Promoting these public goods can be done in partnership with the private sector, but never in submission to the profit motive.

If Democrats lead with a bold, cleareyed vision for the future, voters will support them. I have seen it firsthand.

In 2017, after Mr. Trump won my home district in the Hudson Valley and the Catskills by almost seven points, I [*challenged*](https://nystateofpolitics.com/state-of-politics/new-york/politics/2024/11/06/harris-won-blue-new-york--but-by-smaller-margins-than-past-democrats) the Republican incumbent. He ran a divisive campaign, attacking my former career as a hip-hop artist and using [*racist tropes and stereotypes*](https://nystateofpolitics.com/state-of-politics/new-york/politics/2024/11/06/harris-won-blue-new-york--but-by-smaller-margins-than-past-democrats) to cast me as a threat. No person of color [*had ever*](https://nystateofpolitics.com/state-of-politics/new-york/politics/2024/11/06/harris-won-blue-new-york--but-by-smaller-margins-than-past-democrats) represented upstate New York in Congress, and my district as it was drawn then was one of the most rural in the country and over [*80 percent white*](https://nystateofpolitics.com/state-of-politics/new-york/politics/2024/11/06/harris-won-blue-new-york--but-by-smaller-margins-than-past-democrats).

In response, I ran a campaign rooted in love, emphasizing how all of us, no matter our party, want to be able to afford homes and groceries, to send our kids to good schools and to leave behind a safer, better world for them than the one our parents left us.

On Election Day, our campaign won by [*five points*](https://nystateofpolitics.com/state-of-politics/new-york/politics/2024/11/06/harris-won-blue-new-york--but-by-smaller-margins-than-past-democrats), and we won again in 2020 by [*12 points*](https://nystateofpolitics.com/state-of-politics/new-york/politics/2024/11/06/harris-won-blue-new-york--but-by-smaller-margins-than-past-democrats).

The blue wave of 2018 ushered in a crop of new leaders capable of winning in tough red districts with a message anchored in the needs of constituents and not beholden to party leadership or moneyed interests.

We used that winning playbook in parts of New York this year, including where I live in the Hudson Valley. U.S. Representative Pat Ryan was able to hold on to the 18th Congressional District comfortably, and Josh Riley flipped the 19th. Mr. Ryan and Mr. Riley centered much of their campaigns on the economic pain felt by their constituents, caused by a political system corrupted by unchecked corporate power.

In this time of reckoning, Democrats would be wise to pay attention to campaigns and candidates that broke the mold. A new path is both necessary and possible, but we will not chart it with the same politicians telling the same old stories. We are ready for the next generation.

Antonio Delgado is the lieutenant governor of New York.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://nystateofpolitics.com/state-of-politics/new-york/politics/2024/11/06/harris-won-blue-new-york--but-by-smaller-margins-than-past-democrats) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://nystateofpolitics.com/state-of-politics/new-york/politics/2024/11/06/harris-won-blue-new-york--but-by-smaller-margins-than-past-democrats). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://nystateofpolitics.com/state-of-politics/new-york/politics/2024/11/06/harris-won-blue-new-york--but-by-smaller-margins-than-past-democrats).

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY THALASSA RAASCH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A21.

**Load-Date:** November 24, 2024

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[***How a Cultural Shift Favors Harris; David Brooks***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CY8-VJ31-JBG3-60HF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 12, 2024 Thursday 07:56 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1199 words

**Byline:** David Brooks David Brooks is an Opinion columnist for The Times, writing about political, social and cultural trends.

**Highlight:** People can be bitter for only so long. Harris’s happy strength may offer a glimpse of a sunnier national mood to come.

**Body**

American culture changes with astonishing speed. Nearly every decade, there are shifts in values, fashions and norms — in the whole atmosphere of national life. Sometimes when you’re watching a presidential campaign, it is best to ask: What year is it? What values and moods are dominant in America right now? Which candidate just seems right for this moment, and which candidate is simply out of step with the zeitgeist?

Right now, I’d say, Kamala Harris is benefiting from the beginning of a cultural shift and is beginning to have the cultural winds at her back. Donald Trump is beginning to be slapped in the face by those winds.

Trump emerged in the 1970s and 1980s. It was the tail end of the culture of narcissism, or what Tom Wolfe called the Me Decade. It was the era of the unchained self — self-esteem, self-expression, self-promotion. In the ’80s, especially in Manhattan, there was an unabashed fascination with wealth, self-display, ego, the lifestyles of the rich and famous.

Trump was the cartoon epitome of all that decade’s extravagances. The Trump Tower on Fifth Avenue opened to the public on Feb. 14, 1983, with all its gild and glitz. His book “The Art of the Deal” came out in 1987, with its braying and panting over money, money, money. In that cultural moment, gold-plated narcissism made Trump a celebrity.

Then came the 1990s, the end-of-history decade — the end of the Cold War, the end of apartheid. In this decade of big events and low conflict, Trump was out of step. He was there, but in the background.

Then came the 2000s and the war on terror. Trump’s show “The Apprentice” went on the air in 2004. It was popular but didn’t drive the conversation. There was a real war going on, and the men and women serving in Iraq and Afghanistan represented a kind of heroism that put the casino owner’s tinsel machismo in the shade.

But then came the 2010s, the age of indignation. On May 15, 2011, street protests broke out in Spain led by people who called themselves “los indignados” — the outraged. Their rallying cry was “They don’t represent us!” The protesters were disgusted with their nation’s ruling class. Before long, a moral convulsion swept across the Western world and Latin America. Groups on the right (the rural white ***working class***) and the left (B.L.M.) that had been marginalized by the establishment demanded new power and representation. Disgust with established power was high. Social trust dropped.

Trump was perfect for this moment. Disdained and scorned by the Manhattan elite, he’d built up a lifetime of anti-establishment resentments that dovetailed with the ***working class***’s pervasive contempt. He began a hostile takeover of the Republican Party and then the federal government. The key word in that sentence is “hostile.” Hostility was in vogue, on the left and the right.

Then, in 2018, the group More in Common released a survey of the American electorate in which it popularized the phrase “the exhausted majority.” Many people were tired of the bitterness, the endless Trumpian and culture war psychodrama. There was an intense desire to leave all that behind. In a relatively tight election, Joe Biden rode to victory promising decency and normalcy.

What followed was a struggle between what you might call the forces of indignation and the forces of exhaustion. Trump still dominates the G.O.P. because his people still want a guy who can take a sledgehammer to the ruling class and its power centers. A couple of weeks ago I wrote a [*column*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/04/opinion/trump-win-election-harris.html) trying to describe the fundamental strengths of American populism — the pervasive hostility toward the educated class, the distrust of institutions. But there are also an increasing number of people tired of living in an endless atmosphere of tribalism, enmity and conflict — even in the Republican camp.

Harris enjoyed a surge in the polls as she became the nominee, in part because she projected a new emotional tone — the politics of joy, as Democrats kept saying during their convention. During Tuesday’s debate she converted that emotional shift into a campaigning and governing style.

During the debate, I thought Harris did a poor job of laying out her vision for the next four years. But she did a brilliant job rebutting the cultural values embodied by Trump.

For example, no debate opponent before Harris has known how to handle Trump’s narcissism. Harris seemed to understand that narcissism is fundamentally fragile. She poked it. She pricked it. She induced Trump to lash out feebly — with his talk about crowd sizes and how much world leaders like Vladimir Putin allegedly respect him.

She scorned the moral inversion that Trump represents. Most Americans revere military valor, represented by people like John McCain, whom Trump has denigrated. Harris called Trump a disgrace to his face while he stood there smiling weakly.

She repeated her mantra of change: It’s time to turn the page and move forward. This cry is not persuasive on policy grounds. Her agenda is a shrunken version of the unfinished Biden agenda. Biden has been pioneering a new form of industrial policy that represents a fundamental shift in the role of government in the American economy. Harris doesn’t talk about the scope of what her administration is doing.

But Harris was very compelling when portraying herself as an agent of cultural change. Her smiling equipoise is a statement of self-confident power against his sour fuming. Her “I care about you” is a stark foil to his narcissistic “I care about me.” Her good cheer and compassion contrasts with the atmosphere of bitterness and indignation that has enveloped us for a decade.

Some people dismiss all this as vibes. I don’t. This is culture. What sort of people do we want to be? What sort of values and manners do we want to see reflected in our national leaders? Who do we want shaping the nation’s social atmosphere? As Daniel Patrick Moynihan famously noted, culture matters most, but government can change culture.

There is a rhythm to cultural change, with periods of public turmoil giving way to periods when people want to turn inward. World War I gave way to the carefree hedonism of the flappers during the 1920s. World War II gave way to the domesticity of the 1950s. The days of rage in the late 1960s gave way to the New Age mellowness of the mid-1970s. People can be up in arms for only so long. The wearier we grow with American carnage catastrophizing, Trump seems not just monstrous but, worse, stale.

We’re still an exhausted and battered nation, but if history is a guide, then just over the horizon there is some new cultural moment coming. I suspect that Harris’s happy strength gives us a glimpse of the zeitgeist of tomorrow. This spirit alone won’t propel her to victory, but it will help.

Source Photograph by Damon Winter/The New York Times

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY IOULEX FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A23.

**Load-Date:** September 13, 2024

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[***Nevada’s Senate Rivals Spar in a Debate Heavy on Policy and Light on Fireworks***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D6V-NWK1-DXY4-X3X4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 18, 2024 Friday 07:53 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 792 words

**Byline:** Kellen Browning and Benjamin OreskesKellen Browning is a Times reporter covering the 2024 election, with a focus on the swing states of Nevada and Arizona.

**Highlight:** Senator Jacky Rosen and her Republican challenger, Sam Brown, met for their only debate, focusing on the cost of living, abortion and other issues.

**Body**

Senator Jacky Rosen and her Republican challenger, Sam Brown, met for their only debate, focusing on the cost of living, abortion and other issues.

Sam Brown, the Republican vying for Nevada’s competitive Senate seat, entered the debate on Thursday night with a sizable deficit in surveys and a clear mission: rattle his Democratic opponent, Senator Jacky Rosen, and forcefully make the case that he was the candidate who would fight for working people.

In a policy-heavy hour, Mr. Brown repeatedly sought to harness the persistent economic malaise in Nevada to his benefit, arguing that he understood blue-collar voters’ woes over the price of gasoline and groceries, and that Ms. Rosen was out of touch.

“Most of us can’t afford basic life at this point, and it’s easy for Senator Rosen, as an elitist who lives in a gated community” to support green energy sources, he said at one point.

Ms. Rosen, a first-term senator, often hit back, and she was prepared with a litany of accomplishments and bills she had supported, saying she had championed more affordable housing and would attack the corporate interests that she blamed for high prices. She suggested Mr. Brown “wants to inflict pain” on Nevadans by raising interest rates, and hammered him on his past opposition to abortion.

Both candidates came across as relatively mild-mannered — despite moments of contention and interruptions — and it was not clear that any of the attacks would leave a lasting mark, which could spell trouble for Mr. Brown, who is trailing in polls. Republicans have been [*privately griping about his campaign’s chances*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/17/us/politics/jacky-rosen-sam-brown-nevada-senate.html), and were watching for him to make a forceful case against Ms. Rosen onstage, though the moderators at KLAS, a local television station, quickly cut off any extended exchanges or arguments.

Mr. Brown landed several punches, turning questions about housing policy, renewable energy and even U.F.O.s into jabs about his opponent’s wealth; Ms. Rosen [*is a multimillionaire*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/17/us/politics/jacky-rosen-sam-brown-nevada-senate.html) with a wide portfolio of stocks and index funds, though her campaign said she had not traded individual stocks in the last five years.

“It’s interesting that Senator Rosen would mention a desire to want to fine greedy corporations,” he said. “What if we fine greedy politicians who make things more unaffordable for us?”

He did not offer a particularly in-depth vision of what he would do differently from Ms. Rosen, and she mostly seemed content to promote her accomplishments without rebutting his claims.

Eventually, she pushed back, complaining after he repurposed a question about aliens into an attack that his answer “had nothing to do with U.F.O.s.” She then played up her ***working-class*** roots.

“I put myself through college as a waitress, I always worked hard; this has been debunked,” Ms. Rosen said. “All of this has been debunked.”

Ms. Rosen was at her most aggressive on the topic of abortion, a vulnerability for Mr. Brown. He mentioned that [*his wife had gotten an abortion*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/17/us/politics/jacky-rosen-sam-brown-nevada-senate.html) earlier in her life, after an unplanned pregnancy, and said he would not vote for a federal ban on the procedure.

But Ms. Rosen pounced, noting that Mr. Brown had indicated he was “not for changing our existing law,” referring to a ballot measure that would enshrine access to abortion in the state’s constitution, and that he had in the past expressed a vocal opposition to the procedure.

“If you don’t believe that he would support a nationwide abortion ban, I’ve got some oceanfront property to sell you on the Las Vegas Strip,” she said.

Mr. Brown, a relative newcomer to Nevada who has struggled to raise his profile against a better-funded incumbent, seemed to miss several opportunities to introduce himself to voters in front of what was most likely the largest local audience of his campaign.

An Army veteran, Mr. Brown was nearly killed by an explosion in Afghanistan and was left permanently scarred after a three-year recovery that included more than 30 surgeries. He has woven his life story and near-death experience into his pitches on the campaign trail. But he did not do so on the debate stage, even during questions about veterans’ health care and overseas conflicts, especially in Israel and Gaza.

“As someone who has seen the horrors of war, I can tell you that no one should have to go through that,” Mr. Brown said, the closest he got to bringing it up.

And he waited until about 20 minutes into the debate to bring up former President Donald J. Trump, who is polling well ahead of Mr. Brown in Nevada.

If Mr. Trump is returned to the White House, Mr. Brown eventually said, “I can be an ally of his in the Senate.”

PHOTO: Sam Brown and his Democratic opponent, Senator Jacky Rosen, met for a debate on Thursday in Las Vegas. (PHOTOGRAPH BY John Locher/Associated Press FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 18, 2024

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[***Keeping a Dance Alive, Even After the Show Ends***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DJR-NXR1-DXY4-X1SK-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 3, 2024 Tuesday 12:37 EST

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**Section:** ARTS; design

**Length:** 1485 words

**Byline:** Ray Mark Rinaldi

**Highlight:** At Art Basel Miami Beach, the Mexican choreographer Diego Vega Solorza explores masculinity in a new work and his gallery sells objects from performances.

**Body**

Diego Vega Solorza does not want people to think of him as a visual artist. He is certainly not a sculptor, he insists, nor a photographer or videographer — even though he will exhibit that kind of work in a showcase for emerging talent at this year’s Art Basel Miami Beach, the visual arts mega-fair running Friday through Sunday.

He is a choreographer and dancer — and only that — and everything he creates is in service to dance making, said [*Vega Solorza*](https://www.instagram.com/diegovegasolorza/?hl=en), who lives in Mexico City and is a star in his native country. Those objects, which will be displayed by [*Llano gallery*](https://www.instagram.com/diegovegasolorza/?hl=en) in the fair’s [*Positions*](https://www.instagram.com/diegovegasolorza/?hl=en) section, were a “material response” to the works he devises for the human body, he said.

They may include props from a performance piece he has dreamed up, like a horse saddle (custom-made for two riders facing one another), or video of a new dance, or still images that capture dancers in action. But no matter what form they take, these objects function as “a kind of evidence that the dance existed,” Solorza said, and they keep the ideas expressed during a theater performance alive, even after the show has ended.

Audiences cannot take dancers home with them, but they can acquire these set pieces and costumes, or pictures that spark a dialogue on a topic he wants to explore. “That conversation happens when someone sees that object and asks what is the value of it, or where does it come from,” he said.

Such fare represents a conceptual leap at a marketplace like Art Basel, where many high-profile sales revolve around two-dimensional paintings by established artists. For Llano, there is some risk in producing a solo presentation by a dancer who is largely unknown outside of Mexico.

But within Mexico, Vega Solorza, 34, is one of the country’s top choreographers, creating dances, and selling out theaters, for most of his decade-long career. He is known for tense and dramatic contemporary dance pieces, featuring small groups of perfomers — sometimes as few as three or four, and usually including himself — that take on themes of the human experience, including most recently, violence in its various forms.

Llano’s owners — Mauricio Cadena and Sergio Molina — have been longtime fans and saw potential in translating the objects used onstage into art world commodities. The pieces were a critical component of the choreography, they said during a recent interview in their gallery, and retained the energy and significance of the dance when separated from the actual live event. They hope collectors in Miami will see it that way, too.

Also, they noted, Vega Solorza was already building bridges with the visual arts world on his own. In the past few years, he produced performances at galleries during exhibitions by the well-known painters [*Ana Segovia*](https://www.instagram.com/diegovegasolorza/?hl=en) and [*Omar Rodriguez-Graham*](https://www.instagram.com/diegovegasolorza/?hl=en). No matter the show, the dance related directly to the work, animating its concepts through movement.

“It took us a while to convince him to get into the art world, even though we were seeing presentations by him at studios of artists that are our friends,” said Cadena. “And we could actually feel the connection that the people from art were having with his work. His presence is incredible.”

“This is an opportunity for us to launch Diego internationally, because he already is sort of a celebrity here in Mexico,” said Molina.

That strong belief inspired them to provide financial support for a new dance work by Vega Solorza titled “Basoteve,” from which they have culled objects for sale through their gallery, such as the custom-made saddle. The new dance work provides insights into both Solorza’s creative process and his personal biography.

[*Basoteve*](https://www.instagram.com/diegovegasolorza/?hl=en) is the name of a tiny town (Vega Solorza estimates a population of 113), in a deeply rural part of the state of Sinaloa, where his grandparents have a ranch and where he said that he spent every weekend growing up.

“It is quite primitive, a place where people took a piece of land and created their houses in a very humble way,” he said.

But it did have animals, including pigs and chickens — and most crucially for this new dance, horses.

“My family was a ***working-class*** family, rooted in very traditional ways, with little information about what is going on in the outside world,” he said.

Solorza explained that strict gender roles were fundamental to those traditions and included informal social rituals, among them a rite of passage for boys, from the ages of about 9 to 11, moving from adolescence to maturity. Adults would place them in the saddles of special horses — that only males were permitted to mount — where they were expected to ride and show off their emerging masculinity. (Basoteve is also the Spanish word for a saddlecloth.)

“The age at which you got on a horse varied a lot depending on the type of masculinity, energy and personality that they could see in you,” he said.

Vega Solorza does not remember his exact age when it was his turn, but he does recall that it went badly.

“The way I moved, rubbing against the saddle, the way I arched my back, was much more toward a feminine energy,” he said. “The way in which I was discovering the object was very, very feminine.”

His reactions were met with what Vega Solorza experienced as overwhelming disapproval and signals of shame. He remembers, he said, that “the family was watching and saying you can’t behave that way.”

It was, Vega Solorza said, one of those moments when gay males like himself realized they were different. “For me, there was a feeling of a displacement,” he said.

Looking back, he perceived the reaction to his ride on the horse as a subtle form of violence that invalidated the nonbinary version of gender that he embodied. It taught him that gender roles were arbitrary, assigned by society rather than assumed naturally.

“Masculinity is a thing that is artificial, that is actually completely constructed,” he said.

That experience is the root of the dance “Basoteve,” an hourlong piece that was produced in a studio and recorded on video over the past few weeks. The work starts with a 15-minute prologue featuring a solo dancer whose character represents violence. The dancer is covered in blood, in an exaggerated way that mimics the cartoon violence of horror films.

The piece goes on to feature two male dancers, wearing body suits that inflate to exaggerate their muscles, who interact physically together. Much of the movement takes place on a saddle, which appears to be two saddles joined together and facing one another. The object, made of black leather, forces the dancers’ bodies to come close to one another. The work evolves into an exploration of sexuality that veers into the homoerotic.

For now, the dance exists only as a video, though there are plans to present it live at a Mexico City theater in February. The performance will coincide with a larger exhibit at Llano’s gallery, located in Doctores, a rapidly gentrifying neighborhood near the city’s downtown (and home to Arena Mexico, the venue famous for hosting lucha libre matches).

The gallery occupies a plain, rectangular space on the first floor of a 1920s textile factory that has been renovated into a hive of spaces for creative businesses and renamed Laguna. Llano plans to put more pieces on sale, including the inflatable costumes, as Llano tries to position Vega Solorza firmly in the visual arts environment.

There is precedent for the worlds of visual art and contemporary dance to overlap, Llano’s Molina noted, and that includes the landmark collaborations between the choreographer [*Martha Graham*](https://www.instagram.com/diegovegasolorza/?hl=en) and the sculptor [*Isamu Noguchi*](https://www.instagram.com/diegovegasolorza/?hl=en) in the mid-20th century. She invented the moves while he designed her sets.

The connection appears to be trending at the moment, with [*“Edges of Ailey,*](https://www.instagram.com/diegovegasolorza/?hl=en)” an exhibit about the choreographer Alvin Ailey, running at the Whitney Museum of American Art in Manhattan, through Feb. 9, and the show [*“Ceremonies Out of the Air,”*](https://www.instagram.com/diegovegasolorza/?hl=en) focusing on dance maker Ralph Lemon, up at MoMA PS1 in Queens, through March 24.

Whether that translates into the commercial art market at Art Basel remains to be seen. Llano is a young gallery — it opened in November 2020, a fraught time — and this will be just its second time in Miami Beach. It is still building its global reputation, and showing an unexpected artist like Vega Solorza is part of its growth strategy, whether buyers respond with purchases or not.

“When we were accepted to Basel a second time, we went in with the philosophy of ‘let’s not think about the market and let’s think about the program and what would remain on people’s minds,’” Molina said.

PHOTOS: “Masculinity is a thing that is artificial, that is actually completely constructed,” said Diego Vega Solorza, left. A new dance work, “Basoteve,” center and bottom, which was inspired by a transformative experience from his youth, will be shown at Art Basel Miami Beach. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY BRIAN HARKIN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page F10.

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[***Democrats Don’t Have an Easy Way Out; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DMD-3G81-DXY4-X28W-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 2691 words

**Byline:** Thomas B. EdsallThomas B. Edsall&amp;#160;has been a contributor to the Times Opinion section since 2011. His column on strategic and demographic trends in American politics appears every Wednesday. He previously covered politics for The Washington Post.

**Highlight:** The party’s weakened condition leaves it ill prepared to defend itself against a Republican Party determined to eviscerate liberalism and the left.

**Body**

The weakened condition of the Democratic Party leaves it ill prepared to defend itself against a Republican Party determined to eviscerate liberalism and the left.

Evidence of the fraught state of the party can be found everywhere. [*Pew Research*](https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/11/22/after-trumps-victory-democrats-are-more-pessimistic-about-their-partys-future/) asked Democrats and Republicans whether they were optimistic or pessimistic about the future of their party after the five presidential and midterm elections from 2016 to 2024. Republicans in 2024 were more optimistic, 86 to 13, than after any of the previous four contests, including Donald Trump’s 2016 victory. Among Democrats, optimism fell to 51 percent, while pessimism rose to 49 percent, well below the 61 to 38 for Democrats after the 2016 election.

[*Ken Martin*](https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/11/22/after-trumps-victory-democrats-are-more-pessimistic-about-their-partys-future/), the chairman of the Minnesota Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party and a leading candidate to become chairman of the Democratic National Committee, acknowledged this erosion of political clout in a [*memo*](https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/11/22/after-trumps-victory-democrats-are-more-pessimistic-about-their-partys-future/) to party leaders:

For the first time in modern history, the perception that Americans have of the two major political parties switched. The majority of Americans now believes that the Republican Party best represents the interests of the ***working class*** and the poor, and that the Democratic Party is the party of the wealthy and the elites. It’s a damning indictment on our party brand.

Polling suggests that Trump is ideologically closer to the median voter than Kamala Harris. Third Way, a centrist Democratic think tank, conducted [*a post-election survey*](https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/11/22/after-trumps-victory-democrats-are-more-pessimistic-about-their-partys-future/) asking voters to place themselves, Harris and Trump on a scale ranging from zero (very liberal) to 10 (very conservative). The mean response was 2.45 for Harris, 7.78 for Trump and 5.63 for all voters.

[*Matthew Dallek*](https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/11/22/after-trumps-victory-democrats-are-more-pessimistic-about-their-partys-future/), a political historian at George Washington University, voiced serious doubts by email about the ability of the Democratic Party to compete successfully with the Republican Party:

A party whose base consists of culturally liberal, largely well-educated white Americans and a shrinking share of voters of color is almost by definition going to find it impossible to defend American democracy. Every Democratic president from Franklin Roosevelt to Joe Biden won the White House by voicing the fears and defending the interests of the working and middle classes. Democrats cannot credibly claim to represent the ideals of American democracy and peel support away from Trump’s anti-elite, populist G.O.P. without reimagining what it stands for and who is in its coalition.

The Democratic Party is perhaps more rudderless than at any time since Bill Clinton’s presidency. Its leadership is aging. The party seems culturally out of touch to many Americans. Its brand is associated with championing niche interests, and the party — despite some crucial electoral victories — has ultimately failed its overarching mission since 2015 of defeating and defanging the MAGA movement.

In addition, Dallek went on to say, the centrality of anti-establishment themes in the MAGA movement makes opposition to it all the more difficult:

The Democratic Party faces a heavy burden: It has to defend democratic institutions in a time when these institutions are reviled by a large majority of the American electorate. Its message to the public that it is a bulwark of democracy failed to resonate with voters in November. In order to defend democracy, then, it must find ways to appeal to a majority of the American people on the bread-and-butter issues foremost in people’s lives.

When Franklin Roosevelt called on the United States “to become the ‘arsenal of democracy,’” Dallek wrote,

he persuaded citizens that protecting democracy was in their own self-interest: It was key to Americans’ prosperity, freedoms and their children’s future. He helped explain to the public how antidemocratic threats imperiled their livelihoods. Today’s Democratic Party has not yet found a way to make this case stick.

The pressure on the Democratic Party to assume the role of democracy’s defender has arrived at a difficult time. Not only was the outcome of the 2024 election supremely deflating, but also many of the party’s institutional allies are struggling to deal with setbacks.

* Controversies over pro-Palestinian demonstrations and expressions of antisemitism have forced the resignation of presidents of some of the nation’s most prestigious universities. From 2015 to 2024, the share of adults with a “great deal” or “quite a lot” of confidence in higher education fell from 57 percent to 36 percent, while those with “very little” or “none” rose from 10 percent to 32 percent, according to [*Gallup*](https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/11/22/after-trumps-victory-democrats-are-more-pessimistic-about-their-partys-future/).

1. The two liberal cable networks, CNN and MSNBC, have experienced sharp post-election declines in viewership. [*Forbes reported*](https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/11/22/after-trumps-victory-democrats-are-more-pessimistic-about-their-partys-future/) on Nov. 29 that “MSNBC’s prime-time audience has dipped 53 percent since the week before the election,” closely followed “by a 47 percent drop by CNN — while Fox News has largely held on to its audience since President-elect Donald Trump’s victory.”
2. In city after city, voters have [*ousted*](https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/11/22/after-trumps-victory-democrats-are-more-pessimistic-about-their-partys-future/) liberal district attorneys — many with campaigns backed by George Soros. Many if not most of those prosecutors pressed for no-bail policies and for the abandonment of prosecuting selected misdemeanors.

What’s more, these cracks emerging in the institutional pillars of the left accompany weakening Democratic support in three of its crucial constituencies: minorities, the young and urban voters.

Trump and his allies are more than willing to kick an adversary when he or she is down. [*Don Moynihan*](https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/11/22/after-trumps-victory-democrats-are-more-pessimistic-about-their-partys-future/), a professor of public policy at the University of Michigan, described by email the probable Republican agenda:

Authoritarians tend to target certain institutions to cement their control: typically the media, higher education, the bureaucracy, the legal system and the military. To varying degrees, Trump has promised to control, purge or punish all of these groups. He has pledged to remove woke bureaucrats and generals, and to protect free speech in the media and on campus by punishing organizations deemed to be outliers.

Moynihan stressed that “this is not about wokeness or free speech; it is about Trump using government powers to engage in selective punishments and purges on a scale we really have not seen before.”

Perhaps most striking is Trump’s plan to excise a broad swath of the top ranks in the military, the crucial arm of government constraining or allowing authoritarian methods by the president.

“I would fire them. You can’t have a woke military,” Trump said in [*a Fox News interview*](https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/11/22/after-trumps-victory-democrats-are-more-pessimistic-about-their-partys-future/) last June. And in a [*post-election podcast*](https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/11/22/after-trumps-victory-democrats-are-more-pessimistic-about-their-partys-future/) in November, Pete Hegseth, Trump’s choice to become secretary of defense, said, “Any general that was involved — general, admiral, whatever — that was involved in any of the D.E.I. woke shit, it’s got to go.”

The Trump transition team, [*The Wall Street Journal reported*](https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/11/22/after-trumps-victory-democrats-are-more-pessimistic-about-their-partys-future/), is exploring the possibility of having Trump issue an executive order creating a “warrior board” of former ranking military personnel empowered to recommend removal of any three- or four-star generals found to be unfit for leadership.

Moynihan wrote that he has

taught and been impressed by a good number of military officers. The idea that the armed services is overrun with wokeness is simply not grounded in reality. “Wokeness” is really just an excuse to purge officials who might be expected to be less loyal to Trump.

Along similar lines, the [*American Accountability Foundation*](https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/11/22/after-trumps-victory-democrats-are-more-pessimistic-about-their-partys-future/), a conservative group funded in part by the Heritage Foundation, was established in 2022 for the explicit purpose of “identifying and shining a spotlight on the high-ranking civil servants within the Departments of Homeland Security (D.H.S.) and Justice (D.O.J.) who are likely to thwart an incoming conservative administration’s immigration agenda.”

On Oct. 23, the Accountability Foundation [*announced*](https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/11/22/after-trumps-victory-democrats-are-more-pessimistic-about-their-partys-future/) publication of the “first tranche” of names and photos — the “[*top 10 targets*](https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/11/22/after-trumps-victory-democrats-are-more-pessimistic-about-their-partys-future/)”— of what it called “subversive, leftist bureaucrats serving in the federal government who cannot be trusted to enforce our immigration laws under a future administration intent on securing our border.”

[*William Galston*](https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/11/22/after-trumps-victory-democrats-are-more-pessimistic-about-their-partys-future/), a senior fellow at Brookings, warned in an email that “substantial portions of the Republican electoral base are so angry with ‘liberal elites’ that they will stop at nothing to destroy them, by whatever means Trump chooses to use.”

At the same time, Galston continued, the Republican Party “contains many elected officials who believe in the Constitution and the rule of law but who are unwilling to risk their careers to defend them, especially if doing so requires them to break with or oppose Trump.”

If Trump chooses “to arouse rather than tame the darkest passions of his base supporters, he and his followers will threaten constitutional democracy,” Galston wrote. In those circumstances, “it will fall to the Democratic Party to defend constitutional democracy.”

There are many hurdles the Democrats will have to overcome to be effective in that role.

First and foremost, according to Galston, will be regaining majority power “in at least one national institution. Democrats are currently consigned to minority status in all four — White House, the House of Representatives, the Senate, and the Supreme Court — and the trends revealed in the 2024 election are not encouraging.”

“The Democratic Party as now constituted,” Galston added, “is not headed toward a durable majority.”

The second hurdle, Galston said, is avoiding past strategic errors:

Even when Democrats do enjoy majorities, they have proved unwilling to give (or incapable of giving) priority to defending constitutional democracy. In the most recent Congress, for example, they failed to join bipartisan efforts to reform the dangerously broad Insurrection Act, reportedly because the Congressional Black Caucus refused to limit a tool used in the past to implement desegregation and civil rights laws against Southern opposition.

A political party, as Galston put it, echoing [*Justice Robert Jackson*](https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/11/22/after-trumps-victory-democrats-are-more-pessimistic-about-their-partys-future/) in 1949, “is not a suicide pact, and advocacy groups should stop pressuring elected officials to take positions that they cannot defend during elections.”

How does that translate in practical terms?

Galston emailed his suggestions. For one, “Democrats must agree on an approach to immigration that can command majority support, even if left-leaning immigration lawyers denounce it.”

And more generally, “without changes that subordinate moral posturing to the task of building a new majority, Democrats’ efforts to protect constitutional institutions and democratic norms against populist ire may well fall short.”

[*Robert Erickson*](https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/11/22/after-trumps-victory-democrats-are-more-pessimistic-about-their-partys-future/), a political scientist at Columbia, pointed out in an email that the 2024 election presents a unique situation for the defeated party. He wrote by email:

Normally the task of the party that just lost the presidential election is for its members to leisurely lick their wounds, take an audit of their failings and wait patiently for the eventual rebound. The losing party is otherwise irrelevant for the moment.

Trump’s return presents a more urgent situation for the Democrats. Trump seeks to overturn the narrative about Jan. 6 and even jail some opponents. If he is allowed a clear runway, he can severely damage the rule of law. So the Democrats need to show that they will stand in his way and make him pause. For instance, Senate Democrats should challenge confirmation of political appointees who are [*J6*](https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/11/22/after-trumps-victory-democrats-are-more-pessimistic-about-their-partys-future/) sympathizers or who would willingly facilitate retribution. Of course, they would need at least a few Republican allies for any successful resistance.

Some analysts argue that a top priority for Democrats in 2025 should be building alliances with the few Republicans in Congress who have at least partly distanced themselves from Trump, including Senators Lisa Murkowski of Alaska and Susan Collins of Maine.

Without at least a semblance of bipartisanship, Democratic efforts to block Trump’s antidemocratic initiatives will risk losing political legitimacy, their actions reduced in the minds of a deeply polarized electorate to political posturing, according to this line of thinking.

[*Julie Wronski*](https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/11/22/after-trumps-victory-democrats-are-more-pessimistic-about-their-partys-future/), a political scientist at the University of Mississippi, elaborated on these themes in an email:

If there is a burden on the Democratic Party to be the protector of democracy, that burden entails genuine bipartisanship with democracy-supporting members of the Republican Party. It requires a flexible Democratic Party platform that is willing to compromise on various social and economic issues (immigration, trans rights, tax policies) in the short run to protect democracy in the long run. It requires an ideological pivot toward more moderate voters who may not always agree with socially and culturally liberal whites.

Trump and the Republican Party, Wronski continued,

are not synonymous. Trump poses a threat to democracy. But the Republican Party is not just Trump, and there is variation within members of the Republican Party regarding support for upholding American democratic norms.

In that context, Wronski noted:

The threat posed by the Republican Party to American democracy will be their complacency in the face of Trump’s behavior. Keep in mind, Republicans in the Senate could have convicted Trump for impeachable offenses following the Jan. 6 attack, but they chose not to.

One theme that repeatedly emerges in the comments of political analysts is the need for the Democratic Party and its candidates to regain the center and to avoid the adoption of more extreme cultural and social policies that alienate the middle and working classes.

At the same time, the conscious adoption of less controversial positions on cultural issues threatens to drive more radical constituencies “into abstention and sectarian party politics,” [*Herbert Kitschelt*](https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/11/22/after-trumps-victory-democrats-are-more-pessimistic-about-their-partys-future/), a political scientist at Duke who has studied the rise of populism in Europe, wrote by email.

But, Kitschelt continued,

the sustained pressure of an authoritarian Republican president and a Republican Party bending to that president’s will could make it more likely for Democrats to coordinate and converge around political positions that promise electoral success with moderate voters while also preventing a retreat of more radical supporters into abstention, given how high the stakes are of the political game.

In other words, according to Kitschelt, the prospect of sustained defeat will be the mother of moderation:

Progressives in the Democratic Party have intolerantly preached distinctive conceptions of (group) tolerance that a majority of Americans have found to produce new forms of authoritarian intolerance — intolerance both at the level of individual, personal social interactions as well as at the level of group relations and political representation.

The apostles of an ethics of pure conviction — the uncompromising pursuit of intolerant moral postulates, no matter what may be the sacrifices, trade-offs and prospects — will have to give way to an ethics of responsibility that weighs the opportunities to create political majorities, even if more far-reaching objectives of Democratic politics, as interpreted by this or that party wing, have to be put on the back burner, and probably permanently.

Losing political parties always go through a period of recrimination, blame and introspection, but this time the grieving among Democrats has taken on a tone of remorse and futility, a sense that Trump has tapped into a deepening well of anger and frustration that has the potential to become the dominant force in American politics for years to come.

Will America turn into an authoritarian one-party state as Trump seizes power and resources? Or will the United States once again — as it did during the American Revolution, the Civil War and two world wars — demonstrate the resilience and creativity that carried it through crises in the past?

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/11/22/after-trumps-victory-democrats-are-more-pessimistic-about-their-partys-future/) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/11/22/after-trumps-victory-democrats-are-more-pessimistic-about-their-partys-future/). And here&#39;s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/11/22/after-trumps-victory-democrats-are-more-pessimistic-about-their-partys-future/).

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[***Democrats Are in Trouble. This Man Can Help.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DH6-5HJ1-DXY4-X40R-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Daniel Chandler

**Body**

The election victory by Donald Trump and his Republican Party was a rebuke of a Democratic Party that has positioned itself as protector of a despised status quo, rendering it unable to connect with an electorate desperate for change. Defeating Mr. Trump in the future will require liberals, progressives and others on the left to articulate a positive vision that can capture the imagination of a broad majority of Americans.

But where can they find the inspiration for such a vision?

The answer lies in the work of the towering 20th-century political philosopher John Rawls.

In his epoch-defining treatise ''A Theory of Justice,'' published in 1971, Mr. Rawls set out a humane and egalitarian vision of a liberal society, an alternative both to the toxic blend of neoliberal economics and identity politics that has dominated Democratic thinking in recent decades and to the pessimistic anti-liberalism that holds sway among some more radical parts of the left. In this time of crisis for liberalism, it offers an unparalleled, and as yet largely untapped, resource for shaping a broad-based and genuinely transformational progressive politics -- not just for Democrats but also for center-left parties internationally.

The philosophy of Mr. Rawls, who died in 2002, is grounded not in self-interest and competition but in reciprocity and cooperation. His most famous idea is a thought experiment: If you want to conceive of a fair society, put on a ''veil of ignorance.'' That is, consider a way to organize it if you didn't know your position -- your race, religion or economic status.

It's an intuitive idea, similar to the classic scenario of how you might cut a cake more fairly if you didn't know which slice you would end up getting. The idea resonates widely, since it is, in effect, a political version of the Golden Rule -- ''Do unto others as you would have them do unto you'' -- that in some form is found across cultural and religious traditions.

Mr. Rawls argued that we should choose two guiding principles for how we design society's core political and economic institutions, its ''basic structure.'' First, all citizens should be free to live according to their own beliefs and to participate in politics as genuine equals. Second, we should organize our economy to achieve equal opportunities and widely shared prosperity, tolerating inequalities only where they improve the life prospects of the least advantaged.

Such lofty principles might seem detached from reality, and given their high level of abstraction, it's no wonder that liberals, conservatives and socialists have at times cited Mr. Rawls or even claimed him as one of their own. While it's not immediately obvious how to put his ideas into practice, this is starting to change, as a growing number of progressive economists, including Joseph Stiglitz and Thomas Piketty, are looking to Mr. Rawls for inspiration.

While Mr. Rawls was an idealist, he was also a realist, arguing that a society organized according to his principles would be not only fair but also stable. His 1971 book contains a remarkably prescient warning that a deeply unequal society like modern-day America, where economic success is equated with individual worth, would lead to a politics of resentment that could threaten the survival of liberal democracy itself. The solution is not simply greater material equality but to secure the dignity and self-respect of the least well-off.

Such a vision has eluded not just the Democrats but also mainstream progressive parties across the developed world -- the British Labour Party, the French Socialist Party, the German Social Democrats, the Australian Labor Party. These parties largely accommodated the rise of neoliberalism and its philosophy of individualism and unfettered markets in the 1980s, alienating much of their ***working-class*** base. And they have typically responded to the rise of right-wing populism with a combination of disdain and technocratic pragmatism.

The Nov. 5 election has been widely characterized as pitting a Democratic Party committed to defending American institutions against Mr. Trump and the MAGA movement, which appear to want to overthrow them altogether. The reality, of course, is that most Americans seem to want something in between: a political vision that recognizes the value of democracy and a market economy as well as the need for far-reaching reform of America's political and economic structures.

It's here that Mr. Rawls's ideas come into their own, offering the kind of animating vision that could rejuvenate the Democrats -- and other center-left parties around the world. A political party inspired by him would stand up for an inclusive and tolerant society, a vibrant democracy, equality of opportunity and fair outcomes. But it would also be honest about just how far America falls short of these ideals and embrace the task of responsible but radical reform.

Rather than simply seek to protect America's ailing constitutional democracy from Mr. Trump's inevitable attacks, a party committed to Mr. Rawls's first principle -- that citizens should be able to participate in politics as genuine equals -- would harness popular frustrations in support of a bold agenda to break the grip of private money on American politics, for instance through public funding for political parties, strong limits on private donations and depoliticizing the judiciary through an independent commission for appointing Supreme Court justices.

On the economy, Mr. Rawls has frequently been misunderstood as advocating a familiar politics of redistribution, in which society seeks to maximize growth and compensate the ''losers'' through welfare payments. But in fact, he was one of the first champions of what we would now call predistribution, and his ideas point toward an economic agenda that would tackle inequality at its source by promoting good jobs, a fair distribution of wealth and greater democracy in the workplace.

In practical terms for a modern political party, this would mean going all out for a pro-worker agenda to address the long-neglected concerns of non-college-educated voters -- not simply for higher incomes but also for meaning, community and a chance to contribute to society. Democrats must continue to call out Mr. Trump's economic policies of almost certainly inflationary tariffs, tax cuts for the rich and attacks on unions for what they are, a dangerous con, and instead present big ideas that would actually advance the interests of working people. They would include huge investment in vocational education and left-behind places, forming an effective industrial strategy to create good jobs and giving workers more of a say in how companies are run.

Critics will no doubt denounce these ideas as interfering with economic liberty, as Mr. Rawls's libertarian colleague Robert Nozick did. But they are perfectly compatible with the dynamic market economy that is vital for both individual freedom and economic prosperity. The aim is not to control outcomes but to create rules of the game that work for everyone.

Justice for women and minority groups would be integral to this vision, but it would be tied to universal values of justice and fairness rather than identity politics and pursued, wherever possible, through universal rather than group-based programs for education, health care, housing and welfare.

It's hard to feel hopeful right now. But for all the talk of a generational realignment, there continues to be a clear majority in favor of a tolerant and inclusive politics -- nearly 60 percent of Americans surveyed last year thought ''increasing racial and ethnic diversity'' was a good thing for American society. And there is an enormous appetite for change: A survey conducted in 2021 found that 66 percent thought America's economic system needed to be completely reformed or needed major changes, while 85 percent said the same about its political system. Democrats must harness this energy rather than wish it away.

In the end, it is through politics, not philosophy, that America and other democracies must find a way forward. Yet the challenge facing the Democrats and their counterparts elsewhere is not simply to win votes but to change minds. In Mr. Rawls's ideas, they can find a big-picture vision that is rooted in the best of the liberal tradition and can show the way toward a much-needed period of reconciliation and renewal.

Daniel Chandler is an economist at the London School of Economics and the author of ''Free and Equal: A Manifesto for a Just Society.''

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/24/opinion/democratic-party-progressives-john-rawls.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/24/opinion/democratic-party-progressives-john-rawls.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A20.

**Load-Date:** November 26, 2024

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[***The Opportunity of a Near Miss***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CHX-M5K1-DXY4-X2G3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 21, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 6; NICHOLAS KRISTOF

**Length:** 1775 words

**Byline:** By Nicholas Kristof

**Body**

An assassination attempt. An official Republican presidential nominee who is also the most polarizing figure in modern American history. Growing talk that Donald Trump could win in a landslide. His anointing of an heir to realign the parties and sustain Trumpism for years to come. And in the middle of it all, tormented by polls and criticism, able to change the entire dynamic only by sacrificing himself: Biden Agonistes.

What a week! It feels like August 1914, a fulcrum in the sweep of events. These days may have moved the arc of America and the world, with history lurching in competing directions in ways that may shape our course for decades.

''There are decades when nothing happens, and weeks when decades happen,'' Lenin is widely quoted as saying. In fact, he probably didn't say it; please excuse my effort at fact-checking as a token pushback to our Leninist dialectic of exaggerations, deceptions and conspiracy theories that were all highlighted this week.

To me, the tumult raised fears but also offered hopes and potential turning points -- the most significant of which is the prospect of President Biden withdrawing from the race, as it seems he's considering. Trump had a triumphant and exultant week, but his acceptance speech also underscored his lack of discipline and tendency to hail himself as America's Caesar. The polls showed his strength against Biden, but his speech also suggested a Biden-like incoherence -- a phrase that is somewhat unfair to Biden -- and a path to a Democratic victory that might even shake the G.O.P. out of its cultish reverence for Trump.

Biden can borrow the language of President Lyndon Johnson, who on Sunday, March 31, 1968, stunned the nation in a television address, announcing, ''I shall not seek, and I will not accept, the nomination of my party for another term as your president.'' That won Johnson rare praise; in 2024, such a statement might avert disaster in November.

The transcendent problem for America is not Trump himself but the larger poisons, divisions, inequalities and frustrations that he has exploited and that this month came to a head. These are not unique to the United States, for similar forces led to Brexit in Britain, to Marine Le Pen's rise in France and to a prime minister in Italy whose party has neo-fascist roots. To me, today's toxins seem to be an echo of the rages that tore apart America and Europe in the 1960s but that ultimately ran their course and allowed us to recover. It's far from inevitable, but at the end of this week I could squint and see a path ahead that navigates a dangerous autumn but that ultimately repudiates extremism and leads to a new American recovery.

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As it was, the shooting's aftermath underscored the penchant for conspiracy theories on both right and left, reflecting our national antagonisms and distrust. Representative Mike Collins, a Republican from Georgia, posted that ''Joe Biden sent the orders.'' Alex Jones blamed the ''deep state,'' and Elon Musk suggested (in a post viewed 92 million times) a possibility that ''deliberate'' action by the Secret Service might have allowed the shooting.

Conversely, some on the left immediately suspected that the assassination attempt was staged. Each side was willing to believe the worst of the other -- and to spread untruths.

The shooting reflected undercurrents of violence stirring in our nation, where we not only possess intense political hatreds but also probably have more firearms (perhaps 400 million, though nobody knows) than people (340 million). A horrifying but credible poll this spring found that one-fifth of adults believe that ''Americans may have to resort to violence in order to get the country back on track.''

More Republicans than Democrats took that position. Liberals tend to be quite certain that they are the peaceful ones, but a University of Chicago study by a terrorism expert, Robert Pape, found that more Americans support violence to resist Trump (10 percent) than to back him (7 percent).

The implication is that we on the liberal side, as well as conservatives, need to be more careful to avoid heated rhetoric and bellicose metaphors (like Biden's call to ''put Trump in a bull's-eye'') that can erode norms and incite violence.

One thing Americans haven't worried enough about is the risk of extreme polarization and impunity driving political violence. The impunity can come about through law enforcement turning a blind eye (as happened during attacks on civil rights workers in the 1960s), or it can be that juries might have one or more members who refuse to convict because they believe violence is justified.

Such impunity would incentivize more violence and then counter-violence, in cycles that would drive more polarization and impunity and then become difficult to reverse.

But perhaps, after the assassination attempt, we'll be more cautious and aware.

One of the most pivotal events this week was Trump's selection of JD Vance as his running mate, for that clarified the future of Trumpism and may have given it a more sustainable path.

Whatever one thinks of Vance, he is very intelligent and capable. At 39, he could be a dominant figure in the G.O.P. for decades to come. Moreover, while Trump has impulses, Vance has an ideology, and I can easily imagine Vance working painstakingly to make Trumpism more effective.

A political realignment has already been underway in America, turning Democrats into the party of the educated and driving many ***working-class*** voters to the G.O.P., and Vance seems determined to accelerate it. Instead of denouncing unions, Republicans invited the president of the Teamsters to address the convention, and Vance is unusual in the Republican Party with his support for a higher minimum wage and for stronger antitrust efforts, including breaking up Google and sponsoring the Stop Subsidizing Giant Mergers Act.

In his acceptance on Wednesday evening of the nomination by the party that was once the home of Wall Street and big business, Vance denounced ''Wall Street barons'' for crashing the economy. He called for ''a leader who's not in the pocket of big business but answers to the working man, union and nonunion alike.''

Many ***working-class*** Americans are angry at elites, and they have a right to be. Banks were rescued in the 2008 financial crisis, but 10 million people were allowed to lose their homes. Blue-collar wages have stagnated. We accept that poor children will attend poor schools. We embrace trade policies that move factories abroad but don't try adequately to support the workers or withered communities left behind. Neither party has acted with nearly enough resolve as more than 100,000 Americans die of overdoses annually. I'm a full-throated supporter of more aid to Ukraine, but I understand how left-behind Americans feel that Washington cares more about Ukrainians than it does about them.

Trump and Vance's policies would make matters worse, I believe, but the last week showed how much they are reaching out to ***working-class*** voters that Democrats have too often condescended to. My secret hope is that as they see Republicans winning over ***working-class*** voters, Democrats will compete more for them, be less patronizing, be less inclined to dismiss all Trump voters as bigots and work harder to lift them up.

It seemed for much of the past week that we should brace ourselves for four more years of President Trump, and I began weighing the effects. Would Ukraine survive? Would a resurgent and victorious Russia move next on Moldova? Would America pull out of NATO? Would China, seeing America's allies quarreling and a weakened commitment to global security, move on Taiwan?

At home, would America's civil service be politicized? Would the military be ordered to suppress protesters or to attack narcotics sites in Mexico? Would millions of undocumented workers in the United States be forced abroad? Would abortion rights be further restricted, and doctors jailed? Would Supreme Court justices be replaced with youthful versions of Clarence Thomas and Samuel Alito, cementing a far-right court for decades to come? Would democracy erode, fostering a Budapest-on-the-Potomac?

Yet at week's end, as Democrats contemplated the likelihood that Trump would win the White House and perhaps carry with him both houses of Congress, pressure grew on Biden to withdraw. By the Friday deadline for this column, there were signs that Biden was considering retiring from the race.

If Biden does withdraw, that will mark another cataclysm. The last time something parallel happened was Johnson's withdrawal in 1968. That suggests that this moment of upheaval may drag on, and that's particularly true if there is an open convention rather than a coronation of the vice president.

I've suggested that the strongest pairing might be Gov. Gretchen Whitmer of Michigan with Senator Cory Booker of New Jersey as her running mate. They could run as outsiders and might have an advantage in swing states -- and then it would be Democrats sternly raising questions about their rival's age and mental lapses. As unsettling as this moment is, it is also laden with opportunity.

If in the end Trump loses in November, that would mean Republicans had won the popular vote only once (in 2004) since 1989, and there would probably be calls for the G.O.P. to end the cult of Trump and return to normalcy. In some ways, the forced resignation of President Richard Nixon in 1974 ended not only the Watergate scandal but also the entire chapter of poisonous discord that encompassed Vietnam, urban riots and assassinations. It ushered in a time of healing and national cleansing. Let's hope we can find our own off-ramp from our age of extremism, polarization and division.

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**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page SR6, SR7.

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[***The Political Failure of Bidenomics***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BD4-7M61-DXY4-X167-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 23, 2024 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 20; DAVID BROOKS

**Length:** 1232 words

**Byline:** By David Brooks

**Body**

After Hillary Clinton's defeat in 2016, most sensible Democrats realized they had a problem. The party was hemorrhaging support from the white ***working class***. More than 60 percent of Americans over 25 do not have a four-year college degree; it's very hard to win national elections without them.

So in 2020 the Democrats did something sensible. For the first time in 36 years, they nominated a presidential candidate who did not have a degree from Harvard or Yale. Joe Biden won the White House and immediately pursued an ambitious agenda to support the ***working class***.

The economic results have been fantastic. During Biden's term, the U.S. economy has created 10.8 million production and nonsupervisory jobs, including nearly 800,000 manufacturing jobs and 774,000 construction jobs. Wages are rising faster for people at the lower end of the wage scale than for people at the higher end.

A study by the economist Robert Pollin and others estimated that 61 percent of the jobs created by the infrastructure law Biden championed wouldn't require a college degree; the same applied for 58 percent of the jobs created by the Inflation Reduction Act and 44 percent of those created by the CHIPS act.

A study from the Brookings Institution found that since 2021, the new laws have directed almost $82 billion in strategic sector investment to the nation's employment-distressed counties. As a result of the private investment set in motion by Biden policies, we are in the middle of an employment, manufacturing and productivity boom in many of the places that had been left behind, benefiting the sorts of workers who had been hit hard by deindustrialization.

But what have been the political effects? Have these huge spending programs increased ***working-class*** support for the Democratic Party? Are the Democrats reclaiming their mantle as the party of the ***working class***?

The answer so far is unfortunately a resounding no. Biden's economic policies have done little to help the Democratic Party politically. In fact, the party continues to lose ***working-class*** support. In a recent NBC poll, voters said they trusted Donald Trump more than Biden to handle the economy -- by a 22-point margin, the largest advantage any candidate has had on this issue in the history of NBC polling going back to 1992.

Some of the loss of support is happening among some of the party's historically most loyal constituencies. A recent Gallup poll measured how many Americans identified with the Democratic and Republican Parties. Over the past three years, the Democrats' lead among Black Americans has shrunk by 19 points. Among Hispanics, the Democratic lead has shrunk by 15 points.

The Gallup poll also showed that the diploma divide is still widening. Those with postgraduate degrees are increasingly turning Democratic; those without college degrees are increasingly Republican.

Franklin Roosevelt built the New Deal majorities by using government to support workers. Biden has tried to do the same. While his policies have worked economically, they have not worked politically. What's going on?

The fact is that over the past few decades and across Western democracies, we've been in the middle of a seismic political realignment -- with more-educated voters swinging left and less-educated voters swinging right. This realignment is more about culture and identity than it is about economics.

College-educated voters have tended to congregate in big cities and lead very different lives from voters without a college degree. College-educated voters are also much more likely to focus their attention on cultural issues like abortion and L.G.B.T.Q. rights, and they are much more socially liberal than non-college-educated voters.

Matthew Goodwin, a political scientist who writes about the diploma divide in Britain, titled his recent book ''Values, Voice and Virtue.'' He argues the educated and less educated have different values. The former are cosmopolitan progressive, while the latter are traditionalist -- faith, family, flag. He continues that educated voices drown out less-educated voices, thanks to their dominance at universities and in the media, the arts, nonprofits and bureaucracies. Less-educated voters feel unheard and unseen. Goodwin writes that across the Western world, ''workers and nongraduates are consistently the most likely to endorse statements such as 'the government does not care what people like me think.'''

Finally, less-educated voters feel morally judged for being socially backward. An analysis of more than 65,000 people across 36 countries by the Dutch scholar Jochem van Noord found that people who do not belong to the new elite are united not only by economic insecurity but also by ''feelings of misrecognition, that is, the extent to which people have the feeling that they do not play a meaningful role in society, that they possess a (stigmatized) identity that is looked down upon.''

The British writer David Goodhart gets to the nub: ''In the last two decades it sometimes feels as if an enormous social vacuum cleaner has sucked up status from manual occupations, even skilled ones, and reallocated it to the middling and higher cognitive professions and the prosperous metropolitan centers and university towns.''

For the sake of the country, Biden was obviously right to focus his policies on those being left behind. I was among those who hoped that ***working-class*** voters would interpret these policies as a sign of respect and recognition. But the chasm between the classes is also about morals, status and identity, and those wounds have not been healed. The crucial question is: Can the Democrats try anything else to slow the realignment?

There are reasons for pessimism. In a study for the Manhattan Institute, the political scientist Zach Goldberg argued persuasively that the educated class would continue to remake the Democratic Party in its own image. Educated Democrats, Goldberg showed, were more politically engaged than less-educated Democrats. They were more likely to donate to candidates. They controlled the means of communication.

Goldberg observed an emerging paradox: ''The Democratic Party will likely become a majority-minority party relatively soon, but one that is still largely and disproportionately steered by liberal college-educated whites.''

If there's hope for Democrats, it's found in people like Senator John Fetterman of Pennsylvania, who works strenuously to reduce social distance between Democrats and the ***working class***. As the analyst Ruy Teixeira pointed out in his The Liberal Patriot Substack, Fetterman has gone against progressive orthodoxy on immigration, fossil fuels and Israel. He shows his strength by tilting against party elites. Similarly, the Democrat Tom Suozzi won back his Long Island House seat by playing up issues like controlling the border and fighting crime.

Joe Biden has done a masterly job of holding together the diverse Democratic coalition. But in order to win ***working-class*** votes, you probably have to show some degree of independence from the educated elites who lead it.

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/22/opinion/bidenomics-****working-class****.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/22/opinion/bidenomics-working-class.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY ELLIOTT VERDIER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A20.

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[***Here’s the Hope if Biden Withdraws; Nicholas Kristof***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CHP-FH01-DXY4-X23H-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 20, 2024 Saturday 17:30 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1769 words

**Byline:** Nicholas Kristof Nicholas Kristof became a columnist for The Times Opinion desk in 2001 and has won two Pulitzer Prizes. His new memoir is &amp;#8220;Chasing Hope: A Reporter&#39;s Life.&amp;#8221;

**Highlight:** The assassination attempt, like so much else, should be a wake-up call. It was a near miss for Trump but also for America — and a chance to make things better.

**Body**

An assassination attempt. An official Republican presidential nominee who is also the most polarizing figure in modern American history. Growing talk that Donald Trump could win in a landslide. His anointing of an heir to realign the parties and sustain Trumpism for years to come. And in the middle of it all, tormented by polls and criticism, able to change the entire dynamic only by sacrificing himself: Biden Agonistes.

What a week! It feels like August 1914, a fulcrum in the sweep of events. These days may have moved the arc of America and the world, with history lurching in competing directions in ways that may shape our course for decades.

“There are decades when nothing happens, and weeks when decades happen,” Lenin is widely quoted as saying. In fact, he [*probably didn’t say it*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/720814/chasing-hope-by-nicholas-d-kristof/); please excuse my effort at fact-checking as a token pushback to our Leninist dialectic of exaggerations, deceptions and conspiracy theories that were all highlighted this week.

To me, the tumult raised fears but also offered hopes and potential turning points — the most significant of which is the prospect of President Biden withdrawing from the race, as it seems he’s considering. Trump had a triumphant and exultant week, but his acceptance speech also underscored his lack of discipline and tendency to hail himself as America’s Caesar. The polls showed his strength against Biden, but his speech also suggested a Biden-like incoherence — a phrase that is somewhat unfair to Biden — and a path to a Democratic victory that might even shake the G.O.P. out of its cultish reverence for Trump.

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The transcendent problem for America is not Trump himself but the larger poisons, divisions, inequalities and frustrations that he has exploited and that this month came to a head. These are not unique to the United States, for similar forces led to Brexit in Britain, to Marine Le Pen’s rise in France and to a prime minister in Italy whose party has neo-fascist roots. To me, today’s toxins seem to be an echo of the rages that tore apart America and Europe in the 1960s but that ultimately ran their course and allowed us to recover. It’s far from inevitable, but at the end of this week I could squint and see a path ahead that navigates a dangerous autumn but that ultimately repudiates extremism and leads to a new American recovery.

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As it was, the shooting’s aftermath underscored the penchant for [*conspiracy theories*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/720814/chasing-hope-by-nicholas-d-kristof/) on both right and left, reflecting our national antagonisms and distrust. Representative Mike Collins, a Republican from Georgia, [*posted*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/720814/chasing-hope-by-nicholas-d-kristof/) that “Joe Biden sent the orders.” Alex Jones blamed the “deep state,” and Elon Musk suggested (in a [*post*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/720814/chasing-hope-by-nicholas-d-kristof/) viewed 92 million times) a possibility that “deliberate” action by the Secret Service might have allowed the shooting.

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More Republicans than Democrats took that position. Liberals tend to be quite certain that they are the peaceful ones, but a University of Chicago [*study*](https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/720814/chasing-hope-by-nicholas-d-kristof/) by a terrorism expert, Robert Pape, found that more Americans support violence to resist Trump (10 percent) than to back him (7 percent).

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If Biden does withdraw, that will mark another cataclysm. The last time something parallel happened was Johnson’s withdrawal in 1968. That suggests that this moment of upheaval may drag on, and that’s particularly true if there is an open convention rather than a coronation of the vice president.

I’ve suggested that the strongest pairing might be Gov. Gretchen Whitmer of Michigan with Senator Cory Booker of New Jersey as her running mate. They could run as outsiders and might have an advantage in swing states — and then it would be Democrats sternly raising questions about their rival’s age and mental lapses. As unsettling as this moment is, it is also laden with opportunity.

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This article appeared in print on page SR6, SR7.

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[***For This Sibling, A Startling Turn***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DFG-MRR1-DXY4-X008-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 18, 2024 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1254 words

**Byline:** By Christopher Kuo

**Body**

Anne-Marie Duff, who won a BAFTA for her performance in this black comedy last season, discusses her character's darker turn in Season 2.

This article includes spoilers for the first two episodes of the new season of ''Bad Sisters.''

The first time Anne-Marie Duff applied to drama school in London, it turned her away. When she applied a second time, she received a spot on the wait-list, and she called the school every day until it admitted her.

''I think they just gave me a place to shut me up,'' said Duff, the 54-year-old actress who describes herself as ''London Irish.''

Tenacity and grit characterize many of the women Duff has portrayed throughout her decades-long career, including the indomitable Fiona Gallagher in the British version of ''Shameless'' and the headstrong Queen Elizabeth I in the BBC mini-series ''The Virgin Queen.''

But those qualities are particularly evident in Duff's depiction of Grace Williams, the troubled housewife at the center of an elaborate whodunit in the Apple TV+ black comedy ''Bad Sisters.''

For much of the first season, Grace trembles under the heavy hand of her husband, John Paul (Claes Bang), a jerk known by an unprintable nickname to her sisters. But beneath her timid exterior and obsequious demeanor, frustration builds and boils as her husband belittles and badgers her -- until she finally erupts in a climactic scene that ends with her strangling him.

Duff's performance won her best supporting actress at the EE British Academy Film Awards and helped secure a second season of the show, which had a two-episode premiere on Wednesday.

Duff extends that same mix of outward docility and inward steeliness to Season 2, which opens as Grace waltzes into a new, joyous marriage that swiftly devolves into tragedy.

''She brings a fragility and a strength,'' Dearbhla Walsh, a director of the series, said of Duff. ''Anne-Marie presents like a delicate flower, like a delicate bird. But she has the strength of an eagle.''

In a recent video call, Duff, in a black shirt and gold hoop earrings, was still chipper after a packed day of rehearsals. She has been preparing for her lead role in a new production of ''The Little Foxes,'' the Lillian Hellman play about a scheming Southern family, that will be staged at the Young Vic in London.

''It's been heavenly to be back in the rehearsal room,'' Duff said.

Anyone who has seen the first two episodes of the new season of ''Bad Sisters'' knows why Duff is able to take on a new play: In a shocking twist, Grace is killed off in a freak car crash at the end of Episode 2. When Sharon Horgan, who developed the series with Dave Finkel and Brett Baer, came up with the idea for Grace to die early this season, Duff quickly embraced the idea.

''It had a sort of classic inevitability about it,'' Duff said. ''Her shame around what she did -- she murdered him, and she's covered in his blood. So it feels sort of like a Greek play, doesn't it?''

Walsh said Duff's ''motivation is not to be in a long-running successful series.''

''She is prepared as an actress to sacrifice the paycheck for what's the most interesting and truthful thing for the character,'' Walsh continued.

Theater has always been Duff's first love. Raised in west London by two ***working-class***, Irish immigrants -- her father was a house painter, and her mother worked at a shoe shop -- she was a voracious reader and extremely shy.

Her parents signed her up for youth theater to try to push her out of her shell. There, in the midst of performing silly renditions of ''Dracula,'' she became bewitched. Acting became her refuge, her shyness swallowed up by larger-than-life personas.

When Duff applied eventually for drama school, she looked extremely young for her age and was rejected. Two years later, she secured admission to the Drama Center in London, a school some former students call ''the trauma center'' because of its extreme environment. Although Duff struggled at first, landing only small roles and receiving frequent criticism from instructors, quitting never crossed her mind.

''I had that kernel of self-belief that young people have when they're standing on the diving board,'' Duff said. ''I was like, I will, I will, I will. I was the little train that could. And so despite the battering that I was getting, I still held on to that little faith in myself.''

She sent dozens of letters to people across the industry, imploring them for work. One casting director gave her a tiny role in a stage adaptation of the French film ''Les Enfants du Paradis,'' directed by Mike Alfreds. She had about five lines, but the part helped her land a lead role in Alfreds's next play, ''Uncle Silas,'' an adaptation of the novel by Sheridan Le Fanu.

Her breakthrough came with an appearance in the 2002 film ''The Magdalene Sisters'' and then later with ''Shameless,'' which earned her two BAFTA nominations for best actress and led to a marriage to her co-star James McAvoy. (They divorced in 2016 and co-parent their teenage son.)

Duff's performance in ''Garage,'' a 2007 Irish film about a lonely gas station attendant, caught Horgan's eye years later. She knew Duff would be the right choice to portray Grace.

''She has this dance with the main character, and she goes through like five different emotions during the course of this dance,'' Horgan said. ''That was why I wanted her. I knew that she had depths of emotion that we were going to need.''

When Duff received her first scripts for ''Bad Sisters,'' she relished the gallows humor of the series -- the opening scene shows Grace peering into her husband's coffin and trying to cover up his erection -- and the fact that it featured five leading women, each distinct and colorful. Having grown up as the only girl in her family, she felt drawn to the idea of temporarily embracing sisterhood.

''A lot of my best friends have sisters, and I've always been jealous,'' she said. ''Because I thought while at times it can be a bit toxic or a bit messy, you have this blood-tied best friend.''

Through her work with Women's Aid, an organization that works to prevent domestic abuse, Duff had met many women like Grace, who came from middle-class households and had suffered from emotional manipulation. She saw the character as a way to amplify those women's stories.

''It's very difficult for a lot of women to speak up, right?'' she said. ''The television is a very political medium. You're inside people's homes. You get to whisper in the ears of people.''

Grace spends most of Season 1 constricted and cut off by John Paul; many of Duff's scenes were filmed separately from those with the rest of the cast, and she sometimes felt isolated from the other lead actresses.

That changes in Season 2 as Grace embarks on a new, expansive life -- with laughter in her eyes, a fresh swing in her step -- until her recovery is snuffed out by the car crash.

''There was no escape for her,'' Duff said, referring to Grace's tragic end. ''It was only one way out.''

Having exited ''Bad Sisters,'' Duff has relished the chance to return to theater after a two-year hiatus. Since her first foray into theater as a shy, unassuming girl, the stage has remained her safe place.

''I feel so comfortable in a rehearsal room, in a way that I wouldn't feel if I were in another professional environment,'' she said. ''We get to hide more than anyone because we get to go onstage and be somebody else -- someone else has created our life and our story and our words and our costume.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/14/arts/television/bad-sisters-anne-marie-duff.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/14/arts/television/bad-sisters-anne-marie-duff.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Anne-Marie Duff, who is a troubled housewife in ''Bad Sisters,'' often plays tenacious women. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ALICE ZOO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (C1)

Top, Anne-Marie Duff in London, and, above left, with Sharon Horgan in the Season 2 premiere of ''Bad Sisters'' on Apple TV+. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ALICE ZOO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

NATALIE SEERY/APPLE TV+) (C7) This article appeared in print on page C1, C7.

**Load-Date:** November 18, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Trump’s Economic Vision Has a Lot of Flaws. Here’s Another.; Peter Coy***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D9X-WYR1-DXY4-X4KK-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 1, 2024 Friday 16:09 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1133 words

**Byline:** Peter CoyPeter Coy is a writer for the Opinion section of The Times, covering economics and business. Email him at .

**Highlight:** A new paper undermines the historical narrative at the heart of his love of tariffs.

**Body**

Tariffs made America great, Donald Trump [*likes to argue*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/19/opinion/trump-vance-tariffs.html). Is it true?

Tariffs were high during America’s Gilded Age — roughly 1870 to 1900 — because tariff revenue was the federal government’s main funding source, and because manufacturers lobbied successfully for protection from imports.

Two economists, Alexander Klein and Christopher Meissner, tried to find out if those high tariffs were responsible for the rise of American manufacturing in the period. They downloaded reams of P.D.F.s of old tariff schedules from the Library of Congress and typed the data by hand into a database for analysis, cleaning it up and coding it as they went along. Because they broke the tariffs down by detailed product, and had state-by-state data on the performance of domestic manufacturers, they were able to detect effects that had been invisible in previous analyses.

Their conclusion: “The era’s high tariffs are unlikely to have helped the United States become a globally competitive manufacturer.”

Trump isn’t the first to attribute America’s manufacturing success to the tariff wall that made imported products expensive compared with those produced at home. “It is difficult to imagine how this pattern of development could have been realized without a protective tariff,” Robert C. Allen, a distinguished professor at New York University’s Abu Dhabi campus, wrote in a 2014 [*journal article*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/19/opinion/trump-vance-tariffs.html).

In reality, though, tariffs didn’t make much difference in the United States because the domestic economy was both large and relatively isolated from world trade, Klein and Meissner wrote in their paper, which was issued by the Center for Economic and Policy Research in London. Klein is an expert on manufacturing at the University of Sussex in Britain and Meissner is an economic historian at the University of California, Davis.

To the extent that tariffs did make a difference, it was to reduce rather than enhance the productivity of labor, which is the output of goods per hour of work, they found.

What did account for America’s rise, then, if not tariffs? That’s outside the scope of the paper, but the economists cite explanations that others have put forward. For example, natural resources such as “massive iron ore deposits near Lake Superior” could have given domestic producers an advantage.

It’s possible that industrial success led to higher tariffs rather than the tariffs boosting industries — say, because profitable companies worked Washington to deliver high tariffs that would lock in their advantages.

By digging into the tariff data line by line, Klein and Meissner found that high tariffs tended to reduce the average size of establishments in an industry, apparently by limiting import competition and allowing smaller, less efficient companies to enter the market.

While the tariffs lowered labor productivity, they did increase output and employment in protected industries, the economists found. But that’s not evidence of global competitiveness — it just means that domestic businesses expanded to cash in on the higher prices that domestic buyers were paying because of the tariffs.

I ran Klein and Meissner’s paper past Douglas Irwin, an economist at Dartmouth College who specializes in trade and tariffs. “What is striking to me is how ‘modern’ the results seem in the sense that many recent empirical studies find similar results in non-U.S. contexts,” he wrote in an email.

The one shortcoming in the paper, Irwin wrote, is that data limitations prevented the authors from determining definitively whether some U.S. manufacturers were harmed by having to pay more for imported raw materials and parts. If so, that would make tariffs look even less attractive. “This point is particularly important in iron and steel, where the high cost of inputs really hurt the competitive position of manufacturers of transportation equipment, metal goods and the like (just like steel tariffs today),” he wrote.

Klein and Meissner have nothing to say about Trump’s infatuation with tariffs, but their title gives a hint. It’s “Did Tariffs Make American Manufacturing Great? New Evidence from the Gilded Age.”

The Readers Write

I wonder if the economist you cited in your newsletter about [*the economy and voting*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/19/opinion/trump-vance-tariffs.html) took into account that some voters are simply misinformed. I heard about a [*survey*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/19/opinion/trump-vance-tariffs.html) finding that a large number of potential voters thought the phrase “the stock market is at, or near, all-time highs” was false, and that those voters were much more likely to be supporters of former President Trump. So maybe it still is “the economy, stupid,” but in a much weirder way, where actual economic conditions matter less than the (often incorrect) feeling voters have of economic conditions, seen through a partisan lens.

Josh Miner

La Crosse, Wis.

As a practitioner for nearly 50 years, I have soured on [*arbitration*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/19/opinion/trump-vance-tariffs.html) and now eliminate arbitration clauses from contracts I draft. Discovery and motion practice have expanded, with attendant disputes. The leeway afforded arbitrators has too often been abused, and too often the rulings are result-oriented and not consistent with governing law. With limited rights to contest those rulings, dissatisfaction has become endemic. Finally, the costs of arbitration venues are not insignificant and far exceed court costs.

Neil E. Ayervais

Littleton, Colo.

I was a mediator for the Third Appellate District Court in California. It worked well and I can assure you in those cases it was by far more effective than continuing the case on appeal. According to the statistics provided by the offices, the mediation program annually saved the cost of one additional judge in the Appellate Court.

Gail Sheehy Smyth

Fort Belvoir, Va.

As a German attorney, I can understand the interest of U.S. companies to seek refuge in arbitration, since your extraordinarily high damages caused via contingency fees seem to be excessive from a German legal perspective.

Udo Hartmann

Berlin

To add to your item about [*banks taking advantage of customers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/19/opinion/trump-vance-tariffs.html): Massachusetts requires mortgage companies to pay interest on money held in escrow for taxes and insurance. So, what interest rate did I receive last year? 0.01 percent.

Jim Cook

Westborough, Mass.

Quote of the Day

“Voters consistently say that the economy is the most important issue of the 2024 election. And yet the affluent overwhelmingly support Kamala Harris, whose administration favored bold redistribution and big government spending, while a critical mass of ***working-class*** voters favor Donald Trump, whose economic agenda consisted largely of cutting taxes for the rich and trying to kill the Affordable Care Act.”

— Rogé Karma, “America’s Class Politics Have Turned Upside Down,” The Atlantic ([*Oct. 31*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/19/opinion/trump-vance-tariffs.html))

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Illustration by The New York Times; source image by Kean Collection/Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 1, 2024

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[***New Biden Ad Walks a Fine Line on Inflation***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C80-TSN1-DXY4-X1MF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

June 14, 2024 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 17; AD WATCH

**Length:** 569 words

**Byline:** By Nicholas Nehamas

**Body**

Inflation has cooled but many voters give significantly higher marks to President Biden's opponent, Donald J. Trump, on the economy.

Inflation is one of President Biden's biggest weaknesses with voters heading into November, and former President Donald J. Trump has hammered him on the issue relentlessly.

But Mr. Biden is trying to fight back: His campaign released a new advertisement on Thursday featuring him talking about his ***working-class*** roots and expressing sympathy for Americans struggling with high prices.

The ad, produced in English and Spanish, is part of a seven-figure June media purchase targeted to Hispanic voters. It will run on television, radio and digital platforms across the battleground states, according to the Biden campaign, and is debuting on a day when Mr. Trump is set to speak in Washington to the Business Roundtable, a powerful lobbying group.

Mr. Biden has built a sizable fund-raising advantage over Mr. Trump and has used his campaign war chest to dominate the airwaves. But the former president still leads in many polls, and he has made significant progress with Hispanic voters since his defeat in 2020. He is also making up ground in fund-raising.

What the ad says

The 30-second ad begins with a voice-over from Mr. Biden recounting his family leaving their hometown so his father could find work, paired with a black-and-white image of people carrying suitcases.

''I know what it's like to struggle,'' the president says. ''I know many American families are fighting every day to get by.''

The video then cuts to an image of a yelling Mr. Trump, as Mr. Biden continues to speak in the background. ''That's why no one, especially a billionaire like Donald Trump, will stop me from fighting to lower costs for food and rent,'' he says.

Then the president appears directly before the camera, pointing his finger to emphasize his message: ''Because hardworking families deserve a chance to get ahead.''

What the ad is trying to do

Mr. Biden is walking a delicate line in talking about rising prices.

Inflation has cooled but the damage to Mr. Biden has already been done in the eyes of many voters, who give significantly higher marks to Mr. Trump on the economy.

Many Democrats have urged him to respond by blaming corporate price gouging for inflation. They regularly use terms like ''corporate greed,'' ''shrinkflation'' and ''greedflation.'' In his re-election race, Senator Bob Casey of Pennsylvania cut a campaign ad showing corporate executives sneaking into a grocery store and switching out cereal boxes for smaller replacements.

But Mr. Biden has generally preferred to focus on his administration's efforts to cut costs for consumers, and he has pursued an argument that Mr. Trump is on the side of billionaires and big companies, not the ***working class***.

In the ad, Mr. Biden continues to follow that approach, telling Americans that he feels the pain in their pocketbooks and is fighting for them, without directly attacking corporations. In a news release accompanying the ad, the Biden campaign was more aggressive.

''Hardworking Latinos shouldn't be struggling with high costs while massive corporations and billionaires see record profits and salaries,'' said Julie Chavez Rodriguez, Mr. Biden's campaign manager. ''That's why President Biden won't stop fighting to lower costs, create good-paying quality jobs, and go after greedy corporations.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/13/us/politics/biden-ad-inflation-trump.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/13/us/politics/biden-ad-inflation-trump.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: President Biden has emphasized his efforts to cut costs for consumers, saying Donald J. Trump is on the side of billionaires. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A17.

**Load-Date:** June 14, 2024

**End of Document**



[***The Political Failure of Bidenomics; David Brooks***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BCX-MJC1-DXY4-X022-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

February 22, 2024 Thursday 09:55 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1240 words

**Byline:** David Brooks David Brooks has been a columnist with The Times since 2003.&amp;#160;He is the author, most recently,&amp;#160; of &amp;#8220;How to Know a Person: The Art of Seeing Others Deeply and Being Deeply Seen.&amp;#8221;

**Highlight:** The divide between classes can’t be healed with economic remedies alone.

**Body**

After Hillary Clinton’s defeat in 2016, most sensible Democrats realized they had a problem. The party was hemorrhaging support from the white ***working class***. More than 60 percent of Americans over 25 do not have a four-year college degree; it’s very hard to win national elections without them.

So in 2020 the Democrats did something sensible. For the first time in 36 years, they nominated a presidential candidate who did not have a degree from Harvard or Yale. Joe Biden won the White House and immediately pursued an ambitious agenda to support the ***working class***.

The economic results have been fantastic. During Biden’s term, the U.S. economy has created 10.8 million production and nonsupervisory jobs, including nearly 800,000 manufacturing jobs and 774,000 construction jobs. Wages are rising faster for people at the lower end of the wage scale than for people at the higher end.

A [*study*](https://peri.umass.edu/component/k2/item/1758-employment-impacts-of-new-u-s-clean-energy-manufacturing-and-infrastructure-laws) by the economist Robert Pollin and others estimated that 61 percent of the jobs created by the infrastructure law Biden championed wouldn’t require a college degree; the same applied for 58 percent of the jobs created by the Inflation Reduction Act and 44 percent of those created by the CHIPS act.

A [*study*](https://peri.umass.edu/component/k2/item/1758-employment-impacts-of-new-u-s-clean-energy-manufacturing-and-infrastructure-laws) from the Brookings Institution found that since 2021, the new laws have directed almost $82 billion in strategic sector investment to the nation’s employment-distressed counties. As a result of the private investment set in motion by Biden policies, we are in the middle of an employment, manufacturing and productivity boom in many of the places that had been left behind, benefiting the sorts of workers who had been hit hard by deindustrialization.

But what have been the political effects? Have these huge spending programs increased ***working-class*** support for the Democratic Party? Are the Democrats reclaiming their mantle as the party of the ***working class***?

The answer so far is unfortunately a resounding no. Biden’s economic policies have done little to help the Democratic Party politically. In fact, the party continues to lose ***working-class*** support. In a recent [*NBC poll*](https://peri.umass.edu/component/k2/item/1758-employment-impacts-of-new-u-s-clean-energy-manufacturing-and-infrastructure-laws), voters said they trusted Donald Trump more than Biden to handle the economy — by a 22-point margin, the largest advantage any candidate has had on this issue in the history of NBC polling going back to 1992.

Some of the loss of support is happening among some of the party’s historically most loyal constituencies. A recent [*Gallup poll*](https://peri.umass.edu/component/k2/item/1758-employment-impacts-of-new-u-s-clean-energy-manufacturing-and-infrastructure-laws) measured how many Americans identified with the Democratic and Republican Parties. Over the past three years, the Democrats’ lead among Black Americans has shrunk by 19 points. Among Hispanics, the Democratic lead has shrunk by 15 points.

The Gallup poll also showed that the diploma divide is still widening. Those with postgraduate degrees are increasingly turning Democratic; those without college degrees are increasingly Republican.

Franklin Roosevelt built the New Deal majorities by using government to support workers. Biden has tried to do the same. While his policies have worked economically, they have not worked politically. What’s going on?

The fact is that over the past few decades and across Western democracies, we’ve been in the middle of a seismic political realignment — with more-educated voters swinging left and less-educated voters swinging right. This realignment is more about culture and identity than it is about economics.

College-educated voters have tended to congregate in big cities and lead very different lives from voters without a college degree. College-educated voters are also much more likely to focus their attention on cultural issues like abortion and L.G.B.T.Q. rights, and they are much more socially liberal than non-college-educated voters.

Matthew Goodwin, a political scientist who writes about the diploma divide in Britain, titled his recent book “Values, Voice and Virtue.” He argues the educated and less educated have different values. The former are cosmopolitan progressive, while the latter are traditionalist — faith, family, flag. He continues that educated voices drown out less-educated voices, thanks to their dominance at universities and in the media, the arts, nonprofits and bureaucracies. Less-educated voters feel unheard and unseen. Goodwin writes that across the Western world, “workers and nongraduates are consistently the most likely to endorse statements such as ‘the government does not care what people like me think.’”

Finally, less-educated voters feel morally judged for being socially backward. An analysis of more than 65,000 people across 36 countries by the Dutch scholar Jochem van Noord found that people who do not belong to the new elite are united not only by economic insecurity but also by “feelings of misrecognition, that is, the extent to which people have the feeling that they do not play a meaningful role in society, that they possess a (stigmatized) identity that is looked down upon.”

The British writer David Goodhart gets to the nub: “In the last two decades it sometimes feels as if an enormous social vacuum cleaner has sucked up status from manual occupations, even skilled ones, and reallocated it to the middling and higher cognitive professions and the prosperous metropolitan centers and university towns.”

For the sake of the country, Biden was obviously right to focus his policies on those being left behind. I was among those who hoped that ***working-class*** voters would interpret these policies as a sign of respect and recognition. But the chasm between the classes is also about morals, status and identity, and those wounds have not been healed. The crucial question is: Can the Democrats try anything else to slow the realignment?

There are reasons for pessimism. In a [*study*](https://peri.umass.edu/component/k2/item/1758-employment-impacts-of-new-u-s-clean-energy-manufacturing-and-infrastructure-laws) for the Manhattan Institute, the political scientist Zach Goldberg argued persuasively that the educated class would continue to remake the Democratic Party in its own image. Educated Democrats, Goldberg showed, were more politically engaged than less-educated Democrats. They were more likely to donate to candidates. They controlled the means of communication.

Goldberg observed an emerging paradox: “The Democratic Party will likely become a majority-minority party relatively soon, but one that is still largely and disproportionately steered by liberal college-educated whites.”

If there’s hope for Democrats, it’s found in people like Senator John Fetterman of Pennsylvania, who works strenuously to reduce social distance between Democrats and the ***working class***. As the analyst Ruy Teixeira pointed out in his [*The Liberal Patriot*](https://peri.umass.edu/component/k2/item/1758-employment-impacts-of-new-u-s-clean-energy-manufacturing-and-infrastructure-laws) Substack, Fetterman has gone against progressive orthodoxy on immigration, fossil fuels and Israel. He shows his strength by tilting against party elites. Similarly, the Democrat Tom Suozzi won back his Long Island House seat by playing up issues like controlling the border and fighting crime.

Joe Biden has done a masterly job of holding together the diverse Democratic coalition. But in order to win ***working-class*** votes, you probably have to show some degree of independence from the educated elites who lead it.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://peri.umass.edu/component/k2/item/1758-employment-impacts-of-new-u-s-clean-energy-manufacturing-and-infrastructure-laws) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://peri.umass.edu/component/k2/item/1758-employment-impacts-of-new-u-s-clean-energy-manufacturing-and-infrastructure-laws). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://peri.umass.edu/component/k2/item/1758-employment-impacts-of-new-u-s-clean-energy-manufacturing-and-infrastructure-laws).

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY ELLIOTT VERDIER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A20.

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**End of Document**



[***In Uruguay, Wrapping Up A Civil Race For President***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D8J-WY31-DXY4-X1PW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 26, 2024 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 8

**Length:** 994 words

**Byline:** By Laurence Blair

**Body**

Crime, child poverty and an aging population are top issues as voters in one of Latin America's most stable democracies head to the polls on Sunday.

The small South American nation of Uruguay will hold elections on Sunday to choose a new president at a time when it is a model of political and economic stability in Latin America.

The 3.4 million people who make up Uruguay's population may disagree on key issues, but civility and a focus largely on policy, not personal attacks, make Uruguay's election stand in stark contrast to those in other countries, particularly in the United States.

Because of constitutional term limits, the current president, Luis Lacalle Pou, 51, cannot run for a second consecutive term.

But the result will determine whether his conservative coalition retains control of the presidency or whether a moderate leftist alliance, which legalized marijuana and ramped up green energy production when it last governed from 2005 to 2020, will return to power.

A win for the opposition would probably put a prospective trade deal with China on hold. Its candidate, Yamandú Orsi, has said that he prefers to negotiate with Beijing through Mercosur, an alliance of South American countries.

Whoever wins will have to grapple with challenges posed by an aging population, widespread child poverty and concerns over violent crime, as drug gangs have made inroads into what has traditionally been one of South America's most peaceful countries.

If no candidate wins a majority of the vote, a runoff between the top two finishers will be held on Nov. 24.

Who is running?

The governing party's candidate is Álvaro Delgado, 55, who has worked as a rural veterinarian, congressman and chief of staff to Mr. Lacalle Pou.

Both men belong to the center-right National Party, which is part of the governing Republican Coalition. Mr. Delgado's victory would ensure the continuation of an economic agenda focused on pursuing trade agreements and streamlining government regulations.

His main challenger, Mr. Orsi, is a former high school history teacher and a two-time mayor of Canelones, a sprawling district of beach towns, cattle ranches and outlying suburbs of the country's capital, Montevideo.

Mr. Orsi, 57, was born in Canelones to a ***working-class*** household without electricity. He has spent 30 years rising through the ranks of the Broad Front, a progressive leftist coalition of communists, trade unionists, Democratic Socialists and former leftist guerrillas, among them José Mujica.

Support from Mr. Mujica, a folksy, avuncular figure who served as president from 2010 to 2015, helped Mr. Orsi win the coalition's nomination.

Long-shot contenders include Andrés Ojeda, 40, a lawyer, member of the conservative Colorado Party and regular guest on talk shows who has tried to appeal to younger voters.

In one campaign spot posted on Instagram, Mr. Ojeda flexes his biceps in a gym, says his favorite movie is ''300,'' reports that he is ''seriously thinking'' about adopting a pet and describes himself as ''such a Capricorn.''

What are the issues?

Uruguayan elections are typically contested around the middle ground with parties across the political spectrum that are in broad agreement on many issues.

The leading candidates all emphasize maintaining Uruguay's business-friendly policies -- including lower corporate taxes than those of its neighbors -- which have helped the economy grow. They also support preserving the country's relatively generous Social Security system that, among other things, provides free health care to poor people.

In an interview, Mr. Orsi said that Uruguay's strong political parties and robust welfare state meant there was little room for the kind of populist movements that had taken hold in other countries.

He and Mr. Delgado have had regular exchanges, Mr. Orsi said. ''Here, we all know each other,'' he said, adding that if he won, he would not seek to ''destroy everything and start again from zero.''

But he criticized the governing party's record on crime and said that urgent action was needed to repel drug gangs, fight money laundering and ''avoid the state losing control of prisons.'' He has promised to hire 2,000 new police officers.

Uruguay's homicide rate has swelled in recent years, and a third of the public cites insecurity as the top concern, followed by unemployment, drug trafficking and poverty.

Mr. Orsi has said that he plans to create more jobs for young people and increase wages for low-income workers to help tackle the child poverty rate, which is at 25 percent.

Mr. Delgado has also vowed to support disadvantaged children through a $200 million spending package. His campaign team did not respond to a request for an interview.

But he has placed more emphasis on improving economic growth, finalizing the trade agreement with China and implementing a ''bureaucratic decontamination'' by firing 15,000 government workers and replacing their roles with online services.

Who is likely to win?

Mr. Orsi has consistently led in polls by a comfortable margin, but many analysts still believe he may not have enough support to avoid a runoff against Mr. Delgado.

Mr. Ojeda could play an important role in a second round of voting because he and candidates from smaller conservative parties are expected to back Mr. Delgado, a formula that helped Mr. Lacalle Pou win in 2019.

But analysts say Mr. Orsi -- who has drawn praise from voters as having a down-to-earth manner and who has benefited from Mr. Mujica's support -- has emerged as the candidate most likely to become the next president.

When will we find out the results?

The polls open at 8 a.m. and close at 7:30 p.m., with results expected within a few hours. Results will be uploaded to the website of Uruguay's electoral authority.

Jack Nicas and Mauricio Rabuffetti contributed reporting from Montevideo, Uruguay.Jack Nicas and Mauricio Rabuffetti contributed reporting from Montevideo, Uruguay.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/25/world/americas/uruguay-2024-election-president-candidates.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/25/world/americas/uruguay-2024-election-president-candidates.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A8.

**Load-Date:** October 26, 2024

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[***The Democrats Are in Trouble. This Man Can Save Them.; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DGR-XWP1-JBG3-646S-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 24, 2024 Sunday 10:37 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1477 words

**Byline:** Daniel Chandler

**Highlight:** The theories of the 20th-century philosopher John Rawls can inspire a new way for Democrats to find relevance.

**Body**

The election victory by Donald Trump and his Republican Party was a rebuke of a Democratic Party that has positioned itself as protector of a despised status quo, rendering it unable to connect with an electorate desperate for change. Defeating Mr. Trump in the future will require liberals, progressives and others on the left to articulate a positive vision that can capture the imagination of a broad majority of Americans.

But where can they find the inspiration for such a vision?

The answer lies in the work of the towering 20th-century political philosopher John Rawls.

In his epoch-defining treatise “A Theory of Justice,” published in 1971, Mr. Rawls set out a humane and egalitarian vision of a liberal society, an alternative both to the toxic blend of neoliberal economics and identity politics that has dominated Democratic thinking in recent decades and to the pessimistic anti-liberalism that holds sway among some more radical parts of the left. In this time of crisis for liberalism, it offers an unparalleled, and as yet largely untapped, resource for shaping a broad-based and genuinely transformational progressive politics — not just for Democrats but also for center-left parties internationally.

The philosophy of Mr. Rawls, who died in 2002, is grounded not in self-interest and competition but in reciprocity and cooperation. His most famous idea is a thought experiment: If you want to conceive of a fair society, put on a “veil of ignorance.” That is, consider a way to organize it if you didn’t know your position — your race, religion or economic status.

It’s an intuitive idea, similar to the classic scenario of how you might cut a cake more fairly if you didn’t know which slice you would end up getting. The idea resonates widely, since it is, in effect, a political version of the Golden Rule — “Do unto others as you would have them do unto you” — that in some form is found across cultural and religious traditions.

Mr. Rawls argued that we should choose two guiding principles for how we design society’s core political and economic institutions, its “basic structure.” First, all citizens should be free to live according to their own beliefs and to participate in politics as genuine equals. Second, we should organize our economy to achieve equal opportunities and widely shared prosperity, tolerating inequalities only where they improve the life prospects of the least advantaged.

Such lofty principles might seem detached from reality, and given their high level of abstraction, it’s no wonder that liberals, conservatives and socialists have at times cited Mr. Rawls or even claimed him as one of their own. While it’s not immediately obvious how to put his ideas into practice, this is starting to change, as a growing number of progressive economists, including Joseph Stiglitz and Thomas Piketty, are looking to Mr. Rawls for inspiration.

While Mr. Rawls was an idealist, he was also a realist, arguing that a society organized according to his principles would be not only fair but also stable. His 1971 book contains a remarkably prescient warning that a deeply unequal society like modern-day America, where economic success is equated with individual worth, would lead to a politics of resentment that could threaten the survival of liberal democracy itself. The solution is not simply greater material equality but to secure the dignity and self-respect of the least well-off.

Such a vision has eluded not just the Democrats but also mainstream progressive parties across the developed world — the British Labour Party, the French Socialist Party, the German Social Democrats, the Australian Labor Party. These parties largely accommodated the rise of neoliberalism and its philosophy of individualism and unfettered markets in the 1980s, alienating much of their ***working-class*** base. And they have typically responded to the rise of right-wing populism with a combination of disdain and technocratic pragmatism.

The Nov. 5 election has been widely characterized as pitting a Democratic Party committed to defending American institutions against Mr. Trump and the MAGA movement, which appear to want to overthrow them altogether. The reality, of course, is that most Americans seem to want something in between: a political vision that recognizes the value of democracy and a market economy as well as the need for far-reaching reform of America’s political and economic structures.

It’s here that Mr. Rawls’s ideas come into their own, offering the kind of animating vision that could rejuvenate the Democrats — and other center-left parties around the world. A political party inspired by him would stand up for an inclusive and tolerant society, a vibrant democracy, equality of opportunity and fair outcomes. But it would also be honest about just how far America falls short of these ideals and embrace the task of [*responsible but radical reform*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/opinion/kamala-harris-election.html).

Rather than simply seek to protect America’s ailing constitutional democracy from Mr. Trump’s inevitable attacks, a party committed to Mr. Rawls’s first principle — that citizens should be able to participate in politics as genuine equals — would harness popular frustrations in support of a bold agenda to break the grip of private money on American politics, for instance through public funding for political parties, strong limits on private donations and depoliticizing the judiciary through an independent commission for appointing Supreme Court justices.

On the economy, Mr. Rawls has frequently been misunderstood as advocating a familiar politics of redistribution, in which society seeks to maximize growth and compensate the “losers” through welfare payments. But in fact, he was one of the first champions of what we would now call predistribution, and his ideas point toward an economic agenda that would tackle inequality at its source by promoting good jobs, a fair distribution of wealth and greater democracy in the workplace.

In practical terms for a modern political party, this would mean going all out for a pro-worker agenda to address the long-neglected concerns of non-college-educated voters — not simply for higher incomes but also for meaning, community and a chance to contribute to society. Democrats must continue to call out Mr. Trump’s economic policies of almost certainly inflationary tariffs, tax cuts for the rich and attacks on unions for what they are, a dangerous con, and instead present big ideas that would actually advance the interests of working people. They would include huge investment in vocational education and left-behind places, forming an effective industrial strategy to create good jobs and giving workers more of a say in how companies are run.

Critics will no doubt denounce these ideas as interfering with economic liberty, as Mr. Rawls’s libertarian colleague Robert Nozick did. But they are perfectly compatible with the dynamic market economy that is vital for both individual freedom and economic prosperity. The aim is not to control outcomes but to create rules of the game that work for everyone.

Justice for women and minority groups would be integral to this vision, but it would be tied to universal values of justice and fairness rather than identity politics and pursued, wherever possible, through universal rather than group-based programs for education, health care, housing and welfare.

It’s hard to feel hopeful right now. But for all the talk of a generational realignment, there continues to be a [*clear majority*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/opinion/kamala-harris-election.html) in favor of a tolerant and inclusive politics — nearly 60 percent of Americans surveyed last year thought “increasing racial and ethnic diversity” was a good thing for American society. And there is an enormous [*appetite for change*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/opinion/kamala-harris-election.html): A survey conducted in 2021 found that 66 percent thought America’s economic system needed to be completely reformed or needed major changes, while 85 percent said the same about its political system. Democrats must harness this energy rather than wish it away.

In the end, it is through politics, not philosophy, that America and other democracies must find a way forward. Yet the challenge facing the Democrats and their counterparts elsewhere is not simply to win votes but to change minds. In Mr. Rawls’s ideas, they can find a big-picture vision that is rooted in the best of the liberal tradition and can show the way toward a much-needed period of reconciliation and renewal.

Daniel Chandler is an economist at the London School of Economics and the author of “[*Free and Equal: A Manifesto for a Just Society.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/opinion/kamala-harris-election.html)

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/opinion/kamala-harris-election.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/opinion/kamala-harris-election.html). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/07/opinion/kamala-harris-election.html).

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[***In J.D. Vance, Donald Trump Selects an Inheritor***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CH1-Y6K1-JBG3-600R-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 17, 2024 Wednesday

The New York Times on the Web

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**Section:** Section ; Column 0; National Desk; NEWS ANALYSIS

**Length:** 1314 words

**Byline:** By Shane Goldmacher

**Body**

For nearly nine years, Donald J. Trump has been the singular face of Republican politics and the undisputed leader of the Make America Great Again movement. On Monday, the former president came as close as he may ever come to anointing a successor.

The choice of J.D. Vance as Mr. Trump's running mate, a politician nearly 40 years his junior, immediately vaults the first-term senator to the forefront of a G.O.P. future that is not so far away.

If elected in November, Mr. Trump, 78, can serve only a single term -- the 22nd Amendment states that no person shall be elected president more than twice -- a rarity for a candidate naming a potential vice president. That short tenure has added extra urgency to the question of what comes next for Trumpism, a movement inextricably tethered to one man who has so thoroughly transformed the Republican Party.

Mr. Vance, 39, is the first millennial to make a major presidential ticket, a Marine veteran and a politician who has thoroughly remade himself as a full-throated MAGA enthusiast. In recent months, it was Mr. Vance's aggressive defense of Trumpism and Mr. Trump, even on mainstream news outlets, that helped him stand out for the former president as a worthy inheritor.

''Trump is going to hold on to the MAGA baton for as long as he can,'' said Chip Saltsman, a longtime Republican strategist. But Mr. Vance, he added, is ''somebody that's going to have an inside track, a head start on getting the MAGA baton in four years.''

The changing of the ideological guard was clearly, and at times uncomfortably, apparent on the convention floor on Monday. Mentions of Mr. Vance's name earned roars of approval. The face of Senator Mitch McConnell, an avatar of the pre-Trump G.O.P., inspired boos when he appeared on the big screens above delegates.

Mr. Trump, whose fame soared from hosting the television show ''The Apprentice'' for more than a decade, has long been leery of anointing anyone a successor. He made his choice of Mr. Vance after months of deliberations and less than 48 hours after an assassination attempt at a rally in Pennsylvania that has rattled the nation.

''President Trump and I have talked about this a great deal and I feel certain J.D. feels the same way,'' said Senator Bill Hagerty of Tennessee, a close Republican ally of the former president. ''What they're focused on right now is not some sort of long-term vision, it's about November.''

Still, as Alex Conant, a veteran Republican strategist who has worked on presidential campaigns, put it, ''The next presidential race starts in January 2025.''

Jeff Kaufmann, the chairman of the Republican Party in Iowa, where the nominating contest will begin yet again in 2028, hailed Mr. Vance as representing ''a new generation of Donald Trump policies.''

Representative Ashley Hinson of Iowa called the choice ''inspired.''

''I'm 41 and J.D.'s 39, right? So I think about that next generation of Republican leader -- I'm inspired by this pick,'' Ms. Hinson said. ''I'm sure he'll be back in Iowa a lot.''

Any succession plan is far from secured.

As Mike Pence, Mr. Trump's vice president, can attest, the balancing act of serving as the No. 2 to Mr. Trump is uniquely perilous. Mr. Pence spent almost the entirety of his four years as a loyal lieutenant. Yet his decision to certify the 2020 election on Jan. 6, 2021 -- as Trump supporters constructed gallows for the vice president outside the Capitol -- forever tarnished the Trump-Pence relationship.

Mr. Vance, notably, has said he would not have certified the election.

Mr. Vance is not viewed as the politically safe pick. He has been serving in public office for just 18 months. He has never been through a presidential run, unlike the other top contenders, Senator Marco Rubio of Florida and Gov. Doug Burgum of North Dakota.

Mr. Vance has also embraced some more radical and far-reaching ideas aligned with Mr. Trump, including once calling for the firing of ''every civil servant in the administrative state'' to replace them with ''our people.'' More recently, in a post on X, he blamed President Biden and the Democrats for rhetoric that ''led directly to President Trump's attempted assassination.''

Not so long ago, Mr. Vance's acid pen was trained on Mr. Trump.

Back in 2016, Mr. Vance called him ''cultural heroin'' and even compared him to Hitler. After the election, Mr. Vance's best-selling book, ''Hillbilly Elegy,'' was almost required reading for liberals seeking to understand how Democrats had fumbled away an election in which ***working-class*** white voters turned out in record numbers to elect Mr. Trump.

Now Mr. Trump is betting there is no one more devoted than a convert.

Republicans hope Mr. Vance's elevation to the ticket will cement the new demographic appeals of the Republican Party to the ***working class***. In his book, Mr. Vance recounted his own hardscrabble upbringing in poor corners of Ohio and Kentucky.

''We've seen a movement in the Republican Party to appeal to more blue-collar workers -- it's a continuation of that,'' said Gov. Mike DeWine, Republican of Ohio, who has disagreed sharply with both Mr. Trump and Mr. Vance on some issues, including aid to Ukraine. Mr. DeWine said the pick showed that the former president ''wants someone who is closely aligned to him on policy.''

Mr. Biden's first remarks about Mr. Vance on Monday were to tag him as ''a clone of Trump on the issues.''

The choice of Mr. Vance was also a victory for the more isolationist forces pressing for an America First ideology. Tucker Carlson, the former Fox News host who is slated to speak at the convention later in the week, was among those who said they were thrilled.

At an event on Monday, Mr. Carlson said the strongest case for the first-term senator was in the enemies he had amassed. ''Every bad person I've ever met in a lifetime in Washington was aligned against J.D. Vance,'' said Mr. Carlson, an outspoken opponent of American military entanglements abroad.

At least in the immediate term, Mr. Vance is expected to amplify rather than reshape Mr. Trump's vision. But he arrives on the ticket aligned, on both foreign and domestic matters, focused less on slashing spending and more on curbing the administrative state, and with a skepticism of intervening abroad.

''He is somebody who represents what we need more of in politics, which is someone who is smart, independent-minded, energetic,'' Vivek Ramaswamy, the Trump-aligned former presidential candidate, said on Monday. ''The one negative is that leaves one fewer of those people in the Senate who are already scarce enough to push our America First agenda.''

Mr. Ramaswamy was born and raised in Ohio and signaled his interest in the Senate seat. If Mr. Vance is elected vice president, Mr. DeWine will then appoint an interim senator.

Mr. Vance also has had some key Silicon Valley financiers in his corner, including David Sacks, who spoke at the Republican convention on Monday, the multibillionaire Elon Musk and Peter Thiel, who contributed $10 million to a pro-Vance super PAC in 2022.

Blake Masters, who ran for Senate from Arizona in 2022, also with $10 million in Thiel support, praised Mr. Vance's ''unique vision.''

''It's not just about what conservatism has been in the past, which is obviously an important part of conservatism, but it's about where do we go in the future,'' Mr. Masters said. ''I think that is what made Trump so different in 2016. He was actually talking about things in a different way than Republican politicians who had come before.''

Mr. Masters lost his 2022 race. He is running for a House seat this year with Mr. Vance's backing, while Mr. Trump has endorsed his rival. Mr. Masters mockingly appropriated one of Vice President Kamala Harris's favorite sayings to sum up the Vance pick.

''J.D. is what can be, unburdened by what has been,'' he said.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vance-running-mate.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/us/politics/trump-vance-running-mate.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Republicans said J.D. Vance's elevation to the ticket cemented the new demographic appeals of the Republican Party to the ***working class***. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Doug Mills/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 17, 2024

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[***Tips From a Democrat Who Draws Rural Votes***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCJ-K2K1-JBG3-61HC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 9, 2024 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 12

**Length:** 1126 words

**Byline:** By Annie Karni

**Body**

Representative Marie Gluesenkamp Perez, who is on track to win re-election in a rural Washington district, says her party needs to stop demonizing others and change the candidates it supports.

It's not always fun to say I told you so.

For two years, Representative Marie Gluesenkamp Perez, a Democrat from a rural, red district in Washington State, has been criticizing her party for being too dismissive of ***working-class*** voters.

That message appears to have helped Ms. Gluesenkamp Perez, long considered perhaps the most vulnerable Democrat in the House, defy the odds in this week's election. Even with President-elect Donald J. Trump at the top of the ticket and winning her district for the third cycle in a row, she appears on track to beat the same candidate she faced two years ago, the far-right Republican and former Green Beret Joe Kent, by a larger margin.

She declared victory in a statement on Thursday night after a newspaper in her district called the election for her, although The Associated Press had yet to do so.

Preliminary results showed her outrunning Vice President Kamala Harris by seven percentage points in two of the reddest counties in her district, including the rural timber county of Wahkiakum.

Ms. Gluesenkamp Perez, 36, who owns an auto shop now run by her husband, has angered progressives for sometimes crossing party lines, like when she voted with Republicans to repeal President Biden's student loan forgiveness initiative. She argued that it didn't do much for her district, where most people don't have college degrees.

On Thursday, Ms. Gluesenkamp Perez spoke on the phone from her home in Washougal, Wash., while her toddler son napped. She discussed what lessons she draws from her own performance amid her party's losses.

This interview has been lightly edited and condensed for clarity.

You were considered the most vulnerable House Democrat, and yet you are set to win by a fairly comfortable margin in a very difficult political environment. How did that happen, and what can Democrats learn from you?

I just refused to let this race be nationalized. It's not about the message. It's about my loyalty to my community. The messenger is the message in a lot of ways. My awareness of my community has been durable, and it's reflective in my vote record. That is a huge asset.

The fundamental mistake people make is condescension. A lot of elected officials get calloused to the ways that they're disrespecting people.

I truly love case work. The other week we had a case, somebody was marked as deceased by the I.R.S., their tax returns kept getting flagged. I got to bring someone back from the dead. We're at like 1,600 cases and $3 million returned to constituents.

How do you think Democratic lawmakers have been disrespecting people?

I was talking to a woman who runs one of the largest labor and delivery wards. She said 40 percent of the babies there have at least one parent addicted to fentanyl. What is empathetic -- to tell them that's their problem, or to take border security seriously?

People are putting their groceries on their credit card. No one is listening to anything else you say if you try to talk them out of their lived experiences with data points from some economists.

Do you feel like saying ''I told you so'' to your colleagues who somehow failed to appeal to those lived experiences?

Sometimes I feel like people just can't hear me, so I'm not going to bother saying it to some of these people. They've got to come to Jesus; I can't make them do that. I'm very focused on here and loyal to here.

What I really hope happens is we change the kinds of candidates we're supporting.

I hope that other normal people see me and decide they can run, too. There's not one weird trick that's going to fix the Democratic Party. It is going to take parents of young kids, people in rural communities, people in the trades running for office and being taken seriously.

As a woman who has highlighted your own story of visiting an abortion clinic when you had a miscarriage in your second trimester, how do you feel about the re-election of Donald J. Trump?

I guess I'm still wrapping my head around where to go and what to do. But even when the national current changes, we still have all the same issues here.

There was a very surreal moment at the end of the campaign and the ballot boxes in my district had just been bombed. I came home, and my husband showed me a video of this herd of elk on our property. One was missing a leg. It's this disease, chronic wasting disease, that turns them into zombies. There are real problems here, and you guys think the solution is bombing ballot boxes? Get a grip.

What were your thoughts about Vice President Kamala Harris's campaign?

When Harris first came out, I was open to talking with her. I know she called a lot of my colleagues; she never called me. I've had one interaction with Harris, at her Naval Observatory Christmas party.

I'm not super comfortable at that kind of thing. I'd had a couple of beers, and I noticed that almost all of the garlands were plastic. My district grows a hell of a lot of Christmas trees. I was strong-armed into taking a picture. I said, ''Madam Vice President, we grow those where I live.'' She just walked away from me. There was kind of an eye roll, maybe. My thinking was, it does matter to people where I live. It's the respect, the cultural regard for farmers. I didn't feel like she understood what I was trying to say.

Congress may be a bleak place for Democrats next year. Do you think you'll be able to get anything done?

I don't see the Right to Repair Act [a bill that would require that farm equipment manufacturers provide the tools, parts and instructions needed for consumers to repair the equipment themselves] as particularly partisan, or advocating for shop class in junior high as partisan. I have no idea what it will be like, but I have an obligation to keep working. A lot of people before me sacrificed for us to be able to have our own business, build a home, own land, so what are you going to do with the gift that you have?

Were you surprised by the election results?

I got yelled at every time I tried to say something about that. By everyone. I think I'm at the platinum level of bipartisanship, where I've gotten threats of physical violence from both sides. Weighing in on national politics is not my focus and not my job.

Do you think the Democratic Party will be forced to change after this crushing election cycle?

It's a lot easier to look outward, to blame and demonize other people, instead of looking in the mirror and seeing what we can do. It is not fun to feel accountability. It requires a mental flexibility that's painful. So who knows?

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/08/us/politics/marie-gluesenkamp-perez-interview.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/08/us/politics/marie-gluesenkamp-perez-interview.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Representative Marie Gluesenkamp Perez, left, with a welding student at Clark College in Vancouver, Wash. (PHOTOGRAPH BY M. SCOTT BRAUER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A12.

**Load-Date:** November 9, 2024

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[***Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction: Sunday, September 01st 2024***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CW2-CXD1-JBG3-600C-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 1, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 533 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the September 01, 2024 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending August 17, 2024. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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|  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction |
| This | On |  |
| Week | List |  |
| 1 | 71 | HILLBILLY ELEGY, by J.D. Vance. (Harper) The Yale Law School graduate and 2024 Republican vice presidential nominee looks at the struggles of the white ***working class*** through the story of his own childhood. |
| 2 | 304 | THE BODY KEEPS THE SCORE, by Bessel van der Kolk. (Penguin) How trauma affects the body and mind, and innovative treatments for recovery. |
| 3 | 23 | THE TRUTHS WE HOLD, by Kamala Harris. (Penguin) A memoir by the daughter of immigrants who is currently serving as the 49th vice president and is the Democratic Party's 2024 presidential nominee. |
| 4 | 11 | THE BACKYARD BIRD CHRONICLES, by Amy Tan. (Knopf) Essays and drawings by the author of ?The Joy Luck Club? and ?The Bonesetter's Daughter,? which depict a search for peace through birding. |
| 5 | 227 | BRAIDING SWEETGRASS, by Robin Wall Kimmerer. (Milkweed Editions) A botanist and member of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation espouses having an understanding and appreciation of plants and animals. |
| 6 | 223 | BORN A CRIME, by Trevor Noah. (One World) A memoir about growing up biracial in apartheid South Africa by the former host of ?The Daily Show.? |
| 7 | 8 | THE ART THIEF, by Michael Finkel. (Vintage) The author of ?The Stranger in the Woods? tells the story of Stéphane Breitwieser, who stole art more than 200 times for the sake of admiring it. |
| 8 | 8 | FRIENDS, LOVERS, AND THE BIG TERRIBLE THING, by Matthew Perry. (Flatiron) The late actor, known for playing Chandler Bing on ?Friends,? shares stories from his childhood and his struggles with sobriety. |
| 9 | 85 | EDUCATED, by Tara Westover. (Random House) The daughter of survivalists, who is kept out of school, educates herself enough to leave home for university. |
| 10 | 33 | THINK AGAIN, by Adam Grant. (Penguin) An examination of the cognitive skills of rethinking and unlearning that could be used to adapt to a rapidly changing world. |
| 11 | 10 | CHAOS, by Tom O'Neill with Dan Piepenbring. (Back Bay) A reassessment of events surrounding the murders committed by Charles Manson?s followers. |
| 12 | 499 | THE GLASS CASTLE, by Jeannette Walls. (Scribner) The author recalls how she and her siblings were constantly moved from one bleak place to another. ? |
| 13 | 61 | EVERYTHING I KNOW ABOUT LOVE, by Dolly Alderton. (Harper Perennial) The British journalist shares stories and observations; the basis of the TV series. |
| 14 | 181 | KILLERS OF THE FLOWER MOON, by David Grann. (Vintage) The story of a murder spree in 1920s Oklahoma that targeted Osage Indians, whose lands contained oil. The fledgling F.B.I. intervened, ineffectively. |
| 15 | 375 | OUTLIERS, by Malcolm Gladwell. (Back Bay) Unexpected factors that explain why some people succeed, such as upbringing, timing and 10,000 hours of deliberate practice. |

**Load-Date:** September 2, 2024

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[***Best Sellers: Combined Print & E-Book Nonfiction: Sunday, September 01st 2024***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CW2-CXD1-JBG3-600B-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 1, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 515 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the September 01, 2024 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending August 17, 2024. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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|  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Combined Print & E-Book Nonfiction |
| This | Last | On |  |
| Week | Week | List |  |
| 1 |  | 1 | SHAMELESS, by Brian Tyler Cohen. (Harper) The YouTube host and podcaster gives his take on the current state of the Republican Party. |
| 2 | 1 | 94 | HILLBILLY ELEGY, by J.D. Vance. (Harper) The Yale Law School graduate and 2024 Republican vice presidential nominee looks at the struggles of the white ***working class*** through the story of his own childhood. |
| 3 |  | 1 | MEN HAVE CALLED HER CRAZY, by Anna Marie Tendler. (Simon & Schuster) Tendler recounts events surrounding and during her time in a psychiatric hospital. |
| 4 | 2 | 2 | THE ART OF POWER, by Nancy Pelosi. (Simon & Schuster) The representative from California chronicles her journey in politics, including her time as the first woman to serve as speaker of the House. |
| 5 |  | 1 | ON THE EDGE, by Nate Silver. (Penguin Press) The founder of FiveThirtyEight and author of ?The Signal and the Noise? profiles professional risk-takers. |
| 6 | 4 | 21 | THE ANXIOUS GENERATION, by Jonathan Haidt. (Penguin Press) A co-author of ?The Coddling of the American Mind? looks at the mental health impacts that a phone-based life has on children. |
| 7 |  | 1 | WHAT'S NEXT, by Melissa Fitzgerald and Mary McCormack. (Dutton) Two cast members of ?The West Wing? share insights into the creation and legacy of the series. |
| 8 | 5 | 207 | THE BODY KEEPS THE SCORE, by Bessel van der Kolk. (Penguin) How trauma affects the body and mind, and innovative treatments for recovery. |
| 9 | 6 | 16 | THE DEMON OF UNREST, by Erik Larson. (Crown) The author of ?The Splendid and the Vile? portrays the months between the election of Abraham Lincoln and the beginning of the Civil War. |
| 10 |  | 1 | MINISTRY OF TRUTH, by Steve Benen. (Mariner) A producer on ?The Rachel Maddow Show? looks at how the Republican Party seeks to rewrite recent history. |
| 11 | 9 | 70 | OUTLIVE, by Peter Attia with Bill Gifford. (Harmony) A look at recent scientific research on aging and longevity. |
| 12 | 3 | 2 | OVER RULED, by Neil Gorsuch and Janie Nitze. (Harper) An associate justice of the United States Supreme Court questions the amount and complexity of laws in America. |
| 13 | 7 | 6 | ASK NOT, by Maureen Callahan. (Little, Brown) The author of ?American Predator? puts forward a history of the Kennedy family that describes the abuse of women in its orbit. |
| 14 | 13 | 11 | THE TRUTHS WE HOLD, by Kamala Harris. (Penguin) A memoir by the daughter of immigrants who is currently serving as the 49th vice president and is the Democratic Party's 2024 presidential nominee. |
| 15 | 12 | 12 | NUCLEAR WAR, by Annie Jacobsen. (Dutton) The author of ?Operation Paperclip? portrays possible outcomes in the minutes following a nuclear missile launch. |

**Load-Date:** September 2, 2024

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[***Harris Has a Rare Chance To Re-engineer Her Party***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CRW-TG11-DXY4-X05C-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Length:** 3607 words

**Byline:** By Timothy Shenk

**Body**

Something in the Democratic Party's subconscious knows that in times of change it should go to Chicago.

It's the city where, in 1896, a 36-year-old William Jennings Bryan sent convention delegates into raptures by railing against Gilded Age plutocrats and urging Democrats to reconnect with their populist roots. It's where Franklin Roosevelt announced the coming of a New Deal in 1932, starting a political revolution that pushed the Republican Party to the verge of extinction. It's where the Roosevelt coalition ripped itself apart in 1968, with protesters and students brawling in the streets and delegates at one another's throats. It's where Bill Clinton went in 1996 to put the ghost of the '60s to rest and build a bridge to the 21st century. And it's where, next week, the party of Bryan, Roosevelt and Clinton will become the party of Kamala Harris.

But what is she going to do with it? Although Ms. Harris isn't the kind of politician who dreams about sweeping transformations -- ''fancy speeches,'' she says, aren't her thing -- she has a unique opportunity to set the course for Democrats as they stumble out of the Biden years, to outline the steps for beating Donald Trump this fall and renew the party over the next generation.

The easiest option will be to keep heading down the road Democrats have followed since Mr. Trump's takeover of the G.O.P. eight years ago. This means piecing together an anti-MAGA coalition in a campaign defined by opposition to Mr. Trump while tacitly giving up on blue-collar voters who have moved toward the Republican Party. Although the track record of this program has been spotty -- just ask Hillary Clinton -- it has by no means been a disaster for Democrats. The Harris campaign chair, Jen O'Malley Dillon, summarized the logic in a memo detailing a path to victory shortly after President Biden left the race, arguing that Ms. Harris is poised to match his 2020 levels of support with nonwhite voters, young people and women, while improving on the party's already strong performance with college-educated whites.

There's another choice, a campaign dedicated to restoring the party's frayed connection with the ***working class***. This path is tougher to follow and could well be riskier in the short term because it requires providing a compelling reason to vote for Ms. Harris rather than against Mr. Trump. It's also the plan with the best chance of building a lasting Democratic majority that could deal a hammer blow against Trumpism and pull American democracy back from the brink.

The key figures in this strategy are voters deeply skeptical of elites and alienated from both parties, usually because they lean to the left on economics but have cultural views closer to the center or the right. A political scientist might call them anti-system and ideologically cross-pressured, but you could also think of them as burn-it-down moderates. Politics doesn't occupy much of their attention, in part because they probably didn't graduate from college, which also means they're more likely to come from the working or lower-middle class.

These voters have been moving away from Democrats since the 1960s. For most of this period, the group has been overwhelmingly white, but it has recently become more diverse, with Hispanic voters and younger Black men drifting away from their traditional partisan moorings under Mr. Biden, a phenomenon polls suggest Ms. Harris has not fully reversed.

It's easy to assume that in a ferociously polarized electorate Democrats have no chance at winning back these voters in significant numbers. But polarization isn't a force of nature, and party coalitions aren't dictated by factors outside human control.

To understand how to break out of our current political stalemate, you have to look back at the last time Democrats came to Chicago with a nominee looking for a reset with the public and willing to wage an all-out war against polarization to get it. Bill Clinton was rewarded a few months later with a distinctly Rooseveltian coalition anchored in the bottom half of the income distribution -- and with a victory on Election Day.

Ms. Harris still has a chance to assemble that kind of coalition. That makes it the perfect time to take a look at the strategy that made it possible almost 30 years ago.

Mr. Clinton's campaign could have fallen apart on the day he accepted the presidential nomination in 1996. As he was huddled with staffers putting the final touches on his convention speech, news leaked that Dick Morris, his chief strategist, had kept up a long-running relationship with a prostitute. Clinton staffers were accustomed to what they called ''bimbo eruptions,'' but only when they came from the candidate. Mr. Morris was off the campaign within hours.

His departure left a vacuum that was quickly filled by Mark Penn and Doug Schoen, two longtime consultants who have become familiar characters in histories about the making of the modern Democratic Party. And by ''characters'' I mean ''villains'' -- the pollsters behind the New Democratic push to abandon the ***working class***, which spurred a populist revolt that gave the world President Donald Trump. Today, they are both frequent guests on conservative media who can be counted on to chastise Democrats for moving too far left.

But before rebranding themselves as pundits, Mr. Penn and Mr. Schoen were strategists with a reputation for winning tough elections. Unlike many operatives then or since, they approached campaigns with an overarching theory of politics in mind -- a theory based in truths about the politics of polarization that Democrats are still wrestling with today.

The basic pieces of this framework came from Mr. Schoen, who witnessed the Roosevelt coalition breaking apart as a teenager in his hometown, New York City. Born during the prime of the postwar baby boom, Mr. Schoen had been raised in comfort on the Upper East Side. He was drawn to politics early and worked on campaigns that sent him into the city's boroughs beyond Manhattan, where he saw racial and ethnic conflict feeding into a broader disaffection with liberalism among blue-collar whites. Neighborhoods like Brooklyn's Sheepshead Bay were teeming with archetypal representatives of burn-it-down moderation. They were repelled by the orthodox conservatism of Barry Goldwater but also felt out of place in a Democratic Party that was making peace with the cultural upheavals of the 1960s, and they were looking for someone -- anyone -- who would speak for them.

Getting inside the heads of these kinds of voters became an obsession for Mr. Schoen. As a doctoral student at Oxford, he wrote a dissertation on Enoch Powell, a Conservative legislator, who stunned Britain in 1968 with a speech predicting that if current levels of immigration continued, soon ''the Black man will have the whip hand over the white man.'' After sifting through polls and election returns, Mr. Schoen convincingly argued that Powell drew millions of these voters to the right in the first election after his incendiary speech, shaking the foundations of British politics and setting the template for a new kind of right-wing populism.

Mr. Schoen came to believe that people were drawn to firebrands like Powell not just because they agreed with him on the issues, but also because he was saying something political elites had tried to keep out of public debate. It proved that he was in touch with a constituency that wasn't being heard -- and it gave his movement a frisson of excitement. You didn't need a grass-roots campaign or a lavish advertising blitz to win over the public, just the right words and voters ready to hear them.

From that core understanding emerged the building blocks for a counterstrategy that Mr. Schoen took with him when he returned to the United States and struck up his partnership with Mr. Penn, whom he'd first met in school.

The pair started from the premise that public opinion is a fact. Ignoring a problem on the electorate's mind doesn't make it go away; it only sends voters searching for a candidate who will listen. Views can shift over time, but probably not over the course of a campaign. Elections aren't a battle for hearts and minds. They're a fight to give voters what they already want.

Mr. Penn and Mr. Schoen believed that the culture wars had killed off the New Deal coalition and given conservatives a durable advantage at the polls. ''Democrats must face a hard truth,'' Mr. Schoen argued in a memoir published in 2007. ''We do not have the natural majority coalition in American politics.'' They would have to grind out victories by holding the middle ground in a battlefield that favored Republicans.

Mr. Clinton gave Mr. Penn and Mr. Schoen an opportunity to test this strategy on a national level when he brought them on to his re-election campaign. The president was coming off the brutal 1994 midterms, where Republicans won control of both the House and the Senate for the first time in 40 years. Working alongside Mr. Morris, the men came up with a plan for resurrecting Mr. Clinton in time for re-election. ''The perception across America was that Clinton was a liberal,'' Mr. Schoen recalled. ''Our first task was to change that.''

They homed in on two slices of the electorate, referred to inside the campaign as ''Swing 1'' and ''Swing 2.'' Swing 1 consisted of voters who leaned to the right on economics and to the left on culture, chiefly middle- and upper-middle-class suburban women. (Mr. Penn called them soccer moms, popularizing a term that was already in circulation.) Swing 2 voters were the latest version of the burn-it-down moderates. Blue collar and disproportionately male, they were hostile to Washington and uncomfortable with social change. Many had supported the businessman-turned-politician Ross Perot in 1992, a fact Mr. Penn knew well, because he had done early polling for Mr. Perot.

Mr. Penn and Mr. Schoen saw the fight for the center as a two-front war, and they workshopped messages intended to win over both of their target groups -- measures against teen smoking for Swing 1, tough talk on trade for Swing 2; stronger environmental regulations for one, strict border controls for the other. They coupled small-scale initiatives including school uniforms with a push to the center on the big-ticket issues of the campaign: for balancing the budget while protecting Social Security and Medicare, in favor of strong families but opposed to dragging the country back to the 1950s.

Although soccer moms would be remembered as the secret to Mr. Clinton's victory, the campaign tried to have the best of both worlds, holding on to the party's ***working-class*** base while making inroads with the affluent. Mr. Clinton did well in traditionally Republican suburbs and broke records for Democrats with college-educated whites, but he did even better among noncollege whites, and he was the last Democrat to turn in a stronger performance in West Virginia (one of the poorest states in the country) than in California (one of the wealthiest).

Mr. Clinton didn't get the thoroughgoing vindication he wanted. With Mr. Perot in the race, he didn't win a majority of the popular vote, coming in just short, with 49.2 percent. Republicans retained control of Congress and added two seats in the Senate. Barely half of eligible voters cast a ballot, the lowest turnout since the 1920s. But it was, despite all the caveats, a place to build -- a sign that Democrats could still repair their damaged relationship with working people.

Yet it didn't happen quite as Democrats hoped. Part of the blame goes to Mr. Penn and Mr. Schoen, who after winning a hard-fought race for voters up and down the economic scale pushed the Democrats to abandon economic populism altogether, with the hope of extending Democratic gains even deeper into the middle and upper classes.

Mr. Clinton's own failures contributed, too. The Monica Lewinsky scandal put a damper on the bid to reclaim family values for Democrats over the short run, and the fallout from the administration's policies over the long run was even worse: Free trade hollowed out the heartland, lax financial regulations helped inflate bubbles on Wall Street and Democrats failed to stem organized labor's ongoing decline.

The stage was set for a revolt when the economy turned south, which it did just in time for outrage with the agonizingly slow recovery to be directed at the country's first Black president. Like Mr. Clinton, Barack Obama minimized the damage to himself by keeping the concerns of burn-it-down moderates front and center when his own campaigns were on the line, running on a platform that mixed bread-and-butter economics with a moderate position in the culture wars. But Democrats treated the decidedly mixed electoral record of the Obama years -- two devastating midterms, a relative squeaker of a re-election -- as proof that inexorable demographic changes were ushering in a progressive realignment. When combined with an incumbent's natural defensiveness about the status quo, along with the unique blend of incredulity and disgust that Mr. Trump brings out in Democrats, the party was left blindsided by the appeal of a candidate who said America wasn't already great.

There was no better indicator of the shifting mood since the Bill Clinton years than the Hillary Clinton campaign. Staking her presidential ambitions on the emerging Democratic majority, she gambled on running up the score with Swing 1 and cast Swing 2 into the basket of deplorables. That seemed like a good bet, right up until the votes were counted.

Matters didn't improve much with Scranton Joe Biden at the top of the ticket. Although blue-collar whites moved slightly back toward Democrats in 2020, Mr. Biden's biggest gains came with college-educated whites, and those were almost offset by significant losses of Hispanics and a slight downturn among Black Americans.

Under Mr. Biden, Democrats landed on a twofold strategy for stanching the party's bleeding of ***working-class*** voters -- and keeping Mr. Trump from setting foot back in the White House. Bidenomics was meant to stamp out Trumpism at its roots by putting the interests of working Americans first while checking boxes on progressive wish lists. It was populism as seen through the eyes of an Elizabeth Warren staffer, with a clear plan of attack for how to drive down carbon emissions while boosting employment, but not much to say on the unfolding fiasco at the border. Meanwhile, Democratic political operatives took the fight directly to Republicans, running campaigns that focused almost entirely on the scourge of Trumpism, while emphasizing abortion rights and promising, vaguely, to protect democracy.

The two halves of the strategy never really cohered. While policymakers in Washington were trying to win blue-collar votes, Democratic strategists were doubling down on suburbanites. A healthy economy might have papered over those contradictions. Instead, sticker shock at the rising cost of living soured voters on the economy, with good reason. Real wages tumbled and interest rates soared during Mr. Biden's first two years in office -- a stark contrast with the growing paychecks and cheaper mortgages in the middle of the Trump years.

Pointing to Mr. Biden's historic support for organized labor did little for the 94 percent of private-sector workers who aren't in a union, and the administration's signature legislative achievements -- $1.6 trillion in new expenditures, much of which is still waiting to be rolled out -- didn't address the concerns of voters trying to make ends meet now. Passing most of the last year in denial about the landslide majority of voters who thought Mr. Biden was too old for the job made an already difficult task close to impossible.

Mr. Trump's campaign was engineered from the ground up to take advantage of this opportunity, running an operation intended not just to turn out blue-collar and rural whites but also to bring young men of color into the Republican Party for good. Swapping Ms. Harris for Mr. Biden has scuttled talk about a realignment, but the polls are still close enough that a second Trump presidency is just a coin flip away.

Democrats trying to avoid this fate won't be dusting off the old Bill Clinton playbook, and that's not a bad thing. Mr. Penn and Mr. Schoen's assumption that Republicans were the dominant party no longer holds. Public opinion on issues ranging from gay rights to abortion to labor unions has shifted to the left. Self-identified liberals are a somewhat higher percentage of the electorate -- 26 percent today, compared with 16 percent in 1996 -- and a much stronger force in the Democratic Party.

But even if the country has changed, the laws of political gravity haven't been repealed. That means there are still lessons to be learned from a Democratic president who knew how to get ***working-class*** votes.

The first turns on how you promise to govern. Like most voters, working Americans want to see tangible improvements in their daily lives. Structural reforms to rein in corporations and increase worker power are worthy goals, but the most important question in presidential politics is still Ronald Reagan's ''are you better off than you were four years ago?'' With Bidenomics, Democrats were casting their eyes too far forward, promising reforms that have not trickled down to enough of the country. No financial adviser would say that maxing out contributions to your 401(k) justifies skipping the electric bill. Ms. Harris can't simply campaign on finishing the work of Build Back Better. Instead, she needs to offer a credible program for driving down the cost of living.

The second is how to pick your battles in the culture war. Abortion rights are one of the strongest weapons in the Democratic arsenal today. But it's worth pausing to think about why. When Democrats watch Mr. Trump move to the center on abortion, they recognize that he's trying to take the sting out of an issue that has done enormous damage to Republicans -- and they know that his embracing an extreme position, like banning I.V.F., would be a gift to his enemies.

The trick for the left is to think about the politics of other hot-button subjects in the same way they do abortion. It pays for Democrats to hold their ground when public opinion is on their side, but that's not always the case. When the polls are against them, it pays to look for the middle ground. On immigration, for example, this means an unapologetic defense of the bipartisan border security bill Mr. Trump torpedoed earlier this year, and then asking Republicans how their proposed system of migrant detention camps is going to work.

This raises the last, and most important, lesson from Mr. Clinton's 1996 campaign: It's the policies, stupid. Voters don't spend their free time sifting through white papers, but they come by their opinions honestly and won't be talked out of them quickly. They aren't drones waiting to be told what to think, and they won't be tricked by clever marketing or viral memes.

The Harris team has gotten off to a strong start in the messaging wars. The vibes, for the first time in a long time, are great. But Republicans live to kill Democratic vibes, and they have a tested strategy for doing it -- which, in this case, means turning Ms. Harris into a San Francisco liberal who will open the border, defund the police, cackle while prices go through the roof and only got the job because of ... well, you know.

If Ms. Harris wants to persuade skeptical voters that she will turn the page, she needs to prove it with policies that address the problems they care about most. And if Democrats want to convince Americans that Republicans are weird, they can't just count on Tim Walz being adorable on TikTok. They need to show they're the normal ones -- a party for working families that's filled with people who love this country so much that they know it can be even better.

''We have a solemn responsibility to honor the values and promote the interests of the people who elected us,'' Mr. Clinton said in his first weeks as a presidential candidate. He didn't hold up his side of the bargain, and Democrats are still living with the consequences. But these goals -- honoring values and promoting interests -- should be watchwords for Democrats trying to win back lost ground with the ***working class***.

Although the choices Ms. Harris makes in the next few months will be crucial, this effort can't be left to a single campaign. It will take a movement with a consistent vision supported by candidates up and down the ballot who deliver on their promises after taking office. All the better if those candidates look and sound like the people they want to represent, rather than the latest model to roll off the Ivy League assembly line.

There's no denying that the odds against this project succeeding are long. But it would create a country where ordinary people had more -- a great deal more -- say over their lives. Another name for that is democracy.

Don't you want to see what it looks like?

Tim Shenk (@Tim\_Shenk) is a historian and co-editor of Dissent magazine. ''Left Adrift,'' which comes out in October, is a history of the rivalry between Doug Schoen and the strategist Stan Greenberg.

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**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page SR6, SR7.

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[***Did Big-City Problems Turn Votes? Not Really.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DKY-ST41-DXY4-X02M-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Emily Badger and Alicia Parlapiano

**Body**

Big cities have faced serious problems lately. But there's little evidence those problems are what drove voters to the right in November.

The presidential election has raised an uncomfortable possibility for big American cities, most of them run by Democrats.

Voters in the largest urban counties moved more as a group toward Donald J. Trump since the 2020 election than the nation did as a whole, with eye-popping shifts in New York, Los Angeles, Miami and Boston.

That shift may reflect not just the sour national mood, Democratic strategists and commenters have warned, but a backlash to big cities themselves -- their intractable housing costs, their homeless camps and migrant waves, their pandemic-era disruptions and long school closures. Perhaps a rising share of urban voters has rejected all that.

The theory proposes a kind of reverse-coattails effect: that local Democratic governance is dragging down the party nationally.

''It's hard for Democrats to go out and make the case that we're the party of good government, and Republicans are the party of chaos, when you have very visual examples of cities that look like they are ungovernable, or haven't been governed well,'' said Lis Smith, a Democratic strategist who has worked on presidential and mayoral campaigns.

A closer look at county-level results, however, offers little sign that urban woes were a primary driver of this rightward shift. Cities, rather, are the places where nationwide trends in this election stand out: Mr. Trump improved the most with nonwhite voters, and they live in big cities in big numbers. We can see that by revisiting the above chart.

If local urban dynamics were what influenced voters, independent of these demographics, we would expect voters in areas with more extreme conditions -- faster rent hikes, more asylum seekers, longer school closures, growing homeless populations -- to shift more toward Mr. Trump.

Our analysis found some local factors that did help fill in gaps race can't explain, to a modest degree. But most measures of urban ills we examined simply didn't do that.

A clear demographic pattern

If urban voters were rejecting liberal overreach or social disorder in their cities, we might expect that to show up as shifts toward Mr. Trump in Seattle, Minneapolis and Portland, Ore., three places with disruptive pandemic-era protests and progressive policy experiments.

But when we look at all 68 urban core counties -- counties encompassing what we would think of as the ''inner cities'' of the nation's largest metropolitan areas -- the Minneapolis, Portland and Seattle areas notably didn't shift much at all. They're also among the least diverse:

Among these urban counties, how much they shifted toward Mr. Trump is correlated with how diverse their population is. At one end, Allegheny County, where Pittsburgh is, has the lowest nonwhite population share and made no shift at all. At the other, the Bronx and Miami have the highest nonwhite share and made large shifts toward Mr. Trump.

It's possible that dissatisfaction with city conditions is part of what has pushed some Black, Asian and Hispanic voters away from Democrats, or to stay home on Election Day (a number of those voters who sat out this election may not have voted Democratic even if they had gone to the polls). But similar shifts happened outside of cities, especially in places with more Hispanic residents.

''That shifting was happening everywhere -- so it's happening in Lawrence, Mass., as much as it's happening in the Rio Grande Valley, it's happening in the Central Valley of California, it's happening in Grand Rapids and Detroit,'' said Carlos Odio, a co-founder of Equis Research, a Democratic-leaning group that focuses on Latino voters. ''These places are so different that the only thing they have in common is that the kinds of people who are switching, they identify as Hispanic.''

He and other researchers and pollsters will now spend months trying to understand why ties have broadly loosened between Hispanic voters and the Democratic Party. But the answer is probably not a story that fits in New York but fails along the Rio Grande.

In cities where more granular precinct data is available, the same demographic pattern recurs at the neighborhood scale: Overall, Mr. Trump was most popular in precincts where white residents were the largest group by population, but he made the smallest gains in such places this year. The broadest gains he made were often in Hispanic neighborhoods, whether they were predominantly Mexican, Puerto Rican or Dominican.

Among core urban counties, some voting differences clearly can't be explained by basic diversity numbers. Why did Brooklyn, an East Coast liberal enclave, shift 11 points more than Washington, D.C., another East Coast liberal enclave with a similar share of nonwhite residents? Why did the Detroit area shift so much more than Milwaukee, when both are similarly diverse and subject to swing-state dynamics?

There are also nuances within racial and ethnic groups, white voters included. Detroit's white population differs from Milwaukee's -- Wayne County, Mich., has one of the country's largest communities of Arab Americans, who broke away from Democrats over the war in Gaza (census data currently counts people of Middle Eastern and North African descent as white). Washington's white voters also differ from Brooklyn's. The nation's capital, which shifted less than one point toward Mr. Trump, has the lowest share of white ***working-class*** adults of all of these urban counties.

Other potential factors

There is no denying that over the past four years, many big cities have faced acute problems distinct from the surge in inflation that angered voters nationwide.

To test whether those ills were related to the rightward shifts, we compiled data on the local cost of living; growth in rents and home prices; new housing permits; and homelessness. We looked at where migrants have settled, using court records from federal deportation cases. We considered long pandemic school closures. To identify where residents may have been disaffected enough to pack up and leave, we measured which urban counties had lost population share since 2019. We also considered the places hit hardest by Covid deaths.

Then we modeled whether these factors were able to predict how an urban county voted in the election.

Some data was incomplete, and many of these variables overlap, making it difficult to disentangle their effects statistically. When we sized them up individually, only some of these factors correlated with election results. After we controlled for race, those effects faded.

Three measures, looked at together, did help to fill in some of the differences between urban counties that remained after considering race: the share of white adults without a college degree, the local cost of living and migrant arrivals. But race still remained far and away the most important factor.

In an election year when voters were broadly upset about inflation, perhaps it mattered more in big cities, often already expensive places to live. But it doesn't appear that voters shifted more in places where housing costs had risen the most. Big cities are also places where homelessness and high rents are longtime issues, said Stephen Eide, a senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute. That might make it less likely they can explain recent political changes.

Several of the counties that shifted significantly to the right also received among the most migrants since 2021, including Miami-Dade in Florida, much of New York City, and Essex and Union Counties in New Jersey. (This is also another difference between Brooklyn and Washington.)

Counties with long school closures did shift more toward Mr. Trump nationwide than counties where school returned to normal faster. But after accounting for race, the effect largely disappears. Because long closures happened broadly across big cities (often reflecting the concerns of nonwhite families), they also can't explain the voting differences among urban counties. For example, highly diverse New York, San Francisco, Baltimore, Atlanta and New Orleans had widely varying election shifts. But all of them had long school closures.

One other factor we didn't measure is crime, given that crime data is particularly spotty and difficult to compare across places. In politics, perceptions of crime may also matter more than actual crime, and the two trends often point in different directions. So we don't dismiss that crime fears may influence voters in a presidential election; we just can't measure them.

Our overall analysis doesn't mean that urban residents are unbothered by local problems. But that anger may not have much to do with choosing the country's president.

If anything, said the Vanderbilt political scientist John Sides, U.S. politics have become increasingly nationalized -- dominated by issues and dynamics at the national level. The theory of Democratic cities in disarray implies the opposite: that in big cities, a national election was actually localized.

Imagine a scenario, Mr. Sides suggested, where cities still experienced the same problems -- subway crime in New York, a housing crisis in Los Angeles -- but there had been no nationwide surge in inflation. Who wins that presidential race in a different national environment? Quite likely the Democrat, he said, and then perhaps people wouldn't be having this same conversation.

Some urban voters did clearly express frustration with local conditions this year -- in local elections. In San Francisco, they voted out a moderate Democratic mayor. In neighboring Alameda County, they recalled a progressive district attorney and the mayor of Oakland, who was also under investigation by the F.B.I. In Los Angeles, another progressive prosecutor was voted out.

But none of those counties shifted further to the right than we might expect given their demographics.

About the data

To conduct our analysis, we used election results provided by The Associated Press as of Nov. 27, excluding counties that had reported less than 94 percent of their votes (that threshold was set to capture counties in New York City). We matched that data to historical election results, demographic data from the 2018-2022 American Community Survey, and a series of other metrics:

Cost of living, 2022

Rent prices Change, 2020-24

Home prices Change, 2020-23

New housing permits Total per capita, 2019-23

Homelessness Change per capita, 2021-24

Migrants Total per capita, 2021-24

Pandemic school closures The share of districts in each county, weighted by enrollment, that offered in-person classes five days a week in March 2021, a full year after the pandemic began.

Population loss Change in county population, 2019-23 (only for about 800 large counties)

Covid deaths Total per capita, April 2020 to June 2023

Not all data was available for every county, and most measures were missing for Connecticut, which adopted new counties in 2024.

To identify cities in our analysis, we focused on counties considered ''urban core'' in a commonly used classification created by the C.D.C.

To measure the correlation between the electoral shift in each county and each of these factors, we added the variables individually and collectively to a simple linear regression. We created models for all counties and just urban counties, and tested each variable before and after accounting for race.

Robert Gebeloff, Ethan Singer and Dana Goldstein contributed research. Aatish Bhatia contributed production.Robert Gebeloff, Ethan Singer and Dana Goldstein contributed research. Aatish Bhatia contributed production.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/06/upshot/urban-vote-shift-trump.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/06/upshot/urban-vote-shift-trump.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A14.

**Load-Date:** December 9, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Uruguay’s 2024 Election: What to Know***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D8C-9771-JBG3-63YP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 25, 2024 Friday 14:04 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; americas

**Length:** 988 words

**Byline:** Laurence Blair

**Highlight:** Crime, child poverty and an aging population are top issues as voters in one of Latin America’s most stable democracies head to the polls on Sunday.

**Body**

Crime, child poverty and an aging population are top issues as voters in one of Latin America’s most stable democracies head to the polls on Sunday.

The small South American nation of Uruguay will hold elections on Sunday to choose a new president at a time when it is a model of political and economic stability in Latin America.

The 3.4 million people who make up Uruguay’s population may disagree on key issues, but civility and a focus largely on policy, not personal attacks, make Uruguay’s election stand in stark contrast to those in other countries, particularly in the United States.

Because of constitutional term limits, the current president, Luis Lacalle Pou, 51, cannot run for a second consecutive term.

But the result will determine whether his conservative coalition retains control of the presidency or whether a moderate leftist alliance, which legalized marijuana and [*ramped up*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/05/magazine/uruguay-renewable-energy.html) green energy production when it last governed from 2005 to 2020, will return to power.

A win for the opposition would probably put a prospective [*trade deal*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/05/magazine/uruguay-renewable-energy.html) with China on hold. Its candidate, Yamandú Orsi, [*has said*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/05/magazine/uruguay-renewable-energy.html) that he prefers to negotiate with Beijing through Mercosur, an alliance of South American countries.

Whoever wins will have to grapple with challenges posed by an aging population, widespread child poverty and concerns over violent crime, as drug gangs have made inroads into what has traditionally been one of South America’s most peaceful countries.

If no candidate wins a majority of the vote, a runoff between the top two finishers will be held on Nov. 24.

Who is running?

The governing party’s candidate is Álvaro Delgado, 55, who has worked as a rural veterinarian, congressman and chief of staff to Mr. Lacalle Pou.

Both men belong to the center-right National Party, which is part of the governing Republican Coalition. Mr. Delgado’s victory would ensure the continuation of an economic agenda focused on pursuing trade agreements and streamlining government regulations.

His main challenger, Mr. Orsi, is a former high school history teacher and a two-time mayor of Canelones, a sprawling district of beach towns, cattle ranches and outlying suburbs of the country’s capital, Montevideo.

Mr. Orsi, 57, was born in Canelones to a ***working-class*** household without electricity. He has spent 30 years rising through the ranks of the Broad Front, a progressive leftist coalition of communists, trade unionists, Democratic Socialists and former leftist guerrillas, among them José Mujica.

Support from Mr. Mujica, a [*folksy, avuncular figure*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/05/magazine/uruguay-renewable-energy.html) who served as president from 2010 to 2015, helped Mr. Orsi win the coalition’s nomination.

Long-shot contenders include Andrés Ojeda, 40, a lawyer, member of the conservative Colorado Party and regular guest on talk shows who has tried to appeal to younger voters.

In one campaign spot posted on Instagram, Mr. Ojeda [*flexes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/05/magazine/uruguay-renewable-energy.html) his biceps in a gym, says his favorite movie is “300,” reports that he is “seriously thinking” about adopting a pet and describes himself as “such a Capricorn.”

What are the issues?

Uruguayan elections are typically contested around the middle ground with parties across the political spectrum that are in broad agreement on many issues.

The leading candidates all emphasize maintaining Uruguay’s business-friendly policies — including lower corporate taxes than those of its neighbors — which have helped the economy grow. They also support preserving the country’s relatively generous Social Security system that, among other things, provides free health care to poor people.

In an interview, Mr. Orsi said that Uruguay’s strong political parties and robust welfare state meant there was little room for the kind of populist movements that had taken hold in other countries.

He and Mr. Delgado have had regular exchanges, Mr. Orsi said. “Here, we all know each other,” he said, adding that if he won, he would not seek to “destroy everything and start again from zero.”

But he criticized the governing party’s record on crime and said that urgent action was needed to repel drug gangs, fight money laundering and “avoid the state losing control of prisons.” He has promised to hire 2,000 new police officers.

Uruguay’s homicide rate has [*swelled*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/05/magazine/uruguay-renewable-energy.html) in recent years, and a third of the public [*cite*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/05/magazine/uruguay-renewable-energy.html)s insecurity as the top concern, followed by unemployment, drug trafficking and poverty.

Mr. Orsi [*has said*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/05/magazine/uruguay-renewable-energy.html) that he plans to create more jobs for young people and increase wages for low-income workers to help tackle the [*child poverty rate*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/05/magazine/uruguay-renewable-energy.html), which is at 25 percent.

Mr. Delgado has also [*vowed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/05/magazine/uruguay-renewable-energy.html) to support disadvantaged children through a $200 million spending package. His campaign team did not respond to a request for an interview.

But he has placed more emphasis on improving economic growth, finalizing the trade agreement with China and [*implementing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/05/magazine/uruguay-renewable-energy.html) a “bureaucratic decontamination” by firing 15,000 government workers and replacing their roles with online services.

Who is likely to win?

Mr. Orsi has consistently led in polls by a comfortable margin, but many analysts still believe he may not have enough support to avoid a runoff against Mr. Delgado.

Mr. Ojeda could play an important role in a second round of voting because he and candidates from smaller conservative parties are expected to back Mr. Delgado, a formula that helped Mr. Lacalle Pou win in 2019.

But analysts say Mr. Orsi — who has drawn praise from voters as having a [*down-to-earth*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/05/magazine/uruguay-renewable-energy.html) manner and who has benefited from Mr. Mujica’s support — has emerged as the candidate most likely to become the next president.

When will we find out the results?

The polls open at 8 a.m. and close at 7:30 p.m., with results expected within a few hours. Results will be uploaded to the [*website*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/05/magazine/uruguay-renewable-energy.html) of Uruguay’s electoral authority.

Jack Nicas and Mauricio Rabuffetti contributed reporting from Montevideo, Uruguay.

Jack Nicas and Mauricio Rabuffetti contributed reporting from Montevideo, Uruguay.

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[***C.E.O.s Are Tripping***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DMM-9J01-JBG3-62GG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 12, 2024 Thursday 10:44 EST

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1991 words

**Byline:** Emma GoldbergEmma Goldberg is a business reporter covering workplace culture and the ways work is evolving in a time of social and technological change.

**Highlight:** Why executives are using psychedelics to get ahead.

**Body**

Why executives are using psychedelics to get ahead.

Psychedelic drugs have come a long way. They once belonged to the counterculture (“tune in, drop out”). Now they are finding a home in the C-suite.

LSD, magic mushrooms and some other psychedelic drugs have been federally prohibited since the early 1970s. But people are taking them widely: Researchers at the RAND Corporation estimated that eight million adults in the U.S. used psilocybin (the main psychedelic substance in magic mushrooms) in 2023.

Today, a growing number of business leaders are using psychedelics, according to executives, coaches and researchers I interviewed. We don’t have data on how often they trip, but many executives believe that the drugs can infuse their work with some coveted missing ingredient — calm, vulnerability, imagination. They sometimes take psychedelics on fancy retreats, where they lie blindfolded on mattresses while therapists guide them. I spoke to several of these executives for [*a story The Times published today*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html).

Corporate leaders are often stressed out, fed up, creatively blocked or emotionally worn. For many in that group, two changes have made psychedelics more appealing. In today’s newsletter, I’ll explain.

The creativity push

Corporate culture has been loosening for decades.

Sterile, gray cubicle farms turned into bustling open floor plans. Technology companies added game rooms and ball pits to make their offices zany and colorful — places where workers could anchor not just their professional but also their social lives. Business leaders exhorted employees to exhibit imaginative thinking. (Sam Franklin, a historian, says this came out of a Cold War-era effort to distinguish freewheeling American companies from their rigid Soviet counterparts.)

There’s a reason that people see psychedelic drugs as a way to boost creativity. The drugs increase the amount of information moving around in the brain, according to Robin Carhart-Harris, a neuroscientist at the University of California, San Francisco. While the brain usually tries to compress information, psychedelics create chaos and disorganization. That’s enticing to people looking for out-of-the-box ideas.

Guides who lead psychedelic retreats also say that the drugs evoke deep waves of emotion. Some executives I interviewed revisited childhood memories during their mushroom trips. Some of them wept. And one briefly thought he had died.

That kind of emotional openness and disclosure is now routine in the corporate world. Best-selling management guides like Brené Brown’s “Dare to Lead” focus on emotional intelligence. One C.E.O. went viral on LinkedIn for a selfie that showed him crying after he laid off two employees. Executives tell employees to “bring your whole self to work,” a slogan spread in a popular TED Talk and self-help book.

The wellness boom

Business leaders have also become more candid about wellness at work.

Many have deemed mental health not just an appropriate office conversation, but a necessary one. The pandemic sent anxiety [*skyrocketing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html) and prompted business leaders to make sure their employees felt comfortable discussing stress. Firms spend tens of thousands on therapy apps, meditation classes and stress management workshops. Some offer quarterly or annual mental health days.

As business leaders encourage employees to talk forthrightly about mental health, some are becoming more open about their own struggles — and the unorthodox tools they’re using. Elon Musk [*posted on X*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html) last year about his use of ketamine, a drug that can have hallucinogenic effects: “I have a prescription for when my brain chemistry sometimes goes super negative.”

Most scientists agree, though, that more research is needed on the possible side effects of psychedelics. There is risk when taking any unregulated drug, especially unsupervised.

A big shift

Big names in business (Apple’s Steve Jobs, OpenAI’s Sam Altman) have credited a psychedelic trip with creative insights. Now business leaders tell their colleagues that psychedelics are the reason they’ve become more calm and empathetic in the office.

Take Mark Williamson, the former chief operating officer of MasterClass, who began using psychedelics with a therapist in 2020 when his company was growing quickly. The experiences prompted him to mentor more young colleagues after one of them appeared in a vision during a drug trip.

A former Airbnb executive, Chip Conley, said he had seen friends in the business world use psychedelics to manage their egos and to find a deeper professional purpose — but he worries about corporate figures getting carried away. “There’s a cultural cachet in some communities that suggests that if you’re into psychedelics, you’re cool and open-minded,” Conley said.

Still, researchers are eager to learn whether psychedelics can have a measurable effect on business performance. Leaders get “stuck” in conventional approaches to decision making, said Rachelle Sampson, a business professor who is running a study at the University of Maryland. Perhaps, she wonders, psilocybin can break them of it.

[*Read my story here*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html). I’ll be answering questions from readers in the comments today.

THE LATEST NEWS

* President Biden [*granted clemency to nearly 1,500 Americans*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html), the most pardons ever issued by a U.S. president in one day.

1. Many of those being granted clemency had already been placed in home confinement during the pandemic.

* The man charged with murdering Brian Thompson, the UnitedHealthcare C.E.O., had a notebook that [*described his rationale for the shooting*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html), officials said.

1. The shooting has left workers across the health insurance industry [*frightened for their safety*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html).
2. What happens when crimes are overshadowed by appearances? The Times critic Vanessa Friedman explains how people’s looks can [*warp our perception of their behavior*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html).

* Syria’s rebels [*are now trying to restore order*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html) in a fractured country. They called for foreign help in prosecuting atrocities.

1. People are still finding and releasing prisoners in Syria’s jails. CNN captured on video the moment when one man learned that [*he was free and the country’s dictator had fled*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html).
2. Many are [*searching for an American journalist*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html), Austin Tice, who disappeared in Syria, probably taken by the authorities, 12 years ago.
3. Biden’s two top national security officials traveled to the Middle East to [*discuss the future government of Syria*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html).

* The F.B.I. director, Christopher Wray, [*plans to resign next month*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html). Donald Trump wants to replace him with Kash Patel, whom he views as more loyal.

1. Trump appointed Wray in his first term but soured on him over the Russia investigation, racial justice protests [*and the F.B.I. raid on Mar-a-Lago*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html). Trump called Wray’s resignation announcement “a great day for America.”
2. Democratic lawmakers praised the service of Wray, a Republican. [*Congressional Republicans criticized him*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html).
3. Wray called stepping down “the best way to avoid dragging the bureau deeper into the fray” while preserving its values. He got a standing ovation.

* Last week, Pete Hegseth seemed unlikely to win confirmation to lead the Pentagon. After Trump backed Hegseth and Trump’s allies threatened to primary senators who opposed him, [*his chances look better*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html).

1. Kari Lake, a former television anchor and 2020 election denier, [*is Trump’s pick to lead Voice of America*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html), a federally funded news broadcaster.
2. Far-right militia groups [*want to help carry out*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html) Trump’s plan to deport undocumented immigrants. His transition team seemed to reject the offer.
3. Trump chose a Republican operative [*who tried to overturn the 2020 election*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html) to be chief of staff at the Office of Management and Budget.

* The House passed a defense policy bill that would deny coverage of [*transgender health care for service members’ children*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html). Most Democrats voted against it.

1. North Carolina Republicans enacted a law that [*strips powers from the incoming Democratic governor*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html) and gives them to Republicans. It overrides the current Democratic governor’s veto.
2. Joe Manchin and Kyrsten Sinema, two Democrats turned independents, voted with Senate Republicans to [*block a Biden nominee to the National Labor Relations Board*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html), The A.P. reports. Republican appointees, who would have been in the minority until 2026, will now likely gain a majority once Trump takes office.
3. The Supreme Court [*allowed a Biden administration effort to address coal ash*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html), a dangerous byproduct of power plants.
4. A Michigan Democrat won a House district filled with white, ***working-class*** voters. She talked a lot about the price of groceries — [*and very little about threats to democracy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html).
5. Representative Josh Gottheimer, a Democrat running for New Jersey governor, released a Spotify list of his most-listened-to songs that heavily featured Bruce Springsteen, the state’s rock icon. [*He’d faked the screenshots*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html).

* South Korea’s president defended his failed martial law decree [*in a defiant speech*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html).

1. Britain will [*ban puberty blockers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html), a gender transition treatment, for anyone under 18, except in clinical trials.
2. Two [*star real estate brokers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html), Oren and Tal Alexander, were charged with drugging and assaulting dozens of women. Their brother was also charged.

Are you ready for guacamole to become a luxury? Trump’s tariffs [*could raise the price*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html) of many basic goods, Rebecca Patterson, an economist, writes.

Here are columns by Pamela Paul on [*the joy of womanhood*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html) and Charles Blow on [*making friends after 50*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html).

MORNING READS

Recovery Inc.: Eastern Kentucky struggles with opioid addiction, but [*rehab companies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html) are booming there.

Devotion: A girl went missing in South Korea in 1999. For 25 years, her father [*refused to stop searching*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html).

Black plastic: A study detected dangerous chemicals in household items. [*See if you need to throw out your spatula*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html).

Pack your go bag: Extreme weather is becoming more common. Experts have advice on how to [*stay ready for an evacuation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html).

Ask Real Estate: “I want to renovate my rental. [*How much trouble can I get into?*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html)”

Lives Lived: The Amazing Kreskin often said that he did not possess any supernatural powers. His mentalist tricks, relying on body language and suggestion, dazzled audiences and brought him fame on late-night TV. Kreskin — he had a first name, but never used it professionally — [*has died at 89*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html).

SPORTS

College football: Bill Belichick agreed to become [*the next coach at North Carolina*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html), though he remains [*just 14 wins shy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html) of the N.F.L. record.

N.B.A.: Trae Young and the Hawks advanced to the N.B.A. Cup semifinals after [*a win over the Knicks*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html) at Madison Square Garden.

M.L.B.: The Red Sox landed the White Sox pitcher Garrett Crochet, one of the best players left on the free-agent market, in [*an expansive trade*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html).

ARTS AND IDEAS

It was an eventful year in comedy. Netflix invested in live comedy, while Disney entered the stand-up market. Katt Williams beefed even more than Kendrick Lamar and Drake. John Mulaney and Taylor Tomlinson became talk show hosts. Joe Rogan jumped to the front of the conservative media establishment. [*See our comedy columnist’s picks for the best of 2024*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html).

More on culture

* Dries Van Noten, the fashion designer and founder, [*named a successor*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html).

1. A 30-year-old photographer, Hannah Kobayashi, [*was found safe*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html) a month after she was reported missing, The Cut reports.
2. The National Labor Relations Board ruled that “Love Is Blind” contestants [*are employees*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html), a decision which could affect how reality show stars are paid.
3. Stephen Colbert joked that he was surprised by [*the brevity of Luigi Mangione’s manifesto*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html).

THE MORNING RECOMMENDS …

Make mushroom and leek pasta [*in one pot*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html).

Buy a gift for [*people who are always cold*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html).

Grate your cheese [*with better tools*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html).

GAMES

Here is [*today’s Spelling Bee*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html). Yesterday’s pangram was boycotted.

And here are [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html), [*Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html), [*Sudoku*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html), [*Connections*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html) and [*Strands*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html).

Thanks for spending part of your morning with The Times. See you tomorrow.

[*Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html). Reach our team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/12/business/psychedelic-retreats-ceos.html).

PHOTO: Magic mushrooms. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Todd Korol for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** December 16, 2024

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[***‘Bird’ Review: In Search of Safety***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DC5-3561-DXY4-X516-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 7, 2024 Thursday 19:54 EST

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**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 1057 words

**Byline:** Alissa WilkinsonAlissa Wilkinson is a Times movie critic. She&amp;#8217;s been writing about movies since 2005.

**Highlight:** Barry Keoghan and Franz Rogowski star in a film about a preteen girl who longs for a stability she’s never experienced.

**Body**

Barry Keoghan and Franz Rogowski star in a film about a preteen girl who longs for a stability she’s never experienced.

Good parents are a rarity in Andrea Arnold’s movies. Instead, they tend to be neglectful and preoccupied, often for solid reasons: Arnold tells stories of ***working-class*** families, mostly British, mostly struggling to get by, mostly the offspring of parents who are, themselves, distracted and uninterested in their children’s lives. An early short film of Arnold’s, “Wasp,” has a mother locking her four children in the car while she tries to woo an old boyfriend in a bar. One of her best movies, [*“Fish Tank,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/15/movies/15fish.html) features a mother who punishes her daughter by telling her she should have gone through with her planned abortion instead of giving birth. The situation is pretty grim.

By those standards, Bug (Barry Keoghan, covered in insect tattoos and grins) is a pretty good dad, if only because he talks to his kids. He has two of them, Hunter (Jason Buda) and Bailey (Nykiya Adams), and they live with him in a chaotic, ramshackle squat in northern Kent. Hunter is 14, born when Bug himself was 14; Bailey is 12, and getting fed up with her life. Her own mother (Jasmine Jobson) lives in another house with Bailey’s three stepsiblings.

“Bird,” which Arnold wrote and directed, is really Bailey’s story, but Bug is a key part of it. At the start of the film, he brings home a toad in a plastic shopping bag. Bailey wrinkles her nose as he explains that the toad secretes a hallucinogenic, and all they have to do is get it to secrete the drug and then sell it and then, presto, they’ll be rich! He needs the money to live, but also because, he tells her, he’s getting married this weekend.

Bailey is having none of Bug’s nonsense, but she doesn’t really know what to replace it with. She has no reference point for a different life and neither, you get the sense, does Bug. “Bird” is the story of children raising children. The complete absence of anything resembling structure is normal to them, but the feeling that the grown-ups are not really acting like grown-ups — that abuses and harms in their community are going unchecked — has gotten to the teenagers. Hunter has joined a gang of young teenage boys who call themselves “vigilantes” and will beat up a man, for instance, if he is abusing his girl.

[Video: [*Watch on YouTube.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/15/movies/15fish.html)]

Bailey is on the verge of puberty, and waffling between anger and depression. One day, she meets a strange man who introduces himself as Bird (Franz Rogowski). He seems different from other adults, nonthreatening and quiet and gentle. Bailey only knows how to be abrasive, but she softens toward him, and they become friends. Where did Bird come from? Why is he here? She doesn’t know, and doesn’t care all that much: To her, he represents safety, though she is not sure why.

“Bird” feels like a departure from form for Arnold, who has made a career of gritty, sometimes shocking social realism. Even her [*2012 adaptation of “Wuthering Heights”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/15/movies/15fish.html) interpreted that Emily Brontë novel through a naturalistic lens: It was muddy and gritty, and foregrounded class and race distinctions in a way that felt fresh and alive. People in an Arnold film are often trying to escape their circumstances, but not always clear on what they’re escaping toward.

But “Bird” hops from social realism to magical realism, a fact that takes a while to register with the audience and feels, at times, a little forced. Bird is not a figment of Bailey’s imagination, exactly, but the Bird we see onscreen is filtered through Bailey’s imagination, in ways she might not even realize. He is both a person and a stand-in for something she desperately wants, a presence she needs to feel.

That Bailey’s been raised in an essentially feral manner is part of the film’s enchantment; “Bird” is full of nature, of animals in the midst of metamorphosis or running wild. Frequently we see caterpillars and butterflies, and of course Bailey is living with a toad. But the walls of the squat are also covered in drawings of insects, as is her father. Following a literary tradition of giving characters names with deeper meanings, it’s no mistake that her brother’s name is Hunter. And so it is only natural that at the moment of coming-of-age, she’d find strength and solace in a Bird.

There’s a wealth of lovely performances in “Bird,” including by Adams, who holds the film together by slowly taking on tenderness as it progresses. But the two poles of the movie are Rogowski and Keoghan, who radiate precisely opposite energies. Where Rogowski is delicate, hopping and perching like a ballet dancer, Keoghan moves like a particularly athletic bear cub, though he dances in a few scenes with both comedy and grace. (There’s some excellent humor in this film, and even an Easter egg for “Saltburn” fans.)

Yet “Bird” doesn’t linger as long in the memory as some of Arnold’s other films, probably because it feels a little less shocking, less transgressive and a bit less insightful, too. It’s cheerful at the end, a film about people who are just trying to make the best of what life handed them, something more like a fable. The villains are dispatched. Some kind of order is restored. And while it’s clear this cannot really be a happily ever after, it’s a moment of peace.

But there’s a charm here, and not just because of Rogowski’s subtly avian head bobs and tiptoe weaves. “Bird” feels warm, because it is about love and safety. It’s about realizing that your parents might just be doing the best they can, and if that’s not much, well, at least they’re trying. Near the end of the movie, it occurred to me that “Bird” would make a pretty good stage musical — not just because people always seem to be singing, but because it’s achingly, heartbreakingly sincere, and for a character living in chaos, that sincerity can feel like magic.

Bird

Rated R for loads of bad language and some disturbing scenes of domestic violence. Running time: 1 hour 59 minutes. In theaters.

Bird Rated R for loads of bad language and some disturbing domestic violence. Running time: 1 hour 59 minutes. In theaters.

PHOTOS: “Bird” is a modern fable directed by Andrea Arnold and starring, clockwise from top: Nykiya Adams; Franz Rogowski; and Barry Keoghan. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ATSUSHI NISHIJIMA/MUBI; ROBBIE RYAN/MUBI) This article appeared in print on page C4.

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[***30 Years Ago, Two Young Strategists Cracked How to Beat a Guy Like Trump. Are Democrats Ready to Listen?; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CRF-BHT1-JBG3-64X2-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Timothy Shenk

**Highlight:** Kamala Harris has a once-in-a-generation chance to deal a hammer blow against Trumpism and pull American democracy back from the brink.

**Body**

Something in the Democratic Party’s subconscious knows that in times of change it should go to Chicago.

It’s the city where, in 1896, a 36-year-old William Jennings Bryan sent convention delegates into raptures by railing against Gilded Age plutocrats and urging Democrats to reconnect with their populist roots. It’s where Franklin Roosevelt announced the coming of a New Deal in 1932, starting a political revolution that pushed the Republican Party to the verge of extinction. It’s where the Roosevelt coalition ripped itself apart in 1968, with protesters and students brawling in the streets and delegates at one another’s throats. It’s where Bill Clinton went in 1996 to put the ghost of the ’60s to rest and build a bridge to the 21st century. And it’s where, next week, the party of Bryan, Roosevelt and Clinton will become the party of Kamala Harris.

But what is she going to do with it? Although Ms. Harris isn’t the kind of politician who dreams about sweeping transformations — “fancy speeches,” she says, aren’t her thing — she has a unique opportunity to set the course for Democrats as they stumble out of the Biden years, to outline the steps for beating Donald Trump this fall and renew the party over the next generation.

The easiest option will be to keep heading down the road Democrats have followed since Mr. Trump’s takeover of the G.O.P. eight years ago. This means piecing together an anti-MAGA coalition in a campaign defined by opposition to Mr. Trump while tacitly giving up on blue-collar voters who have moved toward the Republican Party. Although the track record of this program has been spotty — just ask Hillary Clinton — it has by no means been a disaster for Democrats. The Harris campaign chair, Jen O’Malley Dillon, summarized the logic in a memo detailing a path to victory shortly after President Biden left the race, arguing that Ms. Harris is poised to match his 2020 levels of support with nonwhite voters, young people and women, while improving on the party’s already strong performance with college-educated whites.

There’s another choice, a campaign dedicated to restoring the party’s frayed connection with the ***working class***. This path is tougher to follow and could well be riskier in the short term because it requires providing a compelling reason to vote for Ms. Harris rather than against Mr. Trump. It’s also the plan with the best chance of building a lasting Democratic majority that could deal a hammer blow against Trumpism and pull American democracy back from the brink.

The key figures in this strategy are voters deeply skeptical of elites and alienated from both parties, usually because they lean to the left on economics but have cultural views closer to the center or the right. A political scientist might call them anti-system and ideologically cross-pressured, but you could also think of them as burn-it-down moderates. Politics doesn’t occupy much of their attention, in part because they probably didn’t graduate from college, which also means they’re more likely to come from the working or lower-middle class.

These voters have been moving away from Democrats [*since the 1960s*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/08/us/politics/how-college-graduates-vote.html). For most of this period, the group has been overwhelmingly white, but it has recently become more diverse, with Hispanic voters and younger Black men drifting away from their traditional partisan moorings under Mr. Biden, a phenomenon polls suggest Ms. Harris has not fully reversed.

It’s easy to assume that in a ferociously polarized electorate Democrats have no chance at winning back these voters in significant numbers. But polarization isn’t a force of nature, and party coalitions aren’t dictated by factors outside human control.

To understand how to break out of our current political stalemate, you have to look back at the last time Democrats came to Chicago with a nominee looking for a reset with the public and willing to wage an all-out war against polarization to get it. Bill Clinton was rewarded a few months later with a distinctly Rooseveltian coalition anchored in the bottom half of the income distribution — and with a victory on Election Day.

Ms. Harris still has a chance to assemble that kind of coalition. That makes it the perfect time to take a look at the strategy that made it possible almost 30 years ago.

Mr. Clinton’s campaign could have fallen apart on the day he accepted the presidential nomination in 1996. As he was huddled with staffers putting the final touches on his convention speech, news leaked that Dick Morris, his chief strategist, had kept up a long-running relationship with a prostitute. Clinton staffers were accustomed to what they called “bimbo eruptions,” but only when they came from the candidate. Mr. Morris was off the campaign within hours.

His departure left a vacuum that was quickly filled by Mark Penn and Doug Schoen, two longtime consultants who have become familiar characters in histories about the making of the modern Democratic Party. And by “characters” I mean “villains” — the pollsters behind the New Democratic push to abandon the ***working class***, which spurred a populist revolt that gave the world President Donald Trump. Today, they are both frequent guests on conservative media who can be counted on to chastise Democrats for moving [*too*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/08/us/politics/how-college-graduates-vote.html) [*far*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/08/us/politics/how-college-graduates-vote.html) left.

But before rebranding themselves as pundits, Mr. Penn and Mr. Schoen were strategists with a reputation for winning tough elections. Unlike many operatives then or since, they approached campaigns with an overarching theory of politics in mind — a theory based in truths about the politics of polarization that Democrats are still wrestling with today.

The basic pieces of this framework came from Mr. Schoen, who witnessed the Roosevelt coalition breaking apart as a teenager in his hometown, New York City. Born during the prime of the postwar baby boom, Mr. Schoen had been raised in comfort on the Upper East Side. He was drawn to politics early and worked on campaigns that sent him into the city’s boroughs beyond Manhattan, where he saw racial and ethnic conflict feeding into a broader disaffection with liberalism among blue-collar whites. Neighborhoods like Brooklyn’s Sheepshead Bay were teeming with archetypal representatives of burn-it-down moderation. They were repelled by the orthodox conservatism of Barry Goldwater but also felt out of place in a Democratic Party that was making peace with the cultural upheavals of the 1960s, and they were looking for someone — anyone — who would speak for them.

Getting inside the heads of these kinds of voters became an obsession for Mr. Schoen. As a doctoral student at Oxford, he wrote a dissertation on Enoch Powell, a Conservative legislator, who stunned Britain in 1968 with a speech predicting that if current levels of immigration continued, soon “the Black man will have the whip hand over the white man.” After sifting through polls and election returns, Mr. Schoen convincingly argued that Powell drew millions of these voters to the right in the first election after his incendiary speech, shaking the foundations of British politics and setting the template for a new kind of right-wing populism.

Mr. Schoen came to believe that people were drawn to firebrands like Powell not just because they agreed with him on the issues, but also because he was saying something political elites had tried to keep out of public debate. It proved that he was in touch with a constituency that wasn’t being heard — and it gave his movement a frisson of excitement. You didn’t need a grass-roots campaign or a lavish advertising blitz to win over the public, just the right words and voters ready to hear them.

From that core understanding emerged the building blocks for a counterstrategy that Mr. Schoen took with him when he returned to the United States and struck up his partnership with Mr. Penn, whom he’d first met in school.

The pair started from the premise that public opinion is a fact. Ignoring a problem on the electorate’s mind doesn’t make it go away; it only sends voters searching for a candidate who will listen. Views can shift over time, but probably not over the course of a campaign. Elections aren’t a battle for hearts and minds. They’re a fight to give voters what they already want.

Mr. Penn and Mr. Schoen believed that the culture wars had killed off the New Deal coalition and given conservatives a durable advantage at the polls. “Democrats must face a hard truth,” Mr. Schoen argued in a memoir published in 2007. “We do not have the natural majority coalition in American politics.” They would have to grind out victories by holding the middle ground in a battlefield that favored Republicans.

Mr. Clinton gave Mr. Penn and Mr. Schoen an opportunity to test this strategy on a national level when he brought them on to his re-election campaign. The president was coming off the brutal 1994 midterms, where Republicans won control of both the House and the Senate for the first time in 40 years. Working alongside Mr. Morris, the men came up with a plan for resurrecting Mr. Clinton in time for re-election. “The perception across America was that Clinton was a liberal,” Mr. Schoen recalled. “Our first task was to change that.”

They homed in on two slices of the electorate, referred to inside the campaign as “Swing 1” and “Swing 2.” Swing 1 consisted of voters who leaned to the right on economics and to the left on culture, chiefly middle- and upper-middle-class suburban women. (Mr. Penn called them soccer moms, popularizing a term that was already in circulation.) Swing 2 voters were the latest version of the burn-it-down moderates. Blue collar and disproportionately male, they were hostile to Washington and uncomfortable with social change. Many had supported the businessman-turned-politician Ross Perot in 1992, a fact Mr. Penn knew well, because he had done early polling for Mr. Perot.

Mr. Penn and Mr. Schoen saw the fight for the center as a two-front war, and they workshopped messages intended to win over both of their target groups — measures against teen smoking for Swing 1, tough talk on trade for Swing 2; stronger environmental regulations for one, strict border controls for the other. They coupled small-scale initiatives including school uniforms with a push to the center on the big-ticket issues of the campaign: for balancing the budget while protecting Social Security and Medicare, in favor of strong families but opposed to dragging the country back to the 1950s.

Although soccer moms would be remembered as the secret to Mr. Clinton’s victory, the campaign tried to have the best of both worlds, holding on to the party’s ***working-class*** base while making inroads with the affluent. Mr. Clinton did well in traditionally Republican suburbs and broke records for Democrats with college-educated whites, but he did even better among noncollege whites, and he was the last Democrat to turn in a stronger performance in West Virginia (one of the poorest states in the country) than in California (one of the wealthiest).

Mr. Clinton didn’t get the thoroughgoing vindication he wanted. With Mr. Perot in the race, he didn’t win a majority of the popular vote, coming in just short, with 49.2 percent. Republicans retained control of Congress and added two seats in the Senate. Barely half of eligible voters cast a ballot, the lowest turnout since the 1920s. But it was, despite all the caveats, a place to build — a sign that Democrats could still repair their damaged relationship with working people.

Yet it didn’t happen quite as Democrats hoped. Part of the blame goes to Mr. Penn and Mr. Schoen, who after winning a hard-fought race for voters up and down the economic scale pushed the Democrats to abandon economic populism altogether, with the hope of extending Democratic gains even deeper into the middle and upper classes.

Mr. Clinton’s own failures contributed, too. The Monica Lewinsky scandal put a damper on the bid to reclaim family values for Democrats over the short run, and the fallout from the administration’s policies over the long run was even worse: Free trade hollowed out the heartland, lax financial regulations helped inflate bubbles on Wall Street and Democrats failed to stem organized labor’s ongoing decline.

The stage was set for a revolt when the economy turned south, which it did just in time for outrage with the agonizingly slow recovery to be directed at the country’s first Black president. Like Mr. Clinton, Barack Obama minimized the damage to himself by keeping the concerns of burn-it-down moderates front and center when his own campaigns were on the line, running on a platform that mixed bread-and-butter economics with a moderate position in the culture wars. But Democrats treated the decidedly mixed electoral record of the Obama years — two devastating midterms, a relative squeaker of a re-election — as proof that inexorable demographic changes were ushering in a progressive realignment. When combined with an incumbent’s natural defensiveness about the status quo, along with the unique blend of incredulity and disgust that Mr. Trump brings out in Democrats, the party was left blindsided by the appeal of a candidate who said America wasn’t already great.

There was no better indicator of the shifting mood since the Bill Clinton years than the Hillary Clinton campaign. Staking her presidential ambitions on the emerging Democratic majority, she gambled on running up the score with Swing 1 and cast Swing 2 into the basket of deplorables. That seemed like a good bet, right up until the votes were counted.

Matters didn’t improve much with Scranton Joe Biden at the top of the ticket. Although blue-collar whites moved slightly back toward Democrats in 2020, Mr. Biden’s biggest gains came with college-educated whites, and those were almost offset by significant losses of Hispanics and a slight downturn among Black Americans.

Under Mr. Biden, Democrats landed on a twofold strategy for stanching the party’s bleeding of ***working-class*** voters — and keeping Mr. Trump from setting foot back in the White House. Bidenomics was meant to stamp out Trumpism at its roots by putting the interests of working Americans first while checking boxes on progressive wish lists. It was populism as seen through the eyes of an Elizabeth Warren staffer, with a clear plan of attack for how to drive down carbon emissions while boosting employment, but not much to say on the unfolding fiasco at the border. Meanwhile, Democratic political operatives took the fight directly to Republicans, running campaigns that focused almost entirely on the scourge of Trumpism, while emphasizing abortion rights and promising, vaguely, to protect democracy.

The two halves of the strategy never really cohered. While policymakers in Washington were trying to win blue-collar votes, Democratic strategists were doubling down on suburbanites. A healthy economy might have papered over those contradictions. Instead, sticker shock at the rising cost of living soured voters on the economy, with good reason. Real wages tumbled and interest rates soared during Mr. Biden’s first two years in office — a stark contrast with the growing paychecks and cheaper mortgages in the middle of the Trump years.

Pointing to Mr. Biden’s historic support for organized labor did little for the 94 percent of private-sector workers who aren’t in a union, and the administration’s signature legislative achievements — $1.6 trillion in new expenditures, much of which is still waiting to be rolled out — didn’t address the concerns of voters trying to make ends meet now. Passing most of the last year in denial about the landslide majority of voters who thought Mr. Biden was too old for the job made an already difficult task close to impossible.

Mr. Trump’s campaign was engineered from the ground up to take advantage of this opportunity, running an operation intended not just to turn out blue-collar and rural whites but also to bring young men of color into the Republican Party for good. Swapping Ms. Harris for Mr. Biden has scuttled talk about a realignment, but the polls are still close enough that a second Trump presidency is just a coin flip away.

Democrats trying to avoid this fate won’t be dusting off the old Bill Clinton playbook, and that’s not a bad thing. Mr. Penn and Mr. Schoen’s assumption that Republicans were the dominant party no longer holds. Public opinion on issues ranging from gay rights to abortion to labor unions has shifted to the left. Self-identified liberals are a somewhat higher percentage of the electorate — 26 percent today, compared with 16 percent in 1996 — and a much stronger force in the Democratic Party.

But even if the country has changed, the laws of political gravity haven’t been repealed. That means there are still lessons to be learned from a Democratic president who knew how to get ***working-class*** votes.

The first turns on how you promise to govern. Like most voters, working Americans want to see tangible improvements in their daily lives. Structural reforms to rein in corporations and increase worker power are worthy goals, but the most important question in presidential politics is still Ronald Reagan’s “are you better off than you were four years ago?” With Bidenomics, Democrats were casting their eyes too far forward, promising reforms that have not trickled down to enough of the country. No financial adviser would say that maxing out contributions to your 401(k) justifies skipping the electric bill. Ms. Harris can’t simply campaign on finishing the work of Build Back Better. Instead, she needs to offer a credible program for driving down the cost of living.

The second is how to pick your battles in the culture war. Abortion rights are one of the strongest weapons in the Democratic arsenal today. But it’s worth pausing to think about why. When Democrats watch Mr. Trump move to the center on abortion, they recognize that he’s trying to take the sting out of an issue that has done enormous damage to Republicans — and they know that his embracing an extreme position, like banning I.V.F., would be a gift to his enemies.

The trick for the left is to think about the politics of other hot-button subjects in the same way they do abortion. It pays for Democrats to hold their ground when public opinion is on their side, but that’s not always the case. When the polls are against them, it pays to look for the middle ground. On immigration, for example, this means an unapologetic defense of the bipartisan border security bill Mr. Trump torpedoed earlier this year, and then asking Republicans how their proposed system of migrant detention camps is going to work.

This raises the last, and most important, lesson from Mr. Clinton’s 1996 campaign: It’s the policies, stupid. Voters don’t spend their free time sifting through white papers, but they come by their opinions honestly and won’t be talked out of them quickly. They aren’t drones waiting to be told what to think, and they won’t be tricked by clever marketing or viral memes.

The Harris team has gotten off to a strong start in the messaging wars. The vibes, for the first time in a long time, are great. But Republicans live to kill Democratic vibes, and they have a tested strategy for doing it — which, in this case, means turning Ms. Harris into a San Francisco liberal who will open the border, defund the police, cackle while prices go through the roof and only got the job because of … well, you know.

If Ms. Harris wants to persuade skeptical voters that she will turn the page, she needs to prove it with policies that address the problems they care about most. And if Democrats want to convince Americans that Republicans are weird, they can’t just count on Tim Walz being adorable on TikTok. They need to show they’re the normal ones — a party for working families that’s filled with people who love this country so much that they know it can be even better.

“We have a solemn responsibility to honor the values and promote the interests of the people who elected us,” Mr. Clinton said in his first weeks as a presidential candidate. He didn’t hold up his side of the bargain, and Democrats are still living with the consequences. But these goals — honoring values and promoting interests — should be watchwords for Democrats trying to win back lost ground with the ***working class***.

Although the choices Ms. Harris makes in the next few months will be crucial, this effort can’t be left to a single campaign. It will take a movement with a consistent vision supported by candidates up and down the ballot who deliver on their promises after taking office. All the better if those candidates look and sound like the people they want to represent, rather than the latest model to roll off the Ivy League assembly line.

There’s no denying that the odds against this project succeeding are long. But it would create a country where ordinary people had more — a great deal more — say over their lives. Another name for that is democracy.

Don’t you want to see what it looks like?

Tim Shenk ([*@Tim\_Shenk*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/08/us/politics/how-college-graduates-vote.html)) is a historian and co-editor of Dissent magazine. “[*Left Adrift*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/08/us/politics/how-college-graduates-vote.html),” which comes out in October, is a history of the rivalry between Doug Schoen and the strategist Stan Greenberg.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/08/us/politics/how-college-graduates-vote.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/08/us/politics/how-college-graduates-vote.html). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/08/us/politics/how-college-graduates-vote.html).

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[***Fight Over the White Working Class in Pennsylvania***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66RS-2NN1-DXY4-X412-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Body**

SCRANTON, Pa. -- The fate of the Democratic Party in northeastern Pennsylvania lies in the hands of people like Steve Papp.

A 30-year veteran carpenter, he describes his job almost poetically as ''hanging out with your brothers, building America.'' But there has been a harder labor in his life of late: selling his fellow carpenters, iron workers and masons on a Democratic Party that he sees as the protector of a ''union way of life'' but that they see as being increasingly out of step with their cultural values.

''The guys aren't hearing the message,'' Mr. Papp said.

Perhaps no place in the nation offers a more symbolic and consequential test of whether Democrats can win back some of the white ***working-class*** vote than Pennsylvania -- and particularly the state's northeastern corner, the birthplace of President Biden, where years of economic decline have scarred the coal-rich landscape. This region is where a pivotal Senate race could be decided, where two seats in the House of Representatives are up for grabs and where a crucial governorship hangs in the balance.

No single constituency, of course, will determine the outcome of these races in a state as big as Pennsylvania, let alone the 2022 midterms. Turning out Black voters in cities is critical for Democrats. Gaining ground in the swingy suburbs is a must for Republicans. But it is among white ***working-class*** voters in rural areas and smaller towns -- places like Sugarloaf Township, where Mr. Papp lives -- where the Democratic Party has, in some ways, both the furthest to fall and the most to gain.

Sitting in the Scranton carpenters' union hall, where Democratic lawn signs leaned up against the walls, Mr. Papp said that he often brought stickers to the job site for those he converted, but that he had recently been giving away fewer than he would like. He ticked through what he feels he has been up against. Talk radio. Social media. The Fox News megaphone. ''Misinformation and lies,'' as he put it, about the Black Lives Matter movement and the L.G.B.T.Q. community.

''It's about cultural issues and social issues,'' Mr. Papp lamented. ''People don't even care about their economics. They want to hate.''

Republicans counter that Democratic elites are the ones alienating the ***working class*** by advocating a ''woke'' cultural agenda and by treating them as deplorables. And they also argue that the current economy overseen by Democrats has been the issue pushing voters toward the right.

The stakes are far higher than one corner of one state in one election.

White blue-collar voters are a large and crucial constituency in a number of top Senate battlegrounds this year, including in Wisconsin, Nevada, New Hampshire and Ohio. And the need for Democrats to lose by less is already an urgent concern for party strategists heading into 2024, when Donald J. Trump, who accelerated the movement of blue-collar voters of all races away from Democrats, has signaled he plans to run again.

One study from Pew Research Center showed that as recently as 2007, white voters without a college degree were about evenly divided in their party affiliations. But by 2020, Republicans had opened up an advantage of 59 percent over Democrats' 35 percent.

''You can't get destroyed,'' Christopher Borick, the director of the Muhlenberg College Institute of Public Opinion in Pennsylvania, said of the task in front of Democrats. ''Cutting into Republican gains in the Trump era among white ***working-class*** voters is essential.''

There are, quite simply, a lot of white voters without college degrees in America. Another Pew study found that such voters accounted for 42 percent of all voters in the 2020 presidential election. And, by some estimates, they could make up nearly half the vote in Pennsylvania this year.

Luzerne County, just south of Scranton, had been reliably Democratic for years and years. Then, suddenly, in 2016, Mr. Trump won Luzerne in a nearly 20-point landslide. He won it again in 2020, but by 5 points fewer. There are Obama-Trump voters here, and Obama-Trump-Biden voters, too. The region may have tacked to the right politically in recent years, but it is still a place where the phrase ''Irish Catholic Democrat'' was long treated as almost a single word, and where it might be more possible to nudge at least some ancestral Democrats back toward the party.

Scranton, a former coal town nestled in the scenic Wyoming Valley, has become synonymous with this voting bloc. Representative Kevin McCarthy of California, who hopes to become the next House speaker, visited the region this fall to unveil the Republican agenda, and both Mr. Biden and Mr. Trump traveled to the area for events kicking off the fall campaign.

This year, the Pennsylvania Senate race looms especially large.

The Democratic nominee, Lt. Gov. John Fetterman, was seemingly engineered for the task of appealing to the ***working class***. A bald and burly man with a political persona that revolves around Carhartt sweatshirts and tattoos, Mr. Fetterman has vowed from the start to compete in even the reddest corners of Pennsylvania. He is running against Mehmet Oz, a wealthy, out-of-state television celebrity who, according to polls, has been viewed skeptically from the start by the Republican base, and who talked of buying crudités at the grocery in a widely ridiculed video.

Yet local Democrats said Mr. Fetterman was still facing an uphill climb among white ***working-class*** voters in the region, even before his halting debate performance as he recovers from a stroke. For those Democrats concerned about competing for the state's biggest voting bloc, the success or failure of Mr. Fetterman's candidacy has become an almost existential question: If not him and here, then who and where?

Mr. Fetterman's strategy to cut into Republican margins in red counties is displayed on his lawn signs: ''Every county. Every vote.'' But Republicans have worked relentlessly to undercut the blue-collar image Mr. Fetterman honed as the former mayor of Braddock, a downtrodden former steel town just outside Pittsburgh.

''It's a costume,'' Tucker Carlson, the Fox News host, said in one segment last month. Republicans have highlighted Mr. Fetterman's Harvard degree, his middle-class suburban upbringing, the financial support he received from his parents into his 40s and, most recently, a barrage of advertising that has cast him as a soft-on-crime liberal.

Both sides are targeting voters like Chris Tigue, a 39-year-old who runs a one-man painting company and lives in Dunmore, a town bordering Scranton known for its enormous landfill. Mr. Tigue, a registered Republican, has gone on a political journey that may seem uncommon in most of the country but is more familiar here.

He voted twice for Barack Obama. Then he voted twice for Donald Trump.

As Mr. Tigue sat outside Roosevelt Beer Garden, a watering hole where the portrait of Franklin D. Roosevelt on the wall was a reminder of the area's Democratic heritage, he explained that Mr. Fetterman had won him back, not just because of his ***working class*** ''curb appeal,'' but because of his stances on abortion and medical cannabis.

Mr. Tigue said he was voting for Mr. Fetterman knowing that Mr. Fetterman would probably support the president's economic agenda in the Senate, a prospect he called ''a little scary.'' But he said he was looking past that fact. ''I'm focusing on the person,'' he said.

Justin Taylor, the mayor of nearby Carbondale, is another Obama-Trump voter. Elected as a 25-year-old Democrat almost two decades ago, he endorsed Mr. Trump in 2020 and grew increasingly more Republican, just like the city he serves.

Today, he is adamantly opposed to Mr. Fetterman, calling him a liberal caricature and the kind of candidate the left thinks will appeal to the people of Carbondale, a shrinking town of under 10,000 people that was founded on anthracite coal. ''I think, quite honestly, he is an empty Carhartt sweatshirt and the people who are ***working class*** in Pennsylvania see that,'' Mr. Taylor said.

Mr. Taylor is still technically a registered Democrat, he said, but he feels judged by his own party. ''The Democratic Party forces it down your throat,'' he said, ''and they make you a bigot, they make you a racist, they make you a homophobe if you don't understand a concept, or you don't 100 percent agree.''

Still, Mr. Taylor said he might not vote in the Senate race at all. Of his fellow Fetterman doubters, and of Oz skeptics, he asked, ''Do they stay home? That becomes the big question.''

Northeastern Pennsylvania is also home to two bellwether House races with embattled Democratic incumbents.

One race features Representative Matt Cartwright, who is the rarest of political survivors -- the only House Democrat nationwide running this year who held a district that Mr. Trump carried in both 2016 and 2020. The other includes Representative Susan Wild, who is defending a swing district that contains one of only two Pennsylvania counties that Mr. Biden flipped in 2020.

To emphasize his cross-partisan appeal, Mr. Cartwright has run an ad this year featuring endorsements from one man in a Trump hat and another in a Biden shirt. In an interview, he said the area's long-term economic downturn, which he traced to the free-trade deals of the 1990s, had caused many people to work multiple jobs, sapping morale and even affecting the region's psyche.

''When something like that happens, who do you vote for?'' Mr. Cartwright said. ''You vote for the change candidate. And that's what we saw a lot of. They voted for Obama twice. They voted for Trump twice. And my own view of it is when they vote that way, it's a cry for help.''

Demographic shifts in politics happen in both directions. As Democrats have hemorrhaged white ***working-class*** voters, they have made large gains with college-educated white voters who were once the financial and electoral base of Republicans. In Pennsylvania, the Philadelphia suburbs have become strongly Democratic, while the state's less populated areas have become more Republican.

Alexis McFarland Kelly, a 59-year-old former owner of a gourmet market near Scranton, is the kind of voter Democrats are newly winning over. Raised as a Republican, she was often warned by her father, a business owner, and her grandfather, a corporate vice president, of the excesses of labor and the left. But now, she is planning to vote for Mr. Fetterman.

Her biggest misgiving is the hoodie-wearing persona that might appeal to the ***working class***. ''I just wish he'd put a suit on once in a while,'' she said.

Last year, she went to the local Department of Motor Vehicles and declared that she wanted to change her party registration to become a Democrat. The clerk was shocked. ''She basically dropped her pen and said, 'What?! A Democrat!''' Ms. Kelly recalled. '''Everyone is going the other way.'''

Nina Feldman contributed reporting.Nina Feldman contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/30/us/politics/blue-collar-voters-pennsylvania.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/30/us/politics/blue-collar-voters-pennsylvania.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Scranton, Pa., looms large in the Senate contest between Lt. Gov. John Fetterman, a Democrat, and Mehmet Oz, a Republican.

Representative Matt Cartwright, left, has run an ad featuring endorsements from a Trump backer and a Biden supporter.

Steve Papp, a carpenter and union member, says he battles ''misinformation and lies'' by the right.(PHOTOGRAPHS BY RUTH FREMSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A11) This article appeared in print on page A1, A11.

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[***If Trump Wins, Who, or What, Will Liberals Blame?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D7Y-0DM1-DXY4-X3KP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 23, 2024 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 24; BRET STEPHENS

**Length:** 975 words

**Byline:** By Bret Stephens

**Body**

The Electoral College. White racism. Black sexism. President Biden.

Should Kamala Harris lose the presidential election next month, those will be among the more convenient excuses Democrats will offer for falling short in a race against a staggeringly flawed, widely detested opponent. There will also be whispers that she was not the strongest candidate in the first place -- that the party would have done better to elevate a more natural political talent like Josh Shapiro of Pennsylvania or Gretchen Whitmer of Michigan.

There's truth in all of it. But it lets off the hook the main culprit: the way in which leading liberal voices in government, academia and media practice politics today. Consider its main components.

The politics of condescension, typified by Barack Obama's suggestion this month that Black men might be reluctant to vote for Harris because they ''just aren't feeling the idea of having a woman as president.'' But perhaps those men are responding to something more mundane: Median weekly wages for full-time Black workers rose steeply during Donald Trump's presidency and essentially stagnated under Biden, according to data from the St. Louis Fed. Why reach for the insulting explanation when a rational one will do?

The politics of name-calling, which happens every time Trump's voters are told they are racists, misogynists, weird, phobic, low-information or, most recently, supporters of a fascist -- and, by implication, fascists themselves. Aside from being gratuitous and self-defeating -- what kind of voter is going to be won over by being called a name? -- it's also mostly wrong. Trump's supporters overwhelmingly are people who think the Biden-Harris years have been bad for them and the country. Maybe liberals should try to engage the argument without belittling the person.

The politics of gaslighting, exemplified by all the MSNBC talking heads who repeatedly vouched for Biden's mental acuity, when, as Representative Dean Phillips of Minnesota has acknowledged, the president's decline has been obvious for years. Now some of the same pundits are extolling Harris as brilliant and experienced, which may be true but is hardly evidenced by her seeming inability to move beyond a limited set of talking points or the fact that it's difficult to think of a political or legislative accomplishment of which she was the prime mover.

The politics of highhandedness. Do liberals really believe there are no lingering resentments over the fact that Harris secured her nomination through the immediate endorsement of party grandees without winning a single primary or facing a single challenger? Most Democrats seem fine with it, but this is a race in which the votes of skeptical independents may count more than ever. A Democratic Party that claims to be defending democracy without bothering to practice it is not going to endear itself to voters it needs to win.

The politics of Pollyanna, brought to you by the things-have-never-been-better crowd. They are the people who told us that inflation was (a) good for you, (b) transitory or (c) over and forgotten or who think a lower rate of inflation somehow relieves the legacy of higher prices and interest rates. They are the people who argued there was no immigration crisis and then crowed that it was safely behind us. They are the ones who insist crime is under control while ignoring the fact that people's sense of everyday safety keeps getting worse, thanks to skyrocketing rates of car theft, shoplifting, open-air drug use, public defecation and other quality-of-life crimes. Wouldn't it be better to meet voter concerns rather than tell them they're seeing ghosts?

The politics of selective fidelity to traditional norms. Liberals fear, with reason, the threat Trump poses to the institutional architecture of American government. Yet many of the same Democrats want to pack the Supreme Court, eliminate the Senate filibuster, get rid of the Electoral College, give federal agencies the right to impose eviction moratoriums and forgive hundreds of billions of dollars in student debt without the consent of Congress. They decry Trump's assaults on the news media while cheering the Biden administration's attempt to strong-arm media companies into censoring opinions it disliked. And they warn of Trump's efforts to criminalize his political opponents, even as they celebrate criminalizing him. Hypocrisy of this sort doesn't go unnoticed by people not fully in the tank for Harris.

The politics of identity over class. Harris began her presidential campaign by consciously and correctly leaning away from the type of identity politics that has obsessed Democrats for too long. But as soon as she realized her approval among Black men was alarmingly soft, she rolled out a financial giveaway plan exclusively geared for them. Why could it not at least have been for all workers below a certain income threshold -- one that might have disproportionately helped Black men without the naked racial pander? When well-educated liberals sometimes stoop to notice that the Democratic Party is increasingly forsaking its ***working-class*** roots, this is a good illustration of how it happened.

It remains perfectly possible that Harris will win the election, in which case we will hear a great deal about the brightness of her appeal and the brilliance of her campaign. Wiser liberals might want to press two questions: How did Trump still get so very, very close? And how can we fashion a liberalism that doesn't turn so many ordinary people off?

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/22/opinion/trump-kamala-harris-democrats.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/22/opinion/trump-kamala-harris-democrats.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A24.

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[***Trump's Victory and the End of the Rainbow Coalition***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DDM-H9J1-DXY4-X20B-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 14, 2024 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 22; CHARLES M. BLOW

**Length:** 1302 words

**Byline:** By Charles M. Blow

**Body**

Throughout our history, Black leaders have championed the idea of a multiracial coalition that would upend the white-dominated American political system.

In ''Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1880,'' W.E.B. Du Bois bemoaned the lack of economic and political solidarity between Black and poor white Americans.

When Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated, he had already embarked on the Poor People's Campaign, which he called ''the beginning of a new cooperation, understanding and a determination by poor people of all colors and backgrounds to assert and win their right to a decent life and respect for their culture and dignity.''

When Jesse Jackson announced his 1984 presidential campaign, he said: ''Women cannot be free until Blacks and Hispanics are free. Blacks, whites, women, Hispanics, workers, Indians, Chinese, Filipinos -- we must come together and form the rainbow coalition.''

And in 2008, Barack Obama marshaled that spirit and turned it into a coalition that elected America's first Black president. But 16 years later, this coalition failed to coalesce for a Black woman seeking the Oval Office.

Yes, it's a different era, with different candidates. (And yes, Republicans are crowing that there's still a multiracial coalition, but now it's just forming on their side of the aisle.) But the results of the 2024 presidential election might be a sign that the lift-all-boats approach that Jackson called for -- a simultaneous fight for the rights, aspirations and dignity of all Americans, including women, people of color and members of the L.G.B.T.Q. community -- is no longer the galvanizing force that many liberals were counting on.

Last Tuesday's results suggest that some Hispanic, Asian American, Arab American, white female and, indeed, Black voters put less stock in diversity as a defining and mobilizing concept. Some of them, including some Democrats, believe diversity is a talking point that does nothing to advance their interests. This augurs a reckoning not only within the Democratic Party but also among Black voters, the Democrats' most loyal constituency.

There's a school of thought on the Democratic side of the aisle that has preached progress through pluralism. Faith in that view has withered.

Kamala Harris brought joy to the campaign trail, campaigning on the most American of ideals: freedom. But many Americans -- including many young people -- fumed at the Biden-Harris administration over the war in Gaza. Some feminists reject a transgender-inclusive definition of womanhood. In 2022 it was revealed that several Latino leaders in California had privately disparaged Black people, Jewish people and people of Mexican descent with Indigenous ancestry. Some Black residents of cities where migrants have been bused in recent years have chafed at the prospect of public resources being used to accommodate them.

One of the more seismic results in this election was the shift among Hispanic voters toward Donald Trump -- particularly Hispanic men, who supported him over Harris by 12 percentage points, according to CNN exit polls, while they backed Joe Biden in 2020 by 23 points. Some Democrats were puzzled by how Trump drove up these numbers and won traditionally Democratic areas like Miami-Dade County and Texas border counties, all while promising mass deportations and demonizing undocumented immigrants from Latin America.

But the reasoning for some Hispanic voters has become clearer, and it's not simply the adage that the Hispanic electorate isn't a monolith.

As Rebecca Martínez, a co-editor of ''Betrayal U: The Politics of Belonging in Higher Education,'' told me, with respect to Trump, some Hispanic voters think, '''I'm not illegal. He doesn't mean me.' And by identifying with that, they align with power in a bid for protection and being the 'good Hispanic.''' This sentiment tracks with the findings of a study published this year in Public Opinion Quarterly analyzing potential reasons that some Hispanic voters blame immigrants for their ''status devaluation.''

That kind of tension isn't new in our history. For instance, when the Great Migration -- the movement of millions of Black Americans to the North and West -- began, a Howard University dean wrote a letter to the editor of this newspaper expressing concern about new migrants from the South diminishing the social and political standing of Black people already in the North: ''Should the influx of Negro laborers to the North, without proper restriction and control, be allowed to prejudice public opinion and thus reproduce Southern proscription in the Northern states, the last state of the race would be worse than the first.''

Rashad Robinson, the president of Color of Change, stressed the imperative of Democrats coming around to this new reality if they want to win elections: ''When we think that people's identities are automatic stand-ins for their beliefs and choices, we lose them.''

This year Democrats hoped that white women would break for Harris in a major way, especially in response to the threat to reproductive rights posed by the Supreme Court, a third of which was appointed by Trump. But that didn't happen.

A Democratic pollster, Cornell Belcher, described this misplaced hope as the ''white women facade,'' the idea that these voters, as a bloc, would go in a vastly different direction in 2024 from 2020. Belcher told me that in ''polite conversation'' the votes of some white women will be discussed in terms of the votes of the broader white ***working class***, but he said those conversations would really be a proxy for something else: White women ''surged for white nationalism.''

If some groups of voters are increasingly wagering that it's better to be by Trump's side than in his path, that strikes me as a bad bargain. Once his retrogressive instincts are again unleashed, they may prove impossible to control. There's ample evidence -- Project 2025, his first-term record, the revanchist rallying cry ''Make America great again'' -- that a central part of his project is to undo as much societal progress as possible before his window of opportunity closes.

Of course, all voters should vote their consciences. But it also strikes me that in the end, no people should count themselves truly safe who don't align with the founders' vision of who should be politically empowered in this country: propertied white men.

The election result of a week ago is evidence that the vision of a rainbow coalition as a political organizing principle is fading. It's evidence that many Americans are willing to subordinate racial and gender concerns when faced with unrelenting language about a lack of physical, economic and cultural security.

It's also hard to separate that result from the backlash to the movement for Black lives, the demonization of members of the L.G.B.T.Q. community and the scapegoating of immigrants for an array of societal challenges. It's hard not to think that one of the takeaways from this election is that some Americans don't see others' oppression as their problem -- that people have bought into the fallacious logic that personal prosperity and a broad pursuit of equal rights and social justice cannot coexist.

And part of the sadness of so many voters today is the realization that the pain that may be visited on some women and minorities in the near future has been abetted by the votes of other women and minorities -- and the realization that we may well be reaching the end of the rainbow.

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**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY JOSÉ IBARRA RIZO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A22.

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[***Mexico Torn As Overhaul Of Judiciary Is Nearly Set***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CYD-5221-JBG3-61CG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 4

**Length:** 1299 words

**Byline:** By Emiliano RodrÃ­guez Mega, James Wagner and Marian Carrasquero

**Body**

Even as a sweeping proposal to elect nearly 7,000 judges inches toward law, some Mexicans have protested it. Others welcomed the chance to vote in judges.

Outside Mexico's Senate building on Tuesday, university students wearing masks and dressed as the country's Supreme Court justices took turns smashing a black piÃ±ata with a stick. The piÃ±ata, covered in the word ''justicia,'' or justice, was filled with fake money -- a performance staged to illustrate the supposed corruption plaguing the country's judiciary.

''The election of judges and magistrates by popular vote is a democratization of one of the most important powers of our country,'' said Layla Manilla, 21, one of the participating students, who is studying politics.

Ms. Manilla is one of thousands of Mexicans who have taken to the streets in recent weeks to show their support for -- or opposition to -- the contentious judicial overhaul championed by President AndrÃ©s Manuel LÃ³pez Obrador and his allies, which on Wednesday overcame its last major obstacle when it was narrowly passed in the Senate.

In interviews with The New York Times, Mexicans expressed a range of concerns and aspirations for the measure. Some worried about the end of judicial independence, while others celebrated the chance to vote in the people responsible for distributing justice. Many more were indifferent to the overhaul, unclear on exactly what to expect from the change.

The legislation would shift the judiciary from an appointment-based system, largely grounded in training and qualifications, to one in which voters elect judges and there are fewer requirements to serve. Some 7,000 judges would lose their jobs, from the chief justice of the Supreme Court down to those at state and local courts, and Mexicans could start voting as soon as next year.

The majority of state legislatures adopted the measure by early Thursday -- a requirement for its passage -- paving the way for its anticipated delivery to Mr. LÃ³pez Obrador to be signed into law.

In the southern state of YucatÃ¡n, a group of protesters on Wednesday afternoon stormed the local congress, where Morena and its allies hold a majority. As demonstrators called for them to suspend the vote, chanting ''The judiciary will not fall!'' and shouting ''Listen to us!,'' lawmakers decided to delay it. They approved the project a few hours later. Critics of the measures also protested in several other states and tried to barge into congressional buildings, resulting in some injuries.

In recent weeks, more than 50,000 judges and court workers went on strike across the country, and protesters forced their way into the Senate building in Mexico City on Tuesday afternoon before the vote. Senators then moved to a second venue with a large police presence.

The president's insistence in pushing through the measures has kept financial markets on edge, marked by a roughly 15 percent plunge in the value of the currency, the peso, since early June.

The government argues the measure is crucial for modernizing the judiciary, eradicating corruption and restoring faith in a system marred by graft, nepotism and influence-peddling. Mr. LÃ³pez Obrador's successor, Claudia Sheinbaum, takes office on Oct. 1 and has fully backed the plan.

However, critics oppose the overhaul, contending that it wouldn't effectively address corruption, but rather bolster Mr. LÃ³pez Obrador's nationalist political agenda.

''Judges, magistrates and justices are the voice of the law and the Constitution, not of the people,'' said Luis HernÃ¡ndez, 21, a law and economics student, moments after delivering a rousing speech while protesting at the Senate building. ''They are the voice of reason. There is no point in having a judicial career if, in the end, you have to be popular to deliver justice.''

JosÃ© Luis CÃ¡zares Gayosso, 55, a federal employee who lives in Iztapalapa, a ***working-class*** neighborhood of Mexico City, said that he had problems with the judicial system and that it needed to change. He said it took him too long -- four years -- to gain custody of his two children after he and his partner separated, and it was resolved only in 2019 after he took legal action against the judge.

Still, Mr. CÃ¡zares Gayosso said, he preferred that judges remain appointed but that they be forced to leave office sooner. He said he feared that voting for them might end up giving the country's ruling party control of the judicial system.

''It's dangerous to give all of the power to one party,'' he said.

Polls commissioned by the Morena party indicate that around 80 percent of respondents think revamping the judicial system is necessary -- though other polls have found that more than 50 percent of those surveyed don't know what the overhaul entails.

''It's very fashionable now to be of the people, but sometimes the people aren't informed,'' said Juan Diego Naranjo, 28, a plumber in CancÃºn. ''If they're not going to know much about the judicial candidates, then many won't go out to vote. If in the presidential, governor and municipal elections many of us didn't go out to vote, maybe there will be less for judges.''

Mr. Naranjo admitted that he himself didn't cast a ballot during the 2018 presidential elections, which Mr. LÃ³pez Obrador won, because he didn't have time to study the campaigns.

Ms. Manilla, the college student who supports the overhaul, said, ''There's never total certainty that majorities will make the right decisions.'' But, she added, ''if the people make mistakes, then the people are also going to be able to rectify.''

Other Mexicans said they worried there were important pieces missing from the discussion.

Laura Alvarez, 38, a restaurant manager in Monterrey, in northeastern Mexico, said that choosing a judge might improve public confidence. She said she had a terrible experience with the justice system when her daughter was sexually abused and the case was dismissed before it even reached a judge. Still, she felt the judicial overhaul needed more explanation from politicians.

''They're not telling you, 'This is what I want to change and this is what I'm going to offer you,''' she said. ''That's why I find myself in the middle. I want more transparency.''

Regardless of their differences on the plan, many Mexicans largely agreed there was a long-overdue need to rid the system of what they called privileges, nepotism and corruption.

Javier MartÃ­n Reyes, a law professor at National Autonomous University of Mexico, said that a majority of Mexicans' interactions with the judiciary were not at the federal level but at the local one -- such as labor, family or civil disputes -- and that it was here that ''more reforms'' were needed.

But he said that two important parts of the justice system that the average Mexican dealt with most often -- the police and prosecutors -- weren't addressed in the proposal.

''If Mexico today is a country with enormous rates of impunity, it is largely because the vast majority of crimes are not investigated and some that are investigated do not reach conclusions,'' Mr. Reyes said. ''And those that reach conclusions many times are cases that aren't sufficiently well assembled or investigated to later be upheld in a tribunal or court.''

After living so long under a system he described as riddled with problems, JosÃ© Luis Valderrama, a 68-year-old grocery bagger in Monterrey, said it was worth trying something new -- especially if voters could elect qualified people.

''Possibly things will change,'' he said. ''We really don't know. It's a matter of trying.''

Chantal Flores contributed reporting from Monterrey, Mexico, and Ricardo HernÃ¡ndez Ruiz from CancÃºn.Chantal Flores contributed reporting from Monterrey, Mexico, and Ricardo HernÃ¡ndez Ruiz from CancÃºn.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/world/americas/mexico-judicial-overhaul-controversy.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/12/world/americas/mexico-judicial-overhaul-controversy.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Protesting outside the Senate building in Mexico City. A judicial overhaul championed by President AndrÃ©s Manuel LÃ³pez Obrador cleared its last major hurdle on Tuesday when the Senate voted to approve the plan. The majority of state legislatures adopted it by early Thursday, paving the way for it to be signed into law.

JOSÃ‰ LUIS CÃZARES GAYOSSO, 55, a federal employee who lives in Iztapalapa, a ***working-class*** neighborhood of Mexico City.

LAYLA MANILLA, 21, a politics student who protested outside Mexico's Senate building to highlight the supposed corruption plaguing the judiciary.

LUIS HERNÃNDEZ, 21, a law and economics student, moments after delivering a rousing speech while protesting at the Senate building (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARIAN CARRASQUERO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A4.

**Load-Date:** September 13, 2024

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[***Biden Aims to Win Back White Working-Class Voters Through Their Wallets***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:67H4-YJJ1-JBG3-60YN-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Length:** 1837 words

**Byline:** Jonathan Weisman

**Highlight:** In his State of the Union address, the president signaled the opening of a yearslong push to persuade white ***working-class*** voters to return to the Democratic fold. Winning them over on cultural issues may be more difficult.

**Body**

In his State of the Union address, the president signaled the opening of a yearslong push to persuade white ***working-class*** voters to return to the Democratic fold. Winning them over on cultural issues may be more difficult.

With his call for a “blue-collar blueprint to rebuild America,” President Biden on Tuesday night acknowledged rhetorically what Democrats have been preparing for two years: a fierce campaign to win back white ***working-class*** voters through the creation of hundreds of thousands of well-paid jobs that do not require a college degree.

Mr. Biden’s [*economically focused State of the Union address*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/07/us/politics/biden-state-union.html) may have avoided the cultural appeals to the white ***working class*** that former President Donald J. Trump harnessed so effectively, the grievances encapsulated by fears of immigration, racial and gender diversity, and the sloganeering of the intellectual left. But at the speech’s heart was an appeal to Congress to “finish the job” and a simple challenge. “Let’s offer every American the path to a good career whether they go to college or not,” he said.

In truth, much of that path was already laid by the last Congress with the signing of a [*$1 trillion infrastructure bill*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/15/us/politics/biden-signs-infrastructure-bill.html), a [*$280 billion measure to rekindle a domestic semiconductor industry*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/09/us/politics/biden-semiconductor-chips-china.html) and the [*Inflation Reduction Act*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/16/business/biden-climate-tax-inflation-reduction.html), which included $370 billion for low-emission energy to combat climate change.

Whether or not Mr. Biden can persuade a divided Congress to act on his remaining plans, the money from those laws has just begun to flow, and a surge of hiring is coming. Many of those jobs will be in the industrial battlegrounds that Democrats either took back from Mr. Trump in 2020 or will need in 2024, when endangered senators like Sherrod Brown of Ohio, Joe Manchin III of West Virginia and Tammy Baldwin of Wisconsin face re-election.

But Democrats will have to match those jobs against Republican appeals aimed at white grievances.

Gov. Greg Abbott of Texas, a Republican, [*ordered state agencies and universities this week*](https://www.texastribune.org/2023/02/07/greg-abbott-diversity-equity-inclusion-illegal) to stop considering racial and ethnic diversity in hiring. Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida is [*waging a campaign*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/31/us/governor-desantis-higher-education-chris-rufo.html) against diversity, equity and inclusion efforts while [*funding the shipping of migrants*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/02/us/migrants-marthas-vineyard-desantis-texas.html) from the Mexican border to Democratic cities. The Republican-led House is holding hearings blaming illegal immigrants for the smuggling of fentanyl that is ravaging blue-collar cities and towns, though most of the arrests in the fentanyl trade have involved American smugglers.

Republicans openly mocked Mr. Biden’s “Finish the Job” slogan, and among ***working-class*** voters, they have public opinion on their side. In a recent [*Washington Post/ABC News poll*](https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1QBxjTFtJL5HkeG4CQ7fiwP42Y6J96fu_oaRHrlKJ5Yo/edit#gid=0), just 36 percent of Americans without a college degree approved of Mr. Biden’s job performance, compared with 53 percent of college graduates. His approval on economic issues was even worse, with just 31 percent of voters without a degree approving of his handling of the economy.

“Finish the job? On what? Fueling inflation? Opening the border? Lowering wages? Emptying our energy reserves?” asked Tommy Pigott, the rapid response coordinator at the Republican National Committee.

Without doubt, Democrats have their work cut out for them. About two-thirds of eligible voters do not have four-year college degrees, and over the last decade, Democrats have lost ground with them, especially with less educated white voters. In 2020, Mr. Biden [*won*](https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1GIovkPfwUJvFZeFPdOi0fK8Rr7aOVFCYBzrlMG4Vjro/edit#gid=0) 61 percent of college graduates, but only 45 percent of voters without a four-year college degree — and just 33 percent of white voters without a four-year degree.

In a New York Times/Siena College poll [*in September*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/09/16/upshot/september-2022-times-siena-poll-crosstabs.html), 59 percent of white ***working-class*** voters said Republicans were the party of the ***working class***, compared with 28 percent who chose Democrats. Sixty-eight percent of these voters said they agreed more with Republicans than Democrats on the economy, while just 25 percent picked Democrats. Beyond economics, white ***working-class*** voters sided overwhelmingly with Republicans on building a border wall, opposing gun control, stopping illegal immigration and seeing gender as immutable and determined at birth.

Democrats, caught between those sentiments on social policy and the party’s core constituencies of people of color, women and the college-educated, are hoping that tangible improvements in well-being can persuade white voters without a college education to focus on their economic interests.

“Jobs are coming back, pride is coming back, because choices we made in the last two years,” Mr. Biden said on Tuesday. “This is a blue-collar blueprint to rebuild America and make a real difference in your lives.”

Democratic problems with the ***working class*** are not limited to white voters. Some blue-collar Black, Latino and Asian American voters have [*drifted toward Republicans*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/05/us/politics/latino-voters-democrats.html), and Mr. Biden rolled out a range of economic appeals aimed broadly at people who are more sensitive to high prices.

He highlighted his efforts to lower insulin costs and cited pocketbook issues recognizable to almost any consumer — what he called “junk fees.” He identified “exorbitant” bank overdraft charges; credit card late fees; “resort fees” charged by hotels; change-of-service fees by cable and internet providers; and airline “surcharges.”

“Junk fees may not matter to the very wealthy, but they matter to most folks in homes like the one I grew up in,” Mr. Biden said. “They add up to hundreds of dollars a month.”

Other Democrats are taking a similar approach. On his first full day in office, Pennsylvania’s new Democratic governor, Josh Shapiro, [*signed an executive order*](https://www.post-gazette.com/news/politics-state/2023/01/18/josh-shapiro-college-degree-requirement-jobs-workforce/stories/202301180096) declaring that thousands of state jobs would no longer require a four-year college degree.

And it might work. The Pew Research Center [*found*](https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2022/02/16/publics-top-priority-for-2022-strengthening-the-nations-economy/) recently that 71 percent of voters with no degree beyond a high school diploma said the economy should be a top priority for the president and Congress this year, higher than any other issue.

To that end, Mr. Biden spoke of “a literal field of dreams” outside Columbus, Ohio, where a huge new Intel semiconductor plant is being built that will, he said, “create 10,000 jobs,” including “7,000 construction jobs” and “3,000 jobs once the factories are finished.” Already, unions in Ohio are ramping up training and apprenticeship programs that are explicitly favored by the federal semiconductor legislation, the CHIPS and Science Act, and reaching out to women, teenagers, veterans and other workers who have traditionally been outside the organized labor movement to prepare for the semiconductor work.

“To the extent that manufacturing is characteristic of a lot of places that will become competitors for CHIPS investment, there’s implicit orientation toward significant union history,” said Mark Muro, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution. “There are going to be significant numbers of noncollege jobs and a real opportunity for the economic inclusion of noncollege workers.”

For Ohio, that Intel plant is only the beginning. Spurred by large tax incentives in the Inflation Reduction Act, Honda has announced [*a reworking of its Ohio plants*](https://www.theverge.com/2022/10/11/23399521/honda-lg-chem-plans-new-battery-plant-ev-manufacturing-ohio-official) to build electric vehicles and batteries. General Motors is [*retooling its plant in Toledo*](https://www.cnn.com/2022/09/23/business/gm-toledo-electric-drive-investment/index.html) for electric vehicle production, and Arizona-based First Solar is dumping money into northern Ohio. In December, workers at a new E.V. battery plant outside Youngstown voted overwhelmingly to join the United Auto Workers, giving the unions a toehold in the rapidly growing battery industry.

The [*rebuilding of the Brent Spence Bridge*](https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/01/us/politics/mcconnell-brent-spence-bridge-infrastructure.html) connecting Kentucky to Ohio with money from the infrastructure law will employ construction workers in Cincinnati for six to 10 years. And explicit language in the federal laws mandates the payment of union-scale wages, the employment of union-trained apprentices and the purchase of American-made materials.

“We just can go on and on, but it’s real, what the president has done,” said Mike Knisley, executive secretary and treasurer of the Ohio State Building and Construction Trades Council, who was at the White House for the signing of the semiconductor bill. “Everybody’s talked about it, Democrats and Republicans alike, but Biden delivered.”

Beyond the Midwest, the Plumbers and Steamfitters Local 81 in Syracuse, N.Y., is scrambling to bring in thousands of new members to work at [*Micron’s chip plant under construction*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/04/technology/micron-chip-clay-syracuse.html?smid=nytcore-ios-share&amp;referringSource=articleShare) in upstate New York. Last week, Mr. Biden promoted major infrastructure projects in Baltimore, New York and New Jersey that will create tens of thousands of jobs, “every freaking one, union labor.”

None of this guarantees that rank-and-file union workers — or the 90 percent of privately employed workers who are not in a union — will shift back to the Democrats. Mr. Biden’s approval rating remains mired in [*the low 40s*](https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/biden-approval-rating/), and confidence in the economy is abysmal.

Even union workers seem to maintain skepticism. Josh Abernathy, the business agent for the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local Eight in Toledo, complained bitterly that while his members had been used to build a First Solar panel fabrication plant outside the city, the contractor on the project had brought in workers from Croatia and other Eastern European countries to install and maintain the fabrication equipment, work that ultimately outpaced construction jobs.

Mr. Abernathy filed a formal protest with the Biden administration’s Labor Department, saying that imported workers — the kind of nonlocal hires the administration had vowed to stop — were making $500 every two weeks and room and board.

“We had 150 electricians out there; don’t get me wrong,” he said. “But then we were equally matched with the installation of conveyor work when we were long gone.”

Rusty Brown, who was an official with the Trump administration’s Labor Department and is now with the anti-union Freedom Foundation, said the explicit requirement that federally funded infrastructure, semiconductor and clean energy projects pay union-scale wages would mean the wasting of taxpayer money.

“This is not at all the way a normal person would run a business,” he said. “If somebody was mowing your lawn for $50 and someone else said he’d do it for $40, you’d do it. You just would.”

But he acknowledged the power of provisions in federal legislation to mandate the employment of workers trained through “registered” apprenticeship programs — more than half of which are run through the unions.

The Trump administration tried to encourage private industry to develop its own apprenticeship programs for workers without college degrees through regulation and exhortation but got nowhere, Mr. Brown said.

“It’s something I wish companies would have taken more seriously,” he said with a sigh.

Nate Cohn contributed reporting.

Nate Cohn contributed reporting.

PHOTOS: Above, President Biden at the construction site for a semiconductor plant in Ohio. Left, First Solar, a maker of solar panels, has poured money into its operations in the state. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY PETE MAROVICH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; MEGAN JELINGER/REUTERS) (A18) This article appeared in print on page A1, A18.

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[***Harris Tries To Garner Union Vote At a Rally***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C33-G6N1-JBG3-63M2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 22, 2024 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 16

**Length:** 857 words

**Byline:** By Nicholas Nehamas

**Body**

Speaking in Philadelphia to supportive members of a major labor union, the vice president sought to draw a sharp contrast with Donald Trump and build support with a bloc of crucial voters.

Vice President Kamala Harris rallied members of one of the nation's largest labor unions in a key battleground state on Tuesday, redoubling Democrats' efforts to cast themselves as the true champions of the ***working class*** and Republicans as catering to the wealthy.

''November is going to be about two choices, so let's be clear about that,'' Ms. Harris said in Philadelphia, at a convention for the Service Employees International Union. ''Whereas the last administration buried our country in debt to pay for tax cuts for billionaires, we are helping dig families out of debt by telling billionaires to pay their fair share.''

Organized labor is a crucial component of President Biden's fraying coalition as he seeks re-election against former President Donald J. Trump. Although prominent unions have endorsed Mr. Biden, some rank-and-file union members have drifted toward Mr. Trump, part of a political realignment in which white ***working-class*** voters have increasingly supported Republicans.

Across six of the top battleground states, 47 percent of union members said they supported Mr. Trump, compared with 42 percent for Mr. Biden, a recent New York Times/Siena College/Philadelphia Inquirer poll found. Other surveys have shown Mr. Biden ahead with union households, but not by wide margins.

Ms. Harris's speech served as a reminder of what she and Mr. Biden have accomplished for workers and an attempt to shore up support in an important constituency. She highlighted the administration's efforts to expand health care access, forgive student debt and raise wages.

''We know when unions are strong, America is strong,'' Ms. Harris told the crowd of roughly 3,500 S.E.I.U. members.

But her appearance also exposed deep divisions within the Democratic base over Israel's war in Gaza. For most of her speech, a group of about three dozen protesters chanted ''Free, free Palestine'' and ''Cease-fire now'' in the back of the cavernous convention center.

Biden supporters tried to drown out their fellow union members by chanting, ''Four more years.'' Notably, the union's leadership signed on to a letter to the White House last month demanding that President Biden end military aid to Israel until it lifted restrictions on humanitarian aid to Gaza.

Ms. Harris did not address the protesters. It was not clear if she could see or hear them from the stage.

The S.E.I.U. represents about two million health-care, service and government workers and is a close ally of the Biden administration. S.E.I.U. leaders have said they will spend $200 million to mobilize ***working-class*** voters for Mr. Biden and other Democrats this election cycle. Union support is vital to Democrats, who rely on their financial backing and on-the-ground organizing muscle. Mr. Biden's strength with union workers relative to Hillary Clinton, the Democratic nominee in 2016, helped him secure victory four years ago.

The Biden campaign has tried to counter the more recent dip in union enthusiasm. Last year, Mr. Biden joined striking autoworkers in Michigan, becoming the first sitting president to appear in a picket line. For Mr. Biden, who grabbed a bullhorn to address the crowd, it was an extraordinary embrace of organized labor. He has since received the endorsement of several powerful unions, including the United Automobile Workers and the United Steelworkers.

Ms. Harris's trip to Philadelphia was a return to familiar territory. She and Mr. Biden visit the city frequently, seeing it as the linchpin to victory in Pennsylvania, a state they most likely need to win to retain the White House.

But Mr. Biden has work to do even in this Democratic stronghold. Black voters in Philadelphia, a key part of the Democratic base here and in other major cities, have shown far fewer signs of excitement about Mr. Biden's candidacy than they did four years ago.

In an interview, April Verrett, who was elected on Monday as the first Black president in the S.E.I.U.'s history, said the outreach efforts of her union, which is majority nonwhite, would focus on people of color, as well as younger voters.

''It's not just our money,'' Ms. Verrett said. ''Our members get out on the weekends. They go to phone banks, they send text messages. They go to their workplaces, they talk to their co-workers, to their family members and neighbors.''

During her speech, Ms. Harris also highlighted the threat of ''extremists'' who she said were encouraging ''xenophobia and hate.'' She assailed Mr. Trump for posting a video on social media that contained a reference to the ''Reich,'' a term often associated with Adolf Hitler's Nazi government in Germany.

''This kind of rhetoric is unsurprising coming from the former president and it is appalling,'' the vice president said, adding: ''Once again, it shows that our freedom and our very democracy are at stake.''

Ruth Igielnik contributed reporting from Washington.Ruth Igielnik contributed reporting from Washington.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/21/us/politics/kamala-harris-unions-philadelphia.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/21/us/politics/kamala-harris-unions-philadelphia.html)

**Graphic**

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[***There’s One Main Culprit if Donald Trump Wins; Bret Stephens***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D7T-NX71-JBG3-60MK-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 986 words

**Byline:** Bret StephensBret Stephens is an Opinion columnist for The Times, writing about foreign policy, domestic politics and cultural issues.

**Highlight:** They should look at themselves and the way they practice politics.

**Body**

The Electoral College. White racism. Black sexism. President Biden.

Should Kamala Harris lose the presidential election next month, those will be among the more convenient excuses Democrats will offer for falling short in a race against a staggeringly flawed, widely detested opponent. There will also be whispers that she was not the strongest candidate in the first place — that the party would have done better to elevate a more natural political talent like Josh Shapiro of Pennsylvania or Gretchen Whitmer of Michigan.

There’s truth in all of it. But it lets off the hook the main culprit: the way in which leading liberal voices in government, academia and media practice politics today. Consider its main components.

The politics of condescension, typified by Barack Obama’s suggestion this month that Black men might be reluctant to vote for Harris because they “just aren’t feeling the idea of having a woman as president.” But perhaps those men are responding to something more mundane: Median weekly wages for full-time Black workers rose steeply during Donald Trump’s presidency and essentially stagnated under Biden, [*according to data from the St. Louis Fed*](https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/LEU0252884600Q). Why reach for the insulting explanation when a rational one will do?

The politics of name-calling, which happens every time Trump’s voters are told they are racists, misogynists, weird, phobic, low-information or, most recently, supporters of a [*fascist*](https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/LEU0252884600Q) — and, by implication, fascists themselves. Aside from being gratuitous and self-defeating — what kind of voter is going to be won over by being called a name? — it’s also mostly wrong. Trump’s supporters overwhelmingly are people who think the Biden-Harris years have been bad for them and the country. Maybe liberals should try to engage the argument without belittling the person.

The politics of gaslighting, exemplified by all the MSNBC talking heads who [*repeatedly*](https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/LEU0252884600Q) [*vouched*](https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/LEU0252884600Q) for Biden’s mental acuity, when, as Representative Dean Phillips of Minnesota has acknowledged, the president’s decline has been [*obvious for years*](https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/LEU0252884600Q). Now some of the same pundits are extolling Harris as brilliant and experienced, which may be true but is hardly evidenced by her seeming inability to move beyond a limited set of talking points or the fact that it’s difficult to think of a political or legislative accomplishment of which she was the prime mover.

The politics of highhandedness. Do liberals really believe there are no lingering resentments over the fact that Harris secured her nomination through the immediate endorsement of party grandees without winning a single primary or facing a single challenger? Most Democrats seem fine with it, but this is a race in which the votes of skeptical independents may count more than ever. A Democratic Party that claims to be defending democracy without bothering to practice it is not going to endear itself to voters it needs to win.

The politics of Pollyanna, brought to you by the things-have-never-been-better crowd. They are the people who told us that inflation was (a) [*good for you*](https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/LEU0252884600Q), (b) [*transitory*](https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/LEU0252884600Q) or (c) [*over and forgotten*](https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/LEU0252884600Q) or who think a lower rate of inflation somehow relieves the legacy of higher prices and interest rates. They are the people who argued there [*was no immigration crisis*](https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/LEU0252884600Q) and then crowed that it [*was safely behind*](https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/LEU0252884600Q) us. They are the ones who insist [*crime is under control*](https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/LEU0252884600Q) while ignoring the fact that people’s [*sense of everyday safety keeps getting worse*](https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/LEU0252884600Q), thanks to [*skyrocketing rates of car theft*](https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/LEU0252884600Q), [*shoplifting*](https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/LEU0252884600Q), [*open-air drug use*](https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/LEU0252884600Q), [*public defecation*](https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/LEU0252884600Q) and other quality-of-life crimes. Wouldn’t it be better to meet voter concerns rather than tell them they’re seeing ghosts?

The politics of selective fidelity to traditional norms. Liberals fear, with reason, the threat Trump poses to the institutional architecture of American government. Yet many of the same Democrats want to pack the Supreme Court, eliminate the Senate filibuster, get rid of the Electoral College, give federal agencies the right to [*impose eviction moratoriums*](https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/LEU0252884600Q) and forgive hundreds of billions of dollars in student debt without the consent of Congress. They decry Trump’s assaults on the news media while cheering the Biden administration’s attempt to [*strong-arm media companies into censoring opinions it disliked*](https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/LEU0252884600Q). And they warn of Trump’s efforts to criminalize his political opponents, even as they celebrate criminalizing him. Hypocrisy of this sort doesn’t go unnoticed by people not fully in the tank for Harris.

The politics of identity over class. Harris began her presidential campaign by consciously and correctly leaning away from the type of identity politics that has obsessed Democrats for too long. But as soon as she realized her approval among Black men was alarmingly soft, she rolled [*out a financial giveaway plan*](https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/LEU0252884600Q) exclusively geared for them. Why could it not at least have been for all workers below a certain income threshold — one that might have disproportionately helped Black men without the naked racial pander? When well-educated liberals sometimes stoop to notice that the Democratic Party is increasingly forsaking its ***working-class*** roots, this is a good illustration of how it happened.

It remains perfectly possible that Harris will win the election, in which case we will hear a great deal about the brightness of her appeal and the brilliance of her campaign. Wiser liberals might want to press two questions: How did Trump still get so very, very close? And how can we fashion a liberalism that doesn’t turn so many ordinary people off?

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/LEU0252884600Q) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/LEU0252884600Q). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/LEU0252884600Q).

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A24.

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[***In Congresswoman's Defeat, Israel Lobby Shows Its Clout***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CNY-6G31-DXY4-X2F4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 9, 2024 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 973 words

**Byline:** By Luke Broadwater

**Body**

The pro-Israel group put more than $8 million into a primary to help beat Representative Cori Bush of Missouri, the second Democrat it has successfully targeted for not supporting Israel in the war.

After Representative Cori Bush, Democrat of Missouri, became the second member of the left-wing ''squad'' to lose her re-election bid, she placed the blame for her defeat solely on one organization: the American Israel Public Affairs Committee.

''All they did was radicalize me, so now they need to be afraid,'' Ms. Bush said in a fiery speech after her loss on Tuesday evening.

''AIPAC, I'm coming to tear your kingdom down!'' she shouted.

The pro-Israel organization made no secret of its plans to target Ms. Bush, who had opposed providing Israel with funding for the war in Gaza. Through a political action committee, the group pumped more than $8 million into the race.

On Tuesday, its investment paid off: Wesley Bell, the St. Louis County prosecutor who aligned himself with Israel, defeated Ms. Bush in the Democratic primary as voters in the district rallied behind him.

''Last night, Wesley Bell, a pro-Israel progressive, achieved a consequential victory over an incumbent anti-Israel detractor,'' said Marshall Wittmann, a spokesman for AIPAC. ''Once again, a progressive pro-Israel Democrat has prevailed over a candidate who represents the extremist fringe that is hostile to the Jewish state.''

It was the second time in recent months that AIPAC has played a critical role in a Democratic primary race. In June, another candidate backed by AIPAC, George Latimer, the Westchester County executive, defeated Representative Jamaal Bowman of New York, another squad member who had opposed providing funding to Israel for the war.

Those two races became the most expensive in congressional history, because of AIPAC's cash infusion. The organization spent about $15 million helping Mr. Latimer.

The group also counts the primary loss of Representative Bob Good, a hard-right Republican from Virginia who opposed funding for the war in Israel, among its victories.

''Including the losses of Democrat Jamaal Bowman and Republican Representative Bob Good, Representative Bush's defeat represents the third incumbent to have lost over their lack of an ironclad commitment to standing with America's ally Israel,'' Mr. Wittmann said.

The conflict began in October after Hamas mounted an attack inside Israel that Israeli authorities say killed about 1,200 people and led to roughly 250 being taken back to Gaza as hostages.

Months of Israeli bombardment of Gaza and ground fighting have killed more than 39,000 Palestinians, according to health officials, left hundreds of thousands of others struggling to find food, water and shelter, and prompted intense criticism of Israel from some Democrats who sought to focus on the plight of the Palestinians. In a recent interview with The New York Times, Ms. Bush declined to call Hamas a terrorist organization.

The defeats of Ms. Bush and Mr. Bowman underscored to members of Congress the resources that AIPAC can deploy to defeat those who oppose its policies.

Democratic staffers on Capitol Hill wrestled Wednesday with the lessons learned from the losses. Some said Ms. Bush's defeat underscored the need to take more nuanced positions on the war in Gaza, and the risks of taking hard-line stances. Others said it showed how important it is to focus on constituent services in their districts.

But progressive groups were devastated. The Justice Democrats, which had helped build up and promote the left-wing members who formed the squad, spoke out against the influx of PAC money into the campaigns.

''We lost one of our most important members of Congress last night,'' said Usamah Andrabi, spokesman for the Justice Democrats. ''I don't think there is anyone in that body that understands more closely the struggles that ***working class*** people in this country are facing on a day-to-day basis, and no one who has put their body on the line more for those ***working-class*** people's needs and interests than Cori Bush.''

Mr. Andrabi added that AIPAC receives funding from wealthy Republicans aligned with former President Donald J. Trump, and he accused them of meddling in Democratic primaries.

Neither race was solely about Israel. Both incumbents carried some baggage.

Mr. Bowman had pleaded guilty to pulling a fire alarm that delayed a major congressional vote, and then was censured for it. Ms. Bush was under ethics investigation related to paying her romantic partner to perform security work.

But it was the issue of Gaza that brought millions of dollars into the district, flooding the airwaves with ads that helped their opponents.

In funding ads in Ms. Bush's and Mr. Bowman's races, AIPAC often focused on issues other than the war in Gaza, opting instead to take on their votes against President Biden's infrastructure bill.

Mr. Andrabi said he watched as polls showed a shift in support from Ms. Bush to Mr. Bell.

''This is a question about the future and the Democratic Party, and it's a fight for the soul of our Democratic Party,'' he said.

Mr. Bell campaigned against Ms. Bush on multiple fronts. He talked about his support of Israel, but also argued that Ms. Bush had grown ineffective in Washington, prioritizing national interests over getting local results.

''This district is ready for better and more accountable representation in Washington, D.C.,'' Mr. Bell said in declaring victory on Tuesday.

He emphasized that he would address local issues like gun violence and homelessness, but he also told a crowd of his supporters that he would be an ally of Israel.

''We recognize we don't want to see one innocent person harmed anywhere in the world, but we are going to stand with our fellow democracies around the world,'' Mr. Bell said.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/07/us/politics/bush-bell-aipac-missouri-primary.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/07/us/politics/bush-bell-aipac-missouri-primary.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Representative Cori Bush of Missouri, above, lost in the primary to Wesley Bell, the St. Louis County prosecutor, left. George Latimer, below left, defeated Representative Jamaal Bowman of New York. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

MICHAEL B. THOMAS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

DAVE SANDERS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A15) This article appeared in print on page A1, A15.

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[***Reform or the End of Justice? Mexico Is Split on Plan to Elect Judges.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CY6-JBN1-JBG3-6053-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 12, 2024 Thursday 21:17 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; americas

**Length:** 1416 words

**Byline:** Emiliano Rodríguez Mega, James Wagner and Marian Carrasquero Emiliano Rodr&amp;#237;guez Mega is a reporter and researcher for The Times based in Mexico City, covering Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean. James Wagner covers Latin America, including sports, and is based in Mexico City. A Nicaraguan American from the Washington area, he is a native Spanish speaker.

**Highlight:** Even as a sweeping proposal to elect nearly 7,000 judges inches toward law, some Mexicans have protested it. Others welcomed the chance to vote in judges.

**Body**

Even as a sweeping proposal to elect nearly 7,000 judges inches toward law, some Mexicans have protested it. Others welcomed the chance to vote in judges.

Outside Mexico’s Senate building on Tuesday, university students wearing masks and dressed as the country’s Supreme Court justices took turns smashing a black piñata with a stick. The piñata, covered in the word “justicia,” or justice, was filled with fake money — a [*performance*](https://x.com/infpmorena/status/1833542697048805449?s=46&amp;t=UYSoYnMOYiuoiXPIHW6nxg) staged to illustrate the supposed corruption plaguing the country’s judiciary.

“The election of judges and magistrates by popular vote is a democratization of one of the most important powers of our country,” said Layla Manilla, 21, one of the participating students, who is studying politics.

Ms. Manilla is one of thousands of Mexicans who have taken to the streets in recent weeks to show their support for — or opposition to — [*the contentious judicial overhaul*](https://x.com/infpmorena/status/1833542697048805449?s=46&amp;t=UYSoYnMOYiuoiXPIHW6nxg) championed by President Andrés Manuel López Obrador and his allies, which on Wednesday [*overcame its last major obstacle*](https://x.com/infpmorena/status/1833542697048805449?s=46&amp;t=UYSoYnMOYiuoiXPIHW6nxg) when it was narrowly passed in the Senate.

In interviews with The New York Times, Mexicans expressed a range of concerns and aspirations for the measure. Some worried about the end of judicial independence, while others celebrated the chance to vote in the people responsible for distributing justice. Many more were indifferent to the overhaul, unclear on exactly what to expect from the change.

The legislation would shift the judiciary from an appointment-based system, largely grounded in training and qualifications, to one in which voters elect judges and there are fewer requirements to serve. Some 7,000 judges would lose their jobs, from the chief justice of the Supreme Court down to those at state and local courts, and Mexicans could start voting as soon as next year.

The majority of state legislatures adopted the measure by early Thursday — a requirement for its passage — paving the way for its anticipated delivery to Mr. López Obrador to be signed into law.

In the southern state of Yucatán, a group of protesters on Wednesday afternoon [*stormed*](https://x.com/infpmorena/status/1833542697048805449?s=46&amp;t=UYSoYnMOYiuoiXPIHW6nxg) the local congress, where Morena and its allies hold a majority. As demonstrators called for them to suspend the vote, chanting “The judiciary will not fall!” and shouting “Listen to us!,” lawmakers decided to delay it. They approved the project a few hours later. Critics of the measures also protested in several other states and tried to barge into congressional buildings, resulting in some injuries.

In recent weeks, more than 50,000 judges and court workers went on strike across the country, and protesters forced their way into the Senate building in Mexico City on Tuesday afternoon before the vote. Senators then moved to a second venue with a large police presence.

The president’s insistence in pushing through the measures has kept financial markets on edge, marked by a roughly 15 percent plunge in the value of the currency, the peso, since early June.

The government argues the measure is crucial for modernizing the judiciary, eradicating corruption and restoring faith in a system marred by graft, nepotism and influence-peddling. Mr. López Obrador’s successor, Claudia Sheinbaum, takes office on Oct. 1 and has fully backed the plan.

However, critics oppose the overhaul, contending that it wouldn’t effectively address corruption, but rather bolster Mr. López Obrador’s nationalist political agenda.

“Judges, magistrates and justices are the voice of the law and the Constitution, not of the people,” said Luis Hernández, 21, a law and economics student, moments after delivering a rousing speech while protesting at the Senate building. “They are the voice of reason. There is no point in having a judicial career if, in the end, you have to be popular to deliver justice.”

José Luis Cázares Gayosso, 55, a federal employee who lives in Iztapalapa, a ***working-class*** neighborhood of Mexico City, said that he had problems with the judicial system and that it needed to change. He said it took him too long — four years — to gain custody of his two children after he and his partner separated, and it was resolved only in 2019 after he took legal action against the judge.

Still, Mr. Cázares Gayosso said, he preferred that judges remain appointed but that they be forced to leave office sooner. He said he feared that voting for them might end up giving the country’s ruling party control of the judicial system.

“It’s dangerous to give all of the power to one party,” he said.

Polls commissioned by the Morena party [*indicate*](https://x.com/infpmorena/status/1833542697048805449?s=46&amp;t=UYSoYnMOYiuoiXPIHW6nxg) that around 80 percent of respondents think revamping the judicial system is necessary — though other polls have [*found*](https://x.com/infpmorena/status/1833542697048805449?s=46&amp;t=UYSoYnMOYiuoiXPIHW6nxg) that more than 50 percent of those surveyed don’t know what the overhaul entails.

“It’s very fashionable now to be of the people, but sometimes the people aren’t informed,” said Juan Diego Naranjo, 28, a plumber in Cancún. “If they’re not going to know much about the judicial candidates, then many won’t go out to vote. If in the presidential, governor and municipal elections many of us didn’t go out to vote, maybe there will be less for judges.”

Mr. Naranjo admitted that he himself didn’t cast a ballot during the 2018 presidential elections, which Mr. López Obrador won, because he didn’t have time to study the campaigns.

Ms. Manilla, the college student who supports the overhaul, said, “There’s never total certainty that majorities will make the right decisions.” But, she added, “if the people make mistakes, then the people are also going to be able to rectify.”

Other Mexicans said they worried there were important pieces missing from the discussion.

Laura Alvarez, 38, a restaurant manager in Monterrey, in northeastern Mexico, said that choosing a judge might improve public confidence. She said she had a terrible experience with the justice system when her daughter was sexually abused and the case was dismissed before it even reached a judge. Still, she felt the judicial overhaul needed more explanation from politicians.

“They’re not telling you, ‘This is what I want to change and this is what I’m going to offer you,’” she said. “That’s why I find myself in the middle. I want more transparency.”

Regardless of their differences on the plan, many Mexicans largely agreed there was a long-overdue need to rid the system of what they called privileges, nepotism and corruption.

Javier Martín Reyes, a law professor at National Autonomous University of Mexico, said that a majority of Mexicans’ interactions with the judiciary were not at the federal level but at the local one — such as labor, family or civil disputes — and that it was here that “more reforms” were needed.

But he said that two important parts of the justice system that the average Mexican dealt with most often — the police and prosecutors — weren’t addressed in the proposal.

“If Mexico today is a country with enormous rates of impunity, it is largely because the vast majority of crimes are not investigated and some that are investigated do not reach conclusions,” Mr. Reyes said. “And those that reach conclusions many times are cases that aren’t sufficiently well assembled or investigated to later be upheld in a tribunal or court.”

After living so long under a system he described as riddled with problems, José Luis Valderrama, a 68-year-old grocery bagger in Monterrey, said it was worth trying something new — especially if voters could elect qualified people.

“Possibly things will change,” he said. “We really don’t know. It’s a matter of trying.”

Chantal Flores contributed reporting from Monterrey, Mexico, and Ricardo Hernández Ruiz from Cancún.

Chantal Flores contributed reporting from Monterrey, Mexico, and Ricardo Hernández Ruiz from Cancún.

PHOTOS: Protesting outside the Senate building in Mexico City. A judicial overhaul championed by President Andrés Manuel López Obrador cleared its last major hurdle on Tuesday when the Senate voted to approve the plan. The majority of state legislatures adopted it by early Thursday, paving the way for it to be signed into law.; JOSÉ LUIS CÁZARES GAYOSSO, 55, a federal employee who lives in Iztapalapa, a ***working-class*** neighborhood of Mexico City.; LAYLA MANILLA, 21, a politics student who protested outside Mexico’s Senate building to highlight the supposed corruption plaguing the judiciary.; LUIS HERNÁNDEZ, 21, a law and economics student, moments after delivering a rousing speech while protesting at the Senate building (PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARIAN CARRASQUERO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A4.

**Load-Date:** September 12, 2024

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[***Trump to Rally for First Time Since Assassination Attempt With Vance***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CGX-7W41-DXY4-X2CD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 16, 2024 Tuesday 11:15 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 298 words

**Highlight:** The rally is set for Saturday in Michigan, and will be his first such appearance alongside Senator J.D. Vance of Ohio, whom he selected as his running mate on Monday.

**Body**

The rally is set for Saturday in Michigan, and will be his first such appearance alongside Senator J.D. Vance of Ohio, whom he selected as his running mate on Monday.

Former President Donald J. Trump has scheduled his first campaign rally since surviving an assassination attempt last weekend in Pennsylvania for Saturday in the swing state of Michigan. It will also be his first rally appearance with Senator J.D. Vance of Ohio since naming him as his running mate.

They will visit Grand Rapids, Mich., for a rally early Saturday evening. Mr. Trump picked Mr. Vance, the author of “Hillbilly Elegy,” a best-selling memoir about his troubled upbringing and the struggles and pathologies of the white ***working class***, on Monday, the first day of the Republican National Convention.

Mr. Vance, who went from being a Never Trumper to a top surrogate for Mr. Trump, edged out his colleague, Senator Marco Rubio of Florida, and Gov. Doug Burgum of North Dakota to join the ticket.

Pete Hoekstra, Michigan’s Republican Party chairman, said that he expected that Mr. Vance would be particularly helpful to Mr. Trump in Midwest swing states.

“He’ll understand the auto industry,” Mr. Hoekstra said in an interview on Monday. “He’ll understand manufacturing, Great Lakes issues and all of these kind of things.”

This election cycle, Mr. Trump has frequently visited Michigan, a state that helped propel him to the presidency in 2016. He lost to Joseph R. Biden Jr. there in 2020.

Mr. Trump plans to formally accept the Republican nomination at the convention on Thursday night in Milwaukee.

PHOTO: Former President Donald J. Trump with his running mate, Senator J.D. Vance of Ohio, during the first day of the Republican National Convention. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Doug Mills/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 25, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Ukraine Fired U.S.-Made Missiles into Russia***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DFS-SRR1-JBG3-60MF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 19, 2024 Tuesday 17:41 EST

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1381 words

**Byline:** Matthew CullenMatthew Cullen is the lead writer of , a Times newsletter covering the day&amp;#8217;s top stories every weekday.

**Highlight:** Also, prosecutors called for a four-year freeze on Trump’s Manhattan case. Here’s the latest at the end of Tuesday.

**Body**

Also, prosecutors called for a four-year freeze on Trump’s Manhattan case. Here’s the latest at the end of Tuesday.

Early this morning, Ukraine’s military launched a volley [*of American-made ballistic missiles*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html) into Russia for the first time. The attack came on the 1,000th day of the war and less than a week after President Biden gave the Ukrainians permission to do so in a major shift of American policy.

The strike targeted an ammunition depot in the Bryansk region of southwestern Russia, causing explosions, Ukrainian officials said. Russian officials claimed to have shot down five of the six missiles. The use of long-range American weapons was a show of force that demonstrated how continued Western support could help Ukraine more easily [*degrade Russian forces*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html).

The attack came on the same day [*President Vladimir Putin lowered Russia’s threshold*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html) for the use of nuclear weapons. He declared that Russia could use nuclear weapons if its sovereignty is threatened, even against a nonnuclear state so long as that state is backed by a nuclear power — similar to the situation in Ukraine. The timing of the long-planned move was clearly meant to send a message to Europe and the U.S.

The White House said it had observed “no changes to Russia’s nuclear posture” and played down Putin’s new doctrine. The reaction was telling, my colleague David Sanger wrote. Over nearly three years, the war in Ukraine has inured Washington and the world to the renewed use [*of nuclear weapons as the ultimate bargaining chip*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html).

In related news, Germany’s defense minister claimed that the severing of fiber-optic cables this week in the Baltic Sea was an act [*of sabotage*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html) aimed at Ukraine’s European allies.

Prosecutors called for a four-year freeze on Trump’s case

Manhattan prosecutors sent a letter today to the judge who oversaw Donald Trump’s New York criminal case, seeking [*to oppose the president-elect’s push*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html) to dismiss his conviction. Instead, the prosecutors said they were willing to freeze the case for four years while Trump is president.

In the letter, the prosecutors said they were “mindful of the demands and obligations of the presidency,” but they emphasized that a jury convicted Trump of falsifying records to cover up a sex scandal.

Trump is now expected to move for a dismissal, a legal battle that could reach the Supreme Court. His sentencing, which was scheduled for next week, will almost certainly be delayed.

In related news, several state cases against Trump’s allies are [*in fragile shape*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html) after the election.

Trump tapped a Wall St. C.E.O. for commerce secretary

Trump announced today that he would nominate Howard Lutnick, the chief executive of the financial services firm Cantor Fitzgerald, [*to be his commerce secretary*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html). Lutnick has been a top economic adviser to Trump over the past year and has been leading the president-elect’s transition team.

Lutnick has called for lower corporate taxes, an expansion of American energy production and tariffs to protect U.S. industries. Trump is also trying [*to find a Treasury secretary*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html) with a similar vision.

The selection of Lutnick has not received much pushback from Republicans, unlike Trump’s picks to lead the Justice Department and the Pentagon, [*who he has admitted might not have enough support*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html) to be confirmed. Trump is still pushing their nominations and has demanded that the Senate allow him to make so-called recess appointments. [*Here’s how that would work*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html).

In other politics news:

* Trump said that he [*intends to nominate Dr. Mehmet Oz*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html) to serve as the administrator of the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services. Follow the [*latest nomination news*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html).

1. A hacker is said to have downloaded a file containing [*damaging testimony about Matt Gaetz*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html), Trump’s pick for attorney general.
2. Trump’s allies in Congress are beginning an effort to translate his economic agenda into law. [*It could be challenging*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html).
3. Republicans are trying to bar Sarah McBride, who will be the first transgender U.S. lawmaker, [*from using women’s rooms at work*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html).
4. Trump appears determined to fight against [*the #MeToo movement’s role in society*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html).
5. Many minority ***working-class*** voters said [*they lost trust in Democrats*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html).

Pro-democracy leaders were jailed in Hong Kong

A Hong Kong court today sentenced 45 former politicians, journalists and activists to prison, some [*for as long as 10 years*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html). The punishments — for taking part in an unofficial 2020 straw poll by the opposition — highlighted the sweeping power of a national security law Beijing imposed to tighten its grip on the territory.

Here’s a look [*at the people who were sentenced*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html).

More top news

* Education: [*Texas will allow Bible-infused lessons*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html) in public schools.

1. Weather: Residents of Asheville, N.C., [*can now drink their tap water*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html) for the first time since Hurricane Helene.
2. Lebanon: [*A top U.S. envoy signaled progress*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html) in negotiations between Israel and Hezbollah on a cease-fire proposal.
3. Gaza: We interviewed [*badly wounded Palestinians who made it out*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html) for medical treatment in Qatar.
4. Health: After Trump’s election, orders [*for morning-after and abortion pills rose*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html).
5. Brazil: Authorities said that members of an elite army unit planned [*to kill Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html) shortly before he became president, in an effort to keep Jair Bolsonaro in power.
6. France: As the rape trial of her ex-husband and dozens of other men neared its end, [*Gisèle Pelicot made her final address*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html) to the court.
7. Space: On a second attempt, SpaceX [*failed to catch the giant booster*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html) of its moon and Mars rocket.

TIME TO UNWIND

Can ‘Glicked’ recapture the magic of ‘Barbenheimer’?

When “Barbie” and “Oppenheimer” opened on the same day in the summer of 2023, crowds swarmed to movie theaters to be part of “Barbenheimer.” Now there’s a buzzy new movie face-off with its own catchy name: “Glicked.”

“Wicked,” the first installment of the adaptation of the Broadway musical, and “Gladiator II,” a swords-and-sandals epic directed by Ridley Scott, arrive in theaters this Friday. Will Elphaba green replace Barbie pink? Here’s what to know [*about each film*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html).

Jon Batiste returned to classical music, on his own terms

Before Jon Batiste was a bandleader and Grammy-winning artist, celebrated for his jazzy R&amp;B hits, he was a classical piano student. Batiste returned to those roots this month with a new album, “Beethoven Blues.”

On it, Batiste adds his own improvisations to masterpieces like “Für Elise” and the Fifth Symphony. We interviewed him about why he decided to take on the classics and [*recorded him riffing on Beethoven*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html).

Dinner table topics

* Hypebeasts: ComplexCon is a hybrid of a sneaker mall, a fashion show and a music festival. [*The kids just love it*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html).

1. Museum show: A couple taught A.I. to sing, and [*it was beautiful*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html).
2. Online celeb: Caleb Simpson tours other people’s apartments in New York. We took a look [*inside his place*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html).
3. A new era: [*Will Ozempic crush the junk food business*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html)

WHAT TO DO TONIGHT

Cook: Brighten up your table [*with this maple-roasted squash dish*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html).

Read: Looking for a Christmas read? [*Check these out*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html).

Listen: Our critic recommends [*Ethel Cain’s “Punish”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html) and six other new songs.

Accessorize: [*Bag charms*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html) have become a popular form of self-expression.

Consider: Flu infections have started picking up. [*Here’s what to know*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html).

Pluck: These are [*the best tweezers*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html).

Compete: [*Take our quiz*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html) to see how well you know memorable couples of literature.

Play: Here are today’s [*Spelling Bee*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html), [*Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html) and [*Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html). Find [*all our games here*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html).

ONE LAST THING

Magicians are searching for a woman who tricked them

In 1991, a woman gained entry into a male-only society of magicians in London by performing a 20-minute show while posing as a man named Raymond Lloyd. Later that year, when the woman revealed her identity, she was ousted from the club.

The group, known as The Magic Circle, now accepts women. And its current leaders have embarked on a [*quest to find the woman*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html), who went by the name Sophie Lloyd, in order to make amends and offer her membership. But the woman seems to have pulled a disappearing act.

Have a crafty evening.

Thanks for reading. I’ll be back tomorrow. — Matthew

Philip Pacheco was our photo editor today.

We welcome your feedback. Write to us at [*evening@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/19/world/europe/ukraine-russia-atacms-missiles.html).

PHOTO: The U.S.-made Army Tactical Missile System, known as ATACMS. (PHOTOGRAPH BY John Hamilton/White Sands Missile Range, via Associated Press FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 19, 2024

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[***Themes in Trump's Picks: Fox News, Project 2025 and Mar-a-Lago***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DK3-X101-JBG3-63C2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 5, 2024 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 16

**Length:** 1828 words

**Byline:** By Karen Yourish, Lazaro Gamio and Ashley Wu

**Body**

A number of patterns have emerged among the people President-elect Donald J. Trump has indicated he wants to fill his cabinet and other senior-level positions in his administration.

Some points of commonality are historically typical among senior White House and cabinet officials -- Harvard, Yale and Princeton are well represented among his selections' alma maters, for instance. Other uniting factors are unprecedented: Many on the list have denied or questioned the results of the 2020 presidential election, often a prerequisite for gaining Mr. Trump's favor. And some lack the traditional qualifications shared by their predecessors.

Indeed, it appears that the most important qualifier in Mr. Trump's mind has been fealty to him, which many of his picks have demonstrated in various ways over the past few years.

See some of the links between more than 60 potential members (in some cases pending confirmation) of the incoming administration, below.

At least 5 are billionaires.

Mr. Trump has picked two billionaires to lead key economic departments, raising questions about whether his administration will follow through on promises to boost the ***working class***.

Scott Bessent, his choice for treasury secretary, is a hedge fund manager who invested money for George Soros, a liberal philanthropist, for more than a decade. Howard Lutnick, his pick for commerce secretary, is a Wall Street executive. Both Mr. Bessent and Mr. Lutnick have been vocal in their support for Mr. Trump's plan to impose tariffs on imports, although they may prefer a more targeted approach.

Billionaire entrepreneurs Elon Musk and Vivek Ramaswamy will lead what Mr. Trump is calling the Department of Government Efficiency. Mr. Trump has said the new initiative would operate outside of the government and offer input to federal officials.

At least 8 have been major Trump donors.

The president-elect has also selected major campaign donors for key positions, including four to lead cabinet agencies: Mr. Lutnick and Mr. Bessent, as well as Chris Wright to lead the Energy Department and Linda McMahon to lead the Education Department. (Ms. McMahon and Mr. Lutnick are also co-chairs of the Trump transition.) As of the last federal filing, their contributions to support Mr. Trump during the 2024 election cycle ranged from $350,000 to $20 million.

John Phelan, Mr. Trump's pick for Navy secretary, and his wife, Amy, donated more than $1 million to Mr. Trump's joint fund-raising campaign committee.

Steven Witkoff, a billionaire real estate mogul who has given nearly $2 million to Mr. Trump's political causes over the past decade, was named special envoy to the Middle East. He was on the golf course with Mr. Trump in September during a second assassination attempt.

Mr. Musk poured at least $75 million into a new pro-Trump super PAC and promised on Oct. 19 to award one voter $1 million every day through Election Day. The Justice Department warned Mr. Musk that the giveaway might be illegal, but a judge in Philadelphia refused to halt the sweepstakes.

Charles Kushner, Mr. Trump's pick for ambassador to France, is a real estate executive who gave at least $2 million to support Mr. Trump.

At least 12 hosted or co-hosted events at Mar-a-Lago.

After Mr. Trump left the White House, Mar-a-Lago became the headquarters of the MAGA movement. Events hosted by right-wing organizations and politicians there largely replaced traditional Palm Beach society galas on the resort's calendar, as a visit became an essential rite for many Republican candidates.

Many of Mr. Trump's recent picks were regular fixtures at Mar-a-Lago during this time. Some did more than visit, choosing to host expensive receptions on the property. As Mar-a-Lago's owner, Mr. Trump is the beneficiary of its profits.

Several of the proposed officials have held campaign fund-raisers or served on the host committee to support another candidate's event. Others hosted or co-hosted larger events for organizations they lead or champion.

At least 13 made appearances at Trump's criminal trial in New York.

Mr. Trump's criminal trial in Manhattan was a staging ground for allies to prove their loyalty. Several of his recent picks traveled to New York in the spring to show support. Some were there in a professional context. Todd Blanche, Mr. Trump's choice for deputy attorney general, was one of his trial lawyers, and Susie Wiles, Mr. Trump's incoming chief of staff, was co-chair of his 2024 presidential campaign.

Others, like Vice President-elect JD Vance and Doug Burgum, Mr. Trump's pick for interior secretary, attended the trial as spectators and attacked members of the presiding judge's family on behalf of Mr. Trump, who was under a rule of silence. Both were considered potential running mates at the time.

At least 17 are associated with the America First Policy Institute or Project 2025.

Mr. Trump spent much of the campaign distancing himself from Project 2025, a sprawling initiative spearheaded by the Heritage Foundation that included a ''blueprint'' document for a new conservative administration that was authored in part by former Trump staffers. But since winning the election, Mr. Trump has picked at least seven people with ties to the controversial conservative policy initiative to serve in his administration.

Project 2025 also includes a database of Heritage-vetted personnel intended to help a Republican president build rank-and-file staff. It remains to be seen to what extent those candidates will be hired in the new administration.

The America First Policy Institute, which like the Heritage Foundation is a pro-Trump think tank, is also heavily represented in his picks so far. At least 11 of the people among his picks have ties to the upstart policy group. Much like Project 2025, the think tank has prepared staffing plans and a policy agenda, and it reportedly has drafted nearly 300 executive orders ready for Mr. Trump's signature.

At least 11 are or have been Fox hosts or contributors.

Some of Mr. Trump's appointees are closely linked to Fox as either hosts, former hosts or contributors. Pete Hegseth was a host on ''Fox & Friends'' until he became Mr. Trump's pick for defense secretary. Mr. Hegseth's co-host was Rachel Campos-Duffy, who is married to Sean Duffy, Mr. Trump's cabinet pick for transportation secretary. Mr. Duffy also co-hosted a show on Fox Business.

Mr. Trump's choice for ambassador to Israel, Mike Huckabee, hosted a show on Fox for seven years. More recently, Mr. Ramaswamy was tapped to host a five-part series on Fox Nation.

Many more figures in Mr. Trump's orbit are frequent guests on Fox News, and several not counted here have contributed digital columns to the Fox News website. Mr. Wright caught Mr. Trump's attention in part through his appearances on Fox News.

At least 9 are or have been registered lobbyists.

The revolving door between lobbying and government is a tradition in Washington -- and one of the practices Mr. Trump pledged to eliminate when he said he would ''drain the swamp.'' But some of the people Mr. Trump has tapped for his administration have deep ties to that very swamp.

Ms. Wiles was registered as a lobbyist until early this year. Pam Bondi, Mr. Trump's choice for attorney general, joined a lobbying firm run by a prominent Florida fund-raiser after she finished her second term as Florida attorney general. Mr. Duffy lobbied for a coalition of airlines in 2020.

Some of Mr. Trump's selections not shown here have acted as lobbyists without officially registering -- another longstanding custom in the nation's capital. Russell T. Vought, Mr. Trump's choice to lead the Office of Management and Budget, noted in paperwork for his 2017 Senate confirmation hearing that he had ''engaged in grassroots lobbying.''

At least 28 served in or advised the previous Trump administration.

More than two dozen of Mr. Trump's cabinet and other senior-level picks also served in some capacity in his first administration.

Some have been chosen for roles related to their previous jobs. Thomas Homan was the acting director of U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement during Mr. Trump's first term and has been named the border czar, a position that does not require Senate confirmation, for the coming term.

Others have been tapped for roles less related to their previous positions. Ms. McMahon was the administrator of the Small Business Administration from 2017 to 2019, and she is now Mr. Trump's choice for education secretary.

Several on this list did not have official, full-time jobs during Mr. Trump's last term, but they were chosen by him to sit on advisory boards. Those people include Mr. Witkoff, Mr. Huckabee and Mr. Musk.MethodologyThis list reflects 61 cabinet and senior-level position picks that Mr. Trump had announced as of noon Eastern on Dec. 2.To determine ties to Project 2025, The Times checked Mr. Trump's proposed staff members against the authors, editors and contributors to the Project 2025 playbook, as well as the instructor lists in Project 2025's training programs. Ties to the America First Policy Institute were determined by whether an individual had a listed role on the conservative group's website or has served as a fellow for the group.To determine ties to Fox News, The Times searched for each staff pick on Fox's website, which lists individuals' affiliations with Fox News. In instances where a biographical page was not available for a nominee, The Times attempted a further search on the Internet Archive and consulted news articles that described other relationships between the potential nominees and appointees and Fox News. In many cases, nominees had a presence on the Fox News website in the form of submitted opinion articles, but were not described as Fox contributors, so The Times did not classify them as being tied to Fox directly.Accounts by Times reporters and photographers who covered Mr. Trump's trial in New York were used to determine whether one of Mr. Trump's picks attended the trial.Those labeled billionaires have been referred to as such in other Times coverage.Major donors include people who gave at least $250,000 to support Mr. Trump during the 2024 election cycle.The Times used congressional lobbying disclosure databases to determine whether an individual is or has ever been a registered lobbyist.To determine whether one of Mr. Trump's picks hosted or co-hosted an event at Mar-a-Lago, The Times used permits from the town of Palm Beach; federal, state and county campaign finance records; tax records; social media posts; and promotional materials from organizations that held events.The Times used the official White House archive from the first Trump administration to determine whether people selected for the second administration also served in the first. Some held multiple positions during the course of the administration. In most cases, the chart reflects the last position they held.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/03/project-2025-mar-a-lago-and-fox-news-what-connects-trumps-new-staff-picks.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/03/project-2025-mar-a-lago-and-fox-news-what-connects-trumps-new-staff-picks.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS (A16

A17) This article appeared in print on page A16, A17.

**Load-Date:** December 5, 2024

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[***Harris Outdoes Biden in 2 State Polls but Has Her Own Weaknesses***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CGT-XPF1-JBG3-6033-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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

**Length:** 788 words

**Byline:** By Nate Cohn

**Body**

The polls in Pennsylvania and Virginia were conducted before the Trump rally shooting.

Just before a gunman fired at Donald J. Trump at a Pennsylvania rally Saturday, we concluded a new set of New York Times/Siena College polls of Pennsylvania and Virginia. While the polls were completed before the shooting, they still offer context about the state of the race.

Five years ago, Joe Biden was the ''electability'' candidate -- the well-liked, moderate Democrat who promised to beat Donald J. Trump and had the poll numbers to back it up.

The polls don't back up President Biden's electability case anymore. In the latest New York Times/Siena College polls on Monday, he trails by three percentage points among likely voters in must-win Pennsylvania, while he leads by a mere three points in Virginia -- a state he carried by 10 points four years ago.

Not only does Mr. Biden trail Mr. Trump in Pennsylvania, but he also fares worse than Vice President Kamala Harris, the only other Democrat tested in the poll. She ran about two points ahead of Mr. Biden, trailing by one point in Pennsylvania while leading by five points in Virginia.

(Mr. Trump was shot by a gunman at a Pennsylvania rally on Saturday after the polls were completed, adding uncertainty to the race.)

A two-point edge for Ms. Harris over Mr. Biden isn't much, but she's polled ahead of him in Times/Siena polling before. She outran Mr. Biden in Times/Siena polling of six battleground states last November, as a sliver of young and nonwhite voters backed the vice president but not Mr. Biden. That's the source of her relative advantage yet again.

Before going further, there's one big caveat: Ms. Harris is not currently a candidate for president. While she may be a well-known figure, voters haven't heard her message or agenda as a hypothetical presidential candidate in 2024. They haven't seen her on a debate stage. And they haven't heard the attacks against her, either. If she became a candidate, her standing could easily change -- whether for better or worse.

But for now, Ms. Harris's polling edge is plausible. For one, it's mostly a reflection of Mr. Biden's weakness. Far from a political juggernaut, Ms. Harris has a favorability rating of just 42 percent in Pennsylvania and 48 percent in Virginia, the poll finds. She may fare better among young voters (age 18 to 29) than Mr. Biden, but most of them say they have a negative view of her. And her ratings among Black and Hispanic voters are tepid for a Democrat, even if they're better than Mr. Biden's.

Like Mr. Biden, Ms. Harris polls worse than the result of the 2020 presidential election; she polls worse than the Democratic advantage on party identification in the two states; and she's far behind the Democratic senators running for re-election (Bob Casey leads by eight points in Pennsylvania, and Tim Kaine by 17 points in Virginia). She even runs behind traditional Democratic benchmarks among young, Black and Hispanic voters. She runs only ahead of the president.

Ms. Harris's edge probably isn't attributable to the fallout from the debate. She fared better than Mr. Biden in our polling in November, long before the debate, and neither the Virginia nor Pennsylvania results are quite as bad for Mr. Biden as some might have expected after the debate or in light of our last national poll. In fact, his three-point deficit in Pennsylvania is the same shown in our last poll in the state, taken in May.

And despite Mr. Biden's weakness, the data contains a few faint echoes of his old electability pitch. He fares better than Ms. Harris among voters over 65 and among white voters without a college degree, two Republican-leaning constituencies that gave Mr. Biden just enough strength to put him over the top four years ago. He does better among self-identified conservatives as well.

These relative strengths for Mr. Biden can just as easily be interpreted as signs of weakness for Ms. Harris. Either way, there's an argument that Mr. Biden's enduring (if only relative) appeal among older and white ***working-class*** voters puts him in a better position than the top-line figures suggest. After all, winning young and nonwhite voters is supposed to be the ''easy'' task for a Democrat. Winning white ***working-class*** voters and seniors, on the other, is what's supposed to be ''hard.'' If Mr. Biden has already done the hard part, perhaps his path to additional gains is relatively straightforward.

Of course, just because it's supposed to be easy for a Democrat to fare well among young and nonwhite voters doesn't mean it will be easy for Mr. Biden. The polling shows it certainly hasn't been easy for him this cycle. It doesn't figure to be any easier after the debate.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/upshot/kamala-harris-biden-poll.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/15/upshot/kamala-harris-biden-poll.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Vice President Kamala Harris, shown last week in Dallas. She fared better than President Biden in polling in November, too. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A10.

**Load-Date:** July 16, 2024

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[***Trump’s Victory and the End of the Rainbow Coalition; Charles M. Blow***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DD7-1DR1-DXY4-X464-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1306 words

**Byline:** Charles M. BlowCharles M. Blow is an Opinion columnist for The New York Times, writing about national politics, public opinion and social justice, with a focus on racial equality and L.G.B.T.Q. rights.

**Highlight:** Some Americans have bought into the fallacious logic that prosperity and a broad pursuit of equal rights cannot coexist.

**Body**

Throughout our history, Black leaders have championed the idea of a multiracial coalition that would upend the white-dominated American political system.

In “Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1880,” W.E.B. Du Bois [*bemoaned*](https://books.google.com/books?id=Nt5mglDCNHEC&amp;q=Suppose+for+a+moment+that+Northern+labor+had+stopped+the+bargain+of+1876+and+maintained+the+power+of+the+labor+vote+in+the+South%3B+and+suppose+that+the+Negro+with+new+and+dawning+consciousness+of+the+demands+of+labor+as+differentiated+from+the+demands+of+capitalists%2C+had+used+his+vote+more+specifically+for+the+benefit+of+white+labor%2C+South+and+North%3F#v=snippet&amp;q=Suppose%20for%20a%20moment%20that%20Northern%20labor%20had%20stopped%20the%20bargain%20of%201876%20and%20maintained%20the%20power%20of%20the%20labor%20vote%20in%20the%20South%3B%20and%20suppose%20that%20the%20Negro%20with%20new%20and%20dawning%20consciousness%20of%20the%20demands%20of%20labor%20as%20differentiated%20from%20the%20demands%20of%20capitalists%2C%20had%20used%20his%20vote%20more%20specifically%20for%20the%20benefit%20of%20white%20labor%2C%20South%20and%20North%3F&amp;f=false) the lack of economic and political solidarity between Black and poor white Americans.

When Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated, he had already embarked on the Poor People’s Campaign, which he [*called*](https://books.google.com/books?id=Nt5mglDCNHEC&amp;q=Suppose+for+a+moment+that+Northern+labor+had+stopped+the+bargain+of+1876+and+maintained+the+power+of+the+labor+vote+in+the+South%3B+and+suppose+that+the+Negro+with+new+and+dawning+consciousness+of+the+demands+of+labor+as+differentiated+from+the+demands+of+capitalists%2C+had+used+his+vote+more+specifically+for+the+benefit+of+white+labor%2C+South+and+North%3F#v=snippet&amp;q=Suppose%20for%20a%20moment%20that%20Northern%20labor%20had%20stopped%20the%20bargain%20of%201876%20and%20maintained%20the%20power%20of%20the%20labor%20vote%20in%20the%20South%3B%20and%20suppose%20that%20the%20Negro%20with%20new%20and%20dawning%20consciousness%20of%20the%20demands%20of%20labor%20as%20differentiated%20from%20the%20demands%20of%20capitalists%2C%20had%20used%20his%20vote%20more%20specifically%20for%20the%20benefit%20of%20white%20labor%2C%20South%20and%20North%3F&amp;f=false) “the beginning of a new cooperation, understanding and a determination by poor people of all colors and backgrounds to assert and win their right to a decent life and respect for their culture and dignity.”

When Jesse Jackson announced his 1984 presidential campaign, he [*said*](https://books.google.com/books?id=Nt5mglDCNHEC&amp;q=Suppose+for+a+moment+that+Northern+labor+had+stopped+the+bargain+of+1876+and+maintained+the+power+of+the+labor+vote+in+the+South%3B+and+suppose+that+the+Negro+with+new+and+dawning+consciousness+of+the+demands+of+labor+as+differentiated+from+the+demands+of+capitalists%2C+had+used+his+vote+more+specifically+for+the+benefit+of+white+labor%2C+South+and+North%3F#v=snippet&amp;q=Suppose%20for%20a%20moment%20that%20Northern%20labor%20had%20stopped%20the%20bargain%20of%201876%20and%20maintained%20the%20power%20of%20the%20labor%20vote%20in%20the%20South%3B%20and%20suppose%20that%20the%20Negro%20with%20new%20and%20dawning%20consciousness%20of%20the%20demands%20of%20labor%20as%20differentiated%20from%20the%20demands%20of%20capitalists%2C%20had%20used%20his%20vote%20more%20specifically%20for%20the%20benefit%20of%20white%20labor%2C%20South%20and%20North%3F&amp;f=false): “Women cannot be free until Blacks and Hispanics are free. Blacks, whites, women, Hispanics, workers, Indians, Chinese, Filipinos — we must come together and form the rainbow coalition.”

And in 2008, Barack Obama marshaled that spirit and turned it into a coalition that elected America’s first Black president. But 16 years later, this coalition failed to coalesce for a Black woman seeking the Oval Office.

Yes, it’s a different era, with different candidates. (And yes, Republicans are crowing that there’s still a multiracial coalition, but now it’s just forming on their side of the aisle.) But the results of the 2024 presidential election might be a sign that the lift-all-boats approach that Jackson called for — a simultaneous fight for the rights, aspirations and dignity of all Americans, including women, people of color and members of the L.G.B.T.Q. community — is no longer the galvanizing force that many liberals were counting on.

Last Tuesday’s results suggest that some Hispanic, Asian American, Arab American, white female and, indeed, Black voters put less stock in diversity as a defining and mobilizing concept. Some of them, including some Democrats, believe diversity is a talking point that does nothing to advance their interests. This augurs a reckoning not only within the Democratic Party but also among Black voters, the Democrats’ most loyal constituency.

There’s a school of thought on the Democratic side of the aisle that has preached progress through pluralism. Faith in that view has withered.

Kamala Harris brought joy to the campaign trail, campaigning on the most American of ideals: [*freedom*](https://books.google.com/books?id=Nt5mglDCNHEC&amp;q=Suppose+for+a+moment+that+Northern+labor+had+stopped+the+bargain+of+1876+and+maintained+the+power+of+the+labor+vote+in+the+South%3B+and+suppose+that+the+Negro+with+new+and+dawning+consciousness+of+the+demands+of+labor+as+differentiated+from+the+demands+of+capitalists%2C+had+used+his+vote+more+specifically+for+the+benefit+of+white+labor%2C+South+and+North%3F#v=snippet&amp;q=Suppose%20for%20a%20moment%20that%20Northern%20labor%20had%20stopped%20the%20bargain%20of%201876%20and%20maintained%20the%20power%20of%20the%20labor%20vote%20in%20the%20South%3B%20and%20suppose%20that%20the%20Negro%20with%20new%20and%20dawning%20consciousness%20of%20the%20demands%20of%20labor%20as%20differentiated%20from%20the%20demands%20of%20capitalists%2C%20had%20used%20his%20vote%20more%20specifically%20for%20the%20benefit%20of%20white%20labor%2C%20South%20and%20North%3F&amp;f=false). But many Americans — including many young people — fumed at the Biden-Harris administration over the war in Gaza. Some feminists reject a transgender-inclusive definition of womanhood. In 2022 it was revealed that several Latino leaders in California had privately [*disparaged*](https://books.google.com/books?id=Nt5mglDCNHEC&amp;q=Suppose+for+a+moment+that+Northern+labor+had+stopped+the+bargain+of+1876+and+maintained+the+power+of+the+labor+vote+in+the+South%3B+and+suppose+that+the+Negro+with+new+and+dawning+consciousness+of+the+demands+of+labor+as+differentiated+from+the+demands+of+capitalists%2C+had+used+his+vote+more+specifically+for+the+benefit+of+white+labor%2C+South+and+North%3F#v=snippet&amp;q=Suppose%20for%20a%20moment%20that%20Northern%20labor%20had%20stopped%20the%20bargain%20of%201876%20and%20maintained%20the%20power%20of%20the%20labor%20vote%20in%20the%20South%3B%20and%20suppose%20that%20the%20Negro%20with%20new%20and%20dawning%20consciousness%20of%20the%20demands%20of%20labor%20as%20differentiated%20from%20the%20demands%20of%20capitalists%2C%20had%20used%20his%20vote%20more%20specifically%20for%20the%20benefit%20of%20white%20labor%2C%20South%20and%20North%3F&amp;f=false) Black people, Jewish people and people of Mexican descent with Indigenous ancestry. Some Black residents of cities where migrants have been bused in recent years have chafed at the prospect of public resources being used to accommodate them.

One of the more seismic results in this election was the shift among Hispanic voters toward Donald Trump — particularly Hispanic men, who supported him over Harris by [*12 percentage points*](https://books.google.com/books?id=Nt5mglDCNHEC&amp;q=Suppose+for+a+moment+that+Northern+labor+had+stopped+the+bargain+of+1876+and+maintained+the+power+of+the+labor+vote+in+the+South%3B+and+suppose+that+the+Negro+with+new+and+dawning+consciousness+of+the+demands+of+labor+as+differentiated+from+the+demands+of+capitalists%2C+had+used+his+vote+more+specifically+for+the+benefit+of+white+labor%2C+South+and+North%3F#v=snippet&amp;q=Suppose%20for%20a%20moment%20that%20Northern%20labor%20had%20stopped%20the%20bargain%20of%201876%20and%20maintained%20the%20power%20of%20the%20labor%20vote%20in%20the%20South%3B%20and%20suppose%20that%20the%20Negro%20with%20new%20and%20dawning%20consciousness%20of%20the%20demands%20of%20labor%20as%20differentiated%20from%20the%20demands%20of%20capitalists%2C%20had%20used%20his%20vote%20more%20specifically%20for%20the%20benefit%20of%20white%20labor%2C%20South%20and%20North%3F&amp;f=false), according to CNN exit polls, while they backed Joe Biden in 2020 by [*23 points*](https://books.google.com/books?id=Nt5mglDCNHEC&amp;q=Suppose+for+a+moment+that+Northern+labor+had+stopped+the+bargain+of+1876+and+maintained+the+power+of+the+labor+vote+in+the+South%3B+and+suppose+that+the+Negro+with+new+and+dawning+consciousness+of+the+demands+of+labor+as+differentiated+from+the+demands+of+capitalists%2C+had+used+his+vote+more+specifically+for+the+benefit+of+white+labor%2C+South+and+North%3F#v=snippet&amp;q=Suppose%20for%20a%20moment%20that%20Northern%20labor%20had%20stopped%20the%20bargain%20of%201876%20and%20maintained%20the%20power%20of%20the%20labor%20vote%20in%20the%20South%3B%20and%20suppose%20that%20the%20Negro%20with%20new%20and%20dawning%20consciousness%20of%20the%20demands%20of%20labor%20as%20differentiated%20from%20the%20demands%20of%20capitalists%2C%20had%20used%20his%20vote%20more%20specifically%20for%20the%20benefit%20of%20white%20labor%2C%20South%20and%20North%3F&amp;f=false). Some Democrats were puzzled by how Trump drove up these numbers and won traditionally Democratic areas like [*Miami-Dade County*](https://books.google.com/books?id=Nt5mglDCNHEC&amp;q=Suppose+for+a+moment+that+Northern+labor+had+stopped+the+bargain+of+1876+and+maintained+the+power+of+the+labor+vote+in+the+South%3B+and+suppose+that+the+Negro+with+new+and+dawning+consciousness+of+the+demands+of+labor+as+differentiated+from+the+demands+of+capitalists%2C+had+used+his+vote+more+specifically+for+the+benefit+of+white+labor%2C+South+and+North%3F#v=snippet&amp;q=Suppose%20for%20a%20moment%20that%20Northern%20labor%20had%20stopped%20the%20bargain%20of%201876%20and%20maintained%20the%20power%20of%20the%20labor%20vote%20in%20the%20South%3B%20and%20suppose%20that%20the%20Negro%20with%20new%20and%20dawning%20consciousness%20of%20the%20demands%20of%20labor%20as%20differentiated%20from%20the%20demands%20of%20capitalists%2C%20had%20used%20his%20vote%20more%20specifically%20for%20the%20benefit%20of%20white%20labor%2C%20South%20and%20North%3F&amp;f=false) and [*Texas border counties*](https://books.google.com/books?id=Nt5mglDCNHEC&amp;q=Suppose+for+a+moment+that+Northern+labor+had+stopped+the+bargain+of+1876+and+maintained+the+power+of+the+labor+vote+in+the+South%3B+and+suppose+that+the+Negro+with+new+and+dawning+consciousness+of+the+demands+of+labor+as+differentiated+from+the+demands+of+capitalists%2C+had+used+his+vote+more+specifically+for+the+benefit+of+white+labor%2C+South+and+North%3F#v=snippet&amp;q=Suppose%20for%20a%20moment%20that%20Northern%20labor%20had%20stopped%20the%20bargain%20of%201876%20and%20maintained%20the%20power%20of%20the%20labor%20vote%20in%20the%20South%3B%20and%20suppose%20that%20the%20Negro%20with%20new%20and%20dawning%20consciousness%20of%20the%20demands%20of%20labor%20as%20differentiated%20from%20the%20demands%20of%20capitalists%2C%20had%20used%20his%20vote%20more%20specifically%20for%20the%20benefit%20of%20white%20labor%2C%20South%20and%20North%3F&amp;f=false), all while promising mass deportations and demonizing undocumented immigrants from Latin America.

But the reasoning for some Hispanic voters has become clearer, and it’s not simply the adage that the Hispanic electorate isn’t a monolith.

As Rebecca Martínez, a co-editor of “Betrayal U: The Politics of Belonging in Higher Education,” told me, with respect to Trump, some Hispanic voters think, “‘I’m not illegal. He doesn’t mean me.’ And by identifying with that, they align with power in a bid for protection and being the ‘good Hispanic.’” This sentiment tracks with the findings of a [*study*](https://books.google.com/books?id=Nt5mglDCNHEC&amp;q=Suppose+for+a+moment+that+Northern+labor+had+stopped+the+bargain+of+1876+and+maintained+the+power+of+the+labor+vote+in+the+South%3B+and+suppose+that+the+Negro+with+new+and+dawning+consciousness+of+the+demands+of+labor+as+differentiated+from+the+demands+of+capitalists%2C+had+used+his+vote+more+specifically+for+the+benefit+of+white+labor%2C+South+and+North%3F#v=snippet&amp;q=Suppose%20for%20a%20moment%20that%20Northern%20labor%20had%20stopped%20the%20bargain%20of%201876%20and%20maintained%20the%20power%20of%20the%20labor%20vote%20in%20the%20South%3B%20and%20suppose%20that%20the%20Negro%20with%20new%20and%20dawning%20consciousness%20of%20the%20demands%20of%20labor%20as%20differentiated%20from%20the%20demands%20of%20capitalists%2C%20had%20used%20his%20vote%20more%20specifically%20for%20the%20benefit%20of%20white%20labor%2C%20South%20and%20North%3F&amp;f=false) published this year in Public Opinion Quarterly analyzing potential reasons that some Hispanic voters blame immigrants for their “status devaluation.”

That kind of tension isn’t new in our history. For instance, when the Great Migration — the movement of millions of Black Americans to the North and West — began, a Howard University dean wrote [*a letter to the editor*](https://books.google.com/books?id=Nt5mglDCNHEC&amp;q=Suppose+for+a+moment+that+Northern+labor+had+stopped+the+bargain+of+1876+and+maintained+the+power+of+the+labor+vote+in+the+South%3B+and+suppose+that+the+Negro+with+new+and+dawning+consciousness+of+the+demands+of+labor+as+differentiated+from+the+demands+of+capitalists%2C+had+used+his+vote+more+specifically+for+the+benefit+of+white+labor%2C+South+and+North%3F#v=snippet&amp;q=Suppose%20for%20a%20moment%20that%20Northern%20labor%20had%20stopped%20the%20bargain%20of%201876%20and%20maintained%20the%20power%20of%20the%20labor%20vote%20in%20the%20South%3B%20and%20suppose%20that%20the%20Negro%20with%20new%20and%20dawning%20consciousness%20of%20the%20demands%20of%20labor%20as%20differentiated%20from%20the%20demands%20of%20capitalists%2C%20had%20used%20his%20vote%20more%20specifically%20for%20the%20benefit%20of%20white%20labor%2C%20South%20and%20North%3F&amp;f=false) of this newspaper expressing concern about new migrants from the South diminishing the social and political standing of Black people already in the North: “Should the influx of Negro laborers to the North, without proper restriction and control, be allowed to prejudice public opinion and thus reproduce Southern proscription in the Northern states, the last state of the race would be worse than the first.”

Rashad Robinson, the president of Color of Change, stressed the imperative of Democrats coming around to this new reality if they want to win elections: “When we think that people’s identities are automatic stand-ins for their beliefs and choices, we lose them.”

This year Democrats hoped that white women would break for Harris in a major way, especially in response to the threat to reproductive rights posed by the Supreme Court, a third of which was appointed by Trump. But that didn’t happen.

A Democratic pollster, Cornell Belcher, described this misplaced hope as the “white women facade,” the idea that these voters, as a bloc, would go in a vastly different direction in 2024 from 2020. Belcher told me that in “polite conversation” the votes of some white women will be discussed in terms of the votes of the broader white ***working class***, but he said those conversations would really be a proxy for something else: White women “surged for white nationalism.”

If some groups of voters are increasingly wagering that it’s better to be by Trump’s side than in his path, that strikes me as a bad bargain. Once his retrogressive instincts are again unleashed, they may prove impossible to control. There’s ample evidence — Project 2025, his first-term record, the revanchist rallying cry “Make America great again” — that a central part of his project is to undo as much societal progress as possible before his window of opportunity closes.

Of course, all voters should vote their consciences. But it also strikes me that in the end, no people should count themselves truly safe who don’t align with the founders’ vision of who should be politically empowered in this country: propertied white men.

The election result of a week ago is evidence that the vision of a rainbow coalition as a political organizing principle is fading. It’s evidence that many Americans are willing to subordinate racial and gender concerns when faced with unrelenting language about a lack of physical, economic and cultural security.

It’s also hard to separate that result from the backlash to the movement for Black lives, the demonization of members of the L.G.B.T.Q. community and the scapegoating of immigrants for an array of societal challenges. It’s hard not to think that one of the takeaways from this election is that some Americans don’t see others’ oppression as their problem — that people have bought into the fallacious logic that personal prosperity and a broad pursuit of equal rights and social justice cannot coexist.

And part of the sadness of so many voters today is the realization that the pain that may be visited on some women and minorities in the near future has been abetted by the votes of other women and minorities — and the realization that we may well be reaching the end of the rainbow.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://books.google.com/books?id=Nt5mglDCNHEC&amp;q=Suppose+for+a+moment+that+Northern+labor+had+stopped+the+bargain+of+1876+and+maintained+the+power+of+the+labor+vote+in+the+South%3B+and+suppose+that+the+Negro+with+new+and+dawning+consciousness+of+the+demands+of+labor+as+differentiated+from+the+demands+of+capitalists%2C+had+used+his+vote+more+specifically+for+the+benefit+of+white+labor%2C+South+and+North%3F#v=snippet&amp;q=Suppose%20for%20a%20moment%20that%20Northern%20labor%20had%20stopped%20the%20bargain%20of%201876%20and%20maintained%20the%20power%20of%20the%20labor%20vote%20in%20the%20South%3B%20and%20suppose%20that%20the%20Negro%20with%20new%20and%20dawning%20consciousness%20of%20the%20demands%20of%20labor%20as%20differentiated%20from%20the%20demands%20of%20capitalists%2C%20had%20used%20his%20vote%20more%20specifically%20for%20the%20benefit%20of%20white%20labor%2C%20South%20and%20North%3F&amp;f=false) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://books.google.com/books?id=Nt5mglDCNHEC&amp;q=Suppose+for+a+moment+that+Northern+labor+had+stopped+the+bargain+of+1876+and+maintained+the+power+of+the+labor+vote+in+the+South%3B+and+suppose+that+the+Negro+with+new+and+dawning+consciousness+of+the+demands+of+labor+as+differentiated+from+the+demands+of+capitalists%2C+had+used+his+vote+more+specifically+for+the+benefit+of+white+labor%2C+South+and+North%3F#v=snippet&amp;q=Suppose%20for%20a%20moment%20that%20Northern%20labor%20had%20stopped%20the%20bargain%20of%201876%20and%20maintained%20the%20power%20of%20the%20labor%20vote%20in%20the%20South%3B%20and%20suppose%20that%20the%20Negro%20with%20new%20and%20dawning%20consciousness%20of%20the%20demands%20of%20labor%20as%20differentiated%20from%20the%20demands%20of%20capitalists%2C%20had%20used%20his%20vote%20more%20specifically%20for%20the%20benefit%20of%20white%20labor%2C%20South%20and%20North%3F&amp;f=false). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://books.google.com/books?id=Nt5mglDCNHEC&amp;q=Suppose+for+a+moment+that+Northern+labor+had+stopped+the+bargain+of+1876+and+maintained+the+power+of+the+labor+vote+in+the+South%3B+and+suppose+that+the+Negro+with+new+and+dawning+consciousness+of+the+demands+of+labor+as+differentiated+from+the+demands+of+capitalists%2C+had+used+his+vote+more+specifically+for+the+benefit+of+white+labor%2C+South+and+North%3F#v=snippet&amp;q=Suppose%20for%20a%20moment%20that%20Northern%20labor%20had%20stopped%20the%20bargain%20of%201876%20and%20maintained%20the%20power%20of%20the%20labor%20vote%20in%20the%20South%3B%20and%20suppose%20that%20the%20Negro%20with%20new%20and%20dawning%20consciousness%20of%20the%20demands%20of%20labor%20as%20differentiated%20from%20the%20demands%20of%20capitalists%2C%20had%20used%20his%20vote%20more%20specifically%20for%20the%20benefit%20of%20white%20labor%2C%20South%20and%20North%3F&amp;f=false).

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[*Instagram*](https://books.google.com/books?id=Nt5mglDCNHEC&amp;q=Suppose+for+a+moment+that+Northern+labor+had+stopped+the+bargain+of+1876+and+maintained+the+power+of+the+labor+vote+in+the+South%3B+and+suppose+that+the+Negro+with+new+and+dawning+consciousness+of+the+demands+of+labor+as+differentiated+from+the+demands+of+capitalists%2C+had+used+his+vote+more+specifically+for+the+benefit+of+white+labor%2C+South+and+North%3F#v=snippet&amp;q=Suppose%20for%20a%20moment%20that%20Northern%20labor%20had%20stopped%20the%20bargain%20of%201876%20and%20maintained%20the%20power%20of%20the%20labor%20vote%20in%20the%20South%3B%20and%20suppose%20that%20the%20Negro%20with%20new%20and%20dawning%20consciousness%20of%20the%20demands%20of%20labor%20as%20differentiated%20from%20the%20demands%20of%20capitalists%2C%20had%20used%20his%20vote%20more%20specifically%20for%20the%20benefit%20of%20white%20labor%2C%20South%20and%20North%3F&amp;f=false), [*TikTok*](https://books.google.com/books?id=Nt5mglDCNHEC&amp;q=Suppose+for+a+moment+that+Northern+labor+had+stopped+the+bargain+of+1876+and+maintained+the+power+of+the+labor+vote+in+the+South%3B+and+suppose+that+the+Negro+with+new+and+dawning+consciousness+of+the+demands+of+labor+as+differentiated+from+the+demands+of+capitalists%2C+had+used+his+vote+more+specifically+for+the+benefit+of+white+labor%2C+South+and+North%3F#v=snippet&amp;q=Suppose%20for%20a%20moment%20that%20Northern%20labor%20had%20stopped%20the%20bargain%20of%201876%20and%20maintained%20the%20power%20of%20the%20labor%20vote%20in%20the%20South%3B%20and%20suppose%20that%20the%20Negro%20with%20new%20and%20dawning%20consciousness%20of%20the%20demands%20of%20labor%20as%20differentiated%20from%20the%20demands%20of%20capitalists%2C%20had%20used%20his%20vote%20more%20specifically%20for%20the%20benefit%20of%20white%20labor%2C%20South%20and%20North%3F&amp;f=false), [*WhatsApp*](https://books.google.com/books?id=Nt5mglDCNHEC&amp;q=Suppose+for+a+moment+that+Northern+labor+had+stopped+the+bargain+of+1876+and+maintained+the+power+of+the+labor+vote+in+the+South%3B+and+suppose+that+the+Negro+with+new+and+dawning+consciousness+of+the+demands+of+labor+as+differentiated+from+the+demands+of+capitalists%2C+had+used+his+vote+more+specifically+for+the+benefit+of+white+labor%2C+South+and+North%3F#v=snippet&amp;q=Suppose%20for%20a%20moment%20that%20Northern%20labor%20had%20stopped%20the%20bargain%20of%201876%20and%20maintained%20the%20power%20of%20the%20labor%20vote%20in%20the%20South%3B%20and%20suppose%20that%20the%20Negro%20with%20new%20and%20dawning%20consciousness%20of%20the%20demands%20of%20labor%20as%20differentiated%20from%20the%20demands%20of%20capitalists%2C%20had%20used%20his%20vote%20more%20specifically%20for%20the%20benefit%20of%20white%20labor%2C%20South%20and%20North%3F&amp;f=false), [*X*](https://books.google.com/books?id=Nt5mglDCNHEC&amp;q=Suppose+for+a+moment+that+Northern+labor+had+stopped+the+bargain+of+1876+and+maintained+the+power+of+the+labor+vote+in+the+South%3B+and+suppose+that+the+Negro+with+new+and+dawning+consciousness+of+the+demands+of+labor+as+differentiated+from+the+demands+of+capitalists%2C+had+used+his+vote+more+specifically+for+the+benefit+of+white+labor%2C+South+and+North%3F#v=snippet&amp;q=Suppose%20for%20a%20moment%20that%20Northern%20labor%20had%20stopped%20the%20bargain%20of%201876%20and%20maintained%20the%20power%20of%20the%20labor%20vote%20in%20the%20South%3B%20and%20suppose%20that%20the%20Negro%20with%20new%20and%20dawning%20consciousness%20of%20the%20demands%20of%20labor%20as%20differentiated%20from%20the%20demands%20of%20capitalists%2C%20had%20used%20his%20vote%20more%20specifically%20for%20the%20benefit%20of%20white%20labor%2C%20South%20and%20North%3F&amp;f=false) and [*Threads*](https://books.google.com/books?id=Nt5mglDCNHEC&amp;q=Suppose+for+a+moment+that+Northern+labor+had+stopped+the+bargain+of+1876+and+maintained+the+power+of+the+labor+vote+in+the+South%3B+and+suppose+that+the+Negro+with+new+and+dawning+consciousness+of+the+demands+of+labor+as+differentiated+from+the+demands+of+capitalists%2C+had+used+his+vote+more+specifically+for+the+benefit+of+white+labor%2C+South+and+North%3F#v=snippet&amp;q=Suppose%20for%20a%20moment%20that%20Northern%20labor%20had%20stopped%20the%20bargain%20of%201876%20and%20maintained%20the%20power%20of%20the%20labor%20vote%20in%20the%20South%3B%20and%20suppose%20that%20the%20Negro%20with%20new%20and%20dawning%20consciousness%20of%20the%20demands%20of%20labor%20as%20differentiated%20from%20the%20demands%20of%20capitalists%2C%20had%20used%20his%20vote%20more%20specifically%20for%20the%20benefit%20of%20white%20labor%2C%20South%20and%20North%3F&amp;f=false).

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 14; FICTION

**Length:** 656 words

**Byline:** By Aaron Shulman

**Body**

Alana S. Portero's debut, ''Bad Habit,'' follows one woman's coming-of-age in a blue-collar Madrid neighborhood.

BAD HABIT, by Alana S. Portero. Translated by Mara Faye Lethem.

Madrid Me Mata -- or Madrid Murders Me, to replicate the alliterative Spanish -- was the name of a short-lived but iconic magazine from the mid-1980s that chronicled the explosion of free expression in Spain's capital during the post-Franco era. People danced, talked and partied to exhaustion while a deadly heroin epidemic emerged as the dark underside to the art, sex and music. The all-consuming intensity of life in the city seemed to have the power to kill its residents, figuratively and literally.

The unnamed madrileña narrator of Alana S. Portero's affecting and poetic debut novel, ''Bad Habit,'' comes of age in the '90s, after this period of ''androgynous splendor'' has passed. Nonetheless, she has a deep, if complicated, fondness for the city. ''Madrid was that beat-up sofa that really should be replaced but is so comfy and has so many memories attached to it that no one could bear to kick it to the curb,'' she thinks.

Though she has embraced Madrid, she fears the city will not embrace her back -- not because she parties too hard but because she is a girl, born in a boy's body, living in a ***working-class*** neighborhood where being queer turns you into an outcast.

The novel, which was translated from the Spanish by Mara Faye Lethem, follows this character as she struggles to accept herself and express her identity in a time and place in which there's no clear, safe path to do so. To get by, she denies her true identity, hiding her experiments putting on makeup and masking her fascination with the world of women, a negation that makes her feel very nearly dead -- her own personal version of Madrid Me Mata. But coming out as trans would bring the threat of physical violence.

The narrator feels an ongoing sense of isolation, which Portero devastatingly conveys in the vignette-like chapters and character portraits that make up much of the novel. ''All trans girls grow up alone,'' the narrator reflects.

Eventually she begins taking covert steps toward living as her true self. As she enters her teenage years, she manages to venture out into the gay neighborhood of Chueca. She has a liberating first romance, though it is cut painfully short when her lover's father learns of the relationship. Later she throws herself into the druggy nightclub scene, where she finally dresses as a woman. Yet this double life still leaves her alienated, since her daytime identity remains male. It's only when she makes friends with older trans women, coming to feel ''so powerfully part of a tribe that it seemed it was my birthright,'' that she realizes she, in fact, isn't alone, that ''gender euphoria did exist.''

''Bad Habit'' has been a critical and commercial success in Spain; now it's being translated into many languages and published across the world. In a marketplace of often narrowly defined literary categories, Portero's book -- like the best books that feature trans characters -- shows us that a ''trans novel'' can actually be anything it wants to be. ''Bad Habit'' is about identity, yes, but in its keenly observed realism, it's also a family story of parents and children, and at the same time, it offers a fresh angle on narratives of the ***working class***. And undoubtedly, it is a tale of a city, taking its place in a rich lineage of Madrid novels by other Spanish authors, from Rosa Montero to Almudena Grandes, Camilo José Cela to Javier Marías.

''Bad Habit'' reminds us that our ideas of cities are inseparable from the people who tell stories about them, and we all benefit from new tales about old places. As Portero's narrator puts it, ''I couldn't escape being from Madrid just like I couldn't escape being trans.''

BAD HABIT | By Alana S. Portero | Translated by Mara Faye Lethem | HarperVia | 224 pp. | $26

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/04/24/books/review/bad-habit-alana-s-portero.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/04/24/books/review/bad-habit-alana-s-portero.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO This article appeared in print on page BR14.

**Load-Date:** June 16, 2024

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[***Bernie Throws a Curve Ball at Kamala***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CSG-22J1-DXY4-X01B-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 20, 2024 Tuesday 23:25 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 474 words

**Byline:** Patrick Healy

**Highlight:** His list of policy promises puts her on the hot seat.

**Body**

Get ready, Kamala — Bernie has yuge, YUGE plans for your presidency.

It was classic Bernie Sanders on Tuesday night at the Democratic National Convention. He grasped the lectern with both hands as he unfurled one massive government program idea after another in a progressive policy reverie that must have been music to the ears of every democratic socialist at the United Center.

It took me back to Iowa town halls circa 2015 when Sanders, then a presidential candidate, tapped into a yearning among many Democrats for a more activist government devoted to lifting up poor and ***working-class*** Americans while taking aim at money in politics and the nation’s one-percent plutocrats.

Only this time, Sanders was ostensibly trying to make the case for Harris, a far more moderate and cautious politician who shared few of Sanders’s specific policy ideas when the two of them were running for the 2020 Democratic presidential nomination.

In short, Sanders did on Tuesday night what his fellow progressive Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez chose not to do in [*her convention speech*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/19/nyregion/aoc-dnc-speech-harris.html) on Monday night: make policy proposals that put Harris in a big-government vise, binding (or pushing) her in a direction that a lot of moderates do not want to go. Harris needs some of those swing-state moderates if she’s going to win the presidency, but the electoral math didn’t seem to be on Sanders’s mind. Rather, the moment was a reminder about Bernie: If you give him a speaking slot, he’ll play it to the hilt and take it to the limit.

“When the political will is there, government can effectively deliver for the people of our country,” Sanders said after reviewing the giant Covid and emergency relief programs that the Biden-Harris administration supported with Democrats in Congress. “Now we need to summon that will again.”

He then ticked off a long list of ideas: overturning Citizens United and moving toward public funding of elections; making health care “a human right” for all Americans; raising the minimum wage to a “living wage”; raising teachers’ salaries; cutting prescription drug costs in half.

“I look forward to working with Kamala and Tim to pass this agenda,” Sanders said. Invoking the enormous government of interventions of Franklin Roosevelt, he continued, “We must take on Big Pharma, Big Oil, Big Ag, Big Tech and all the other corporate monopolists whose greed is denying progress for working people.”

On one level, this was Bernie being Bernie — no one expected him to come in and just sing Harris’s praises. But on another level, it was a reminder that Sanders was one of the loudest voices last month [*urging Joe Biden to stay in the race*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/19/nyregion/aoc-dnc-speech-harris.html). He thought Biden would be an ally and sign on to more and more of the progressive agenda. On Tuesday night, Sanders put Harris on the hot seat and all but said, Kamala, what kind of Democrat are you going to be?

**Load-Date:** August 20, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Could Trump Win the Popular Vote but Lose the Electoral College?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D8C-9771-JBG3-640K-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 25, 2024 Friday 08:53 EST

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**Section:** UPSHOT

**Length:** 985 words

**Byline:** Nate CohnNate Cohn is The Times&amp;#8217;s chief political analyst. He covers elections, public opinion, demographics and polling.

**Highlight:** It’s not likely, but it’s not something that can be dismissed either, recent polling suggests.

**Body**

It’s not likely, but it’s not something that can be dismissed either, recent polling suggests.

Kamala Harris and Donald J. Trump [*are tied*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/25/us/politics/poll-harris-trump-times-siena.html) at 48 percent in the final [*New York Times/Siena College national poll*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/25/us/politics/poll-harris-trump-times-siena.html) of the cycle Friday.

When minor party candidates are included, Mr. Trump leads by one percentage point.

It goes without saying that this shows an extremely close race — and it’s not the only poll to do so. Over the last week or so, several high-quality polls have showed a tied race or even had Mr. Trump pulling ahead. A Wall Street Journal poll, for instance, [*found*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/25/us/politics/poll-harris-trump-times-siena.html) Mr. Trump up three points, while CNBC [*showed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/25/us/politics/poll-harris-trump-times-siena.html) him two points ahead.

The New York Times’s [*polling average*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/25/us/politics/poll-harris-trump-times-siena.html) has Ms. Harris’s lead down to one point, as of late Thursday.

All of this raises a possibility that few people would have contemplated at the beginning of the cycle: a Trump victory in the national popular vote.

Democrats have won the national popular vote in seven of the last eight presidential elections — often enough for many to be lulled into the belief that Democrats have a lock on it. Many of these popular vote victories, however, have been close. A Republican win has been conceivable on several occasions, and even though it didn’t happen, it certainly could have under slightly different circumstances.

If Mr. Trump did win the popular vote this time, it would be straightforward to explain. The poll shows that Ms. Harris faces real headwinds — the kind that would ordinarily cost a candidate the election:

* Just 28 percent of voters say the country is on the right track. No party has retained the White House (or won the popular vote) when such a small share of voters think things are going well.

1. President Biden’s approval rating is just 40 percent. No party has held the White House (or won the popular vote) when the president’s approval rating is that low.

There are deeper challenges for Ms. Harris as well. Mr. Trump has an advantage on voters’ most important issue, the economy, the poll says. And more generally, more voters say they trust him on whatever issue they care about most.

Of course, Ms. Harris could easily win the national vote. Mr. Trump has plenty of his own weaknesses — including some that have [*returned to the fore*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/25/us/politics/poll-harris-trump-times-siena.html) this week, like his former chief of staff John Kelly’s comment that he fit the definition of a fascist. But together, there’s more than enough here to make it easy to imagine a Trump popular vote victory.

Could Harris still win the Electoral College?

In 2016, Hillary Clinton won the popular vote by two points but narrowly lost the presidency because Mr. Trump performed well in the relatively white ***working-class*** Midwestern battleground states.

Four years later, Mr. Biden won the Electoral College, but his disadvantage in the key states relative to the nation was actually even greater than Mrs. Clinton’s was in 2016. He won the national vote by 4.5 points, but he [*won*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/25/us/politics/poll-harris-trump-times-siena.html) the tipping-point state — Wisconsin — by only six-tenths of a point.

With that history in mind, Mr. Trump might seem like a certainty to win if the national vote were tied — let alone if he actually won the national vote. But it may not be quite the lock many believe it to be.

As we’ve [*reported*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/25/us/politics/poll-harris-trump-times-siena.html) for more [*than a year*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/25/us/politics/poll-harris-trump-times-siena.html), there are a lot of signs that Mr. Trump’s advantage in the Electoral College is fading.

This is partly about demographics: Ms. Harris is holding up relatively well among white voters, who represent an outsize share of the vote in the key Northern battleground states.

It may also reflect something deeper, playing out state by state in the wake of the pandemic, the stop-the-steal movement and the end of Roe v. Wade. All of these events were [*felt very differently*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/25/us/politics/poll-harris-trump-times-siena.html) in different states, and they seemed to leave an unmistakable mark on the midterm map.

In 2022, Democrats did well in many key states where democracy and abortion were on the line, while Republicans ran up the score in uncompetitive states like Florida or New York. The polls have shown a similar pattern this cycle, with Ms. Harris holding up in the battlegrounds while Mr. Trump puts up [*double-digit*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/25/us/politics/poll-harris-trump-times-siena.html) [*leads*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/25/us/politics/poll-harris-trump-times-siena.html) in Florida.

As a result, I wouldn’t completely write off a Harris win in the Electoral College even if Mr. Trump narrowly won the popular vote. I’m absolutely not saying it’s likely. It may be a bit too much to ask Ms. Harris to sweep each of Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and Michigan if she’s losing so much ground elsewhere in the nation. It may seem especially challenging in these particular states, as the polls [*have erred*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/25/us/politics/poll-harris-trump-times-siena.html) here in recent cycles. One also wonders whether the Arab American and Muslim population in Michigan, [*angry over the war*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/25/us/politics/poll-harris-trump-times-siena.html) in Gaza, might just get Mr. Trump over the edge in this scenario.

But at least in the polling, all the pieces for a Harris victory in the Midwest remain in place, even as her national lead keeps fading. Most obviously, the polls still show it: Ms. Harris is still tied in the Northern swing states, even as she’s barely ahead nationally.

The underlying explanations for a diminished edge for Mr. Trump in the Electoral College remain as well. He’s still making most or even all of his gains among Black and Hispanic voters, who are underrepresented in the Northern battlegrounds. He still shows his greatest strength in the noncompetitive states where Republicans did best in the midterms, like [*our recent Florida poll*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/25/us/politics/poll-harris-trump-times-siena.html) showing him up 13 points.

This same pattern even exists within national Times/Siena polls: In our national surveys, Mr. Trump makes huge gains in the places where Republicans excelled in the midterms; he makes no gains at all where Republicans struggled, which includes states like Pennsylvania.

None of this makes a Harris victory without a clear popular vote victory easy or likely. But I wouldn’t write it off either.

PHOTO: Donald Trump during one of his recent visits to Pennsylvania. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Michelle Gustafson for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** October 25, 2024

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[***AIPAC Demonstrates Its Clout With Defeat of a Second ‘Squad’ Member***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CNK-FCW1-DXY4-X0BD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 7, 2024 Wednesday 20:09 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1025 words

**Byline:** Luke BroadwaterLuke Broadwater covers Congress with a focus on congressional investigations.

**Highlight:** The pro-Israel group put more than $8 million into a primary to help beat Representative Cori Bush of Missouri, the second Democrat it has successfully targeted for not supporting Israel in the war.

**Body**

The pro-Israel group put more than $8 million into a primary to help beat Representative Cori Bush of Missouri, the second Democrat it has successfully targeted for not supporting Israel in the war.

After Representative Cori Bush, Democrat of Missouri, became the second member of the left-wing “squad” to lose her re-election bid, she placed the blame for her defeat solely on one organization: the American Israel Public Affairs Committee.

“All they did was radicalize me, so now they need to be afraid,” Ms. Bush said in a fiery speech after her loss on Tuesday evening.

“AIPAC, I’m coming to tear your kingdom down!” she shouted.

The pro-Israel organization made no secret of its plans to target Ms. Bush, who had opposed providing Israel with funding for the war in Gaza. Through a political action committee, the group pumped more than $8 million into the race.

On Tuesday, its investment paid off: Wesley Bell, the St. Louis County prosecutor who aligned himself with Israel, defeated Ms. Bush in the Democratic primary as voters in the district rallied behind him.

“Last night, Wesley Bell, a pro-Israel progressive, achieved a consequential victory over an incumbent anti-Israel detractor,” said Marshall Wittmann, a spokesman for AIPAC. “Once again, a progressive pro-Israel Democrat has prevailed over a candidate who represents the extremist fringe that is hostile to the Jewish state.”

It was the second time in recent months that AIPAC has played a critical role in a Democratic primary race. In June, another candidate backed by AIPAC, George Latimer, the Westchester County executive, defeated Representative Jamaal Bowman of New York, another squad member who had opposed providing funding to Israel for the war.

Those two races became the most expensive in congressional history, because of AIPAC’s cash infusion. The organization spent about $15 million helping Mr. Latimer.

The group also counts the primary loss of Representative Bob Good, a hard-right Republican from Virginia who opposed funding for the war in Israel, among its victories.

“Including the losses of Democrat Jamaal Bowman and Republican Representative Bob Good, Representative Bush’s defeat represents the third incumbent to have lost over their lack of an ironclad commitment to standing with America’s ally Israel,” Mr. Wittmann said.

The conflict began in October after Hamas mounted an attack inside Israel that Israeli authorities say killed about 1,200 people and led to roughly 250 being taken back to Gaza as hostages.

Months of Israeli bombardment of Gaza and ground fighting have killed more than 39,000 Palestinians, according to health officials, left hundreds of thousands of others struggling to find food, water and shelter, and prompted intense criticism of Israel from some Democrats who sought to focus on the plight of the Palestinians. [*In a recent interview with The New York Times*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/05/us/politics/missouri-cori-bush-bell-aipac-israel-democrats.html), Ms. Bush declined to call Hamas a terrorist organization.

The defeats of Ms. Bush and Mr. Bowman underscored to members of Congress the resources that AIPAC can deploy to defeat those who oppose its policies.

Democratic staffers on Capitol Hill wrestled Wednesday with the lessons learned from the losses. Some said Ms. Bush’s defeat underscored the need to take more nuanced positions on the war in Gaza, and the risks of taking hard-line stances. Others said it showed how important it is to focus on constituent services in their districts.

But progressive groups were devastated. The Justice Democrats, which had helped build up and promote the left-wing members who formed the squad, spoke out against the influx of PAC money into the campaigns.

“We lost one of our most important members of Congress last night,” said Usamah Andrabi, spokesman for the Justice Democrats. “I don’t think there is anyone in that body that understands more closely the struggles that ***working class*** people in this country are facing on a day-to-day basis, and no one who has put their body on the line more for those ***working-class*** people’s needs and interests than Cori Bush.”

Mr. Andrabi added that AIPAC receives funding from wealthy Republicans aligned with former President Donald J. Trump, and he accused them of meddling in Democratic primaries.

Neither race was solely about Israel. Both incumbents carried some baggage.

Mr. Bowman had pleaded guilty to pulling a fire alarm that delayed a major congressional vote, and [*then was censured for it*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/05/us/politics/missouri-cori-bush-bell-aipac-israel-democrats.html). Ms. Bush was [*under ethics investigation related to paying her romantic partner to perform security work*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/05/us/politics/missouri-cori-bush-bell-aipac-israel-democrats.html).

But it was the issue of Gaza that brought millions of dollars into the district, flooding the airwaves with ads that helped their opponents.

In funding ads in Ms. Bush’s and Mr. Bowman’s races, AIPAC often focused on issues other than the war in Gaza, opting instead to take on their votes against President Biden’s infrastructure bill.

Mr. Andrabi said he watched as polls showed a shift in support from Ms. Bush to Mr. Bell.

“This is a question about the future and the Democratic Party, and it’s a fight for the soul of our Democratic Party,” he said.

Mr. Bell campaigned against Ms. Bush on multiple fronts. He talked about his support of Israel, but also argued that Ms. Bush had grown ineffective in Washington, prioritizing national interests over getting local results.

“This district is ready for better and more accountable representation in Washington, D.C.,” Mr. Bell said in declaring victory on Tuesday.

He emphasized that he would address local issues like gun violence and homelessness, but he also told a crowd of his supporters that he would be an ally of Israel.

“We recognize we don’t want to see one innocent person harmed anywhere in the world, but we are going to stand with our fellow democracies around the world,” Mr. Bell said.

PHOTOS: Representative Cori Bush of Missouri, above, lost in the primary to Wesley Bell, the St. Louis County prosecutor, left. George Latimer, below left, defeated Representative Jamaal Bowman of New York. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES; MICHAEL B. THOMAS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; DAVE SANDERS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A15) This article appeared in print on page A1, A15.

**Load-Date:** January 2, 2025

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[***How Resilient Is the Emerging Trump Coalition?; Guest Essay***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DDD-X9H1-DXY4-X0VF-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 13, 2024 Wednesday 16:35 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 3069 words

**Byline:** Thomas B. EdsallThomas B. Edsall&amp;#160;has been a contributor to the Times Opinion section since 2011. His column on strategic and demographic trends in American politics appears every Wednesday. He previously covered politics for The Washington Post.

**Highlight:** It will be difficult for Democrats to reverse these dynamics.

**Body**

There are reasons to be cautious in interpreting the results of the 2024 election. The absolute numbers are not huge. Roughly six in 10 Hispanics voted for Joe Biden in 2020 and five in 10 for Kamala Harris. Nine in 10 Black voters chose Biden and eight in 10 for Harris. More than four-fifths of Donald Trump’s votes came from white people.

Close examination of the voting, however, reveals disturbing trends for the Democratic Party.

A [*2024 AP VoteCast survey*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/) of 110,000 voters showed that the biggest drops in support for Harris — 10 percentage points or more — were all among key minority Democratic constituencies.

The AP poll found that 66 percent of nonwhite voters ages 18 to 44 backed Harris, 11 points fewer than Biden’s 77 percent in 2020. Nonwhite men without college degrees were 11 points less supportive of Harris than they had been of Biden. Black men with and without college degrees were even less supportive of Harris, backing her by 12 points less than Biden. In addition, young voters of all races ages 18 to 29 were 10 points less supportive of Harris than of Biden.

From a broader perspective, these trends point toward a political future in which the bottom half of the income distribution, including voters of all races and ethnicities, will be increasingly dominated by Republicans and the top half by Democrats — a reversal of the New Deal coalition.

“The class realignment continues,” [*Matt Grossmann*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/), a political scientist at Michigan State, wrote in an email:

Republican advantages among high-income voters have been replaced by Democratic advantages among high-education voters. Alongside these trends, racial group depolarization continues, with nonwhite voters becoming more divided between the parties. Polls and geographic returns show those patterns continuing or accelerating in 2024. Because this realignment follows global patterns and prior trends and has continued in down-ballot races, it is more likely to be stable.

The shifts have substantially altered the composition of the two parties. According to VoteCast estimates, Grossmann wrote:

college-educated whites now outnumber both nonwhites and non-college whites among Democratic voters for the first time. This is a pattern long in the making, but could be self-reinforcing: Democratic primary voters and activists are now even more disproportionately educated white voters with distinct values and priorities. And the external image of the party also reflects its changing coalition.

Have the cultural values of white progressives become a liability for the Democratic Party?

Grossmann:

White educated Democrats hold far more liberal views on the direction of American culture and institutions than other Americans. This has signaled to those who disagree with culturally liberal trends to side with Republicans. But the longstanding direction of public opinion on social and cultural issues is still leftward and could continue moving in that direction under Trump.

Representative [*Ritchie Torres*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/) of New York, a Democrat, in a [*Nov. 6 post*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/) on X, gave his opinion of the far-left wing of the contemporary Democratic Party:

Donald Trump has no greater friend than the far left, which has managed to alienate historic numbers of Latinos, Blacks, Asians and Jews from the Democratic Party with absurdities like “Defund the Police” or “From the River to the Sea” or LatinX. There is more to lose than there is to gain politically from pandering to a far left that is more representative of Twitter, Twitch, and TikTok than it is of the real world. The ***working class*** is not buying the ivory-towered nonsense that the far left is selling.

Developing trends favorable to the Republicans and threatening to Democrats have evolved over the past three presidential elections in a way that signals strength and durability. It will be difficult for Democrats to reverse these dynamics.

On Nov. 5, Democrats gave ground everywhere, from deep-blue to dark-red regions of the country, from Massachusetts to Oklahoma.

“The architecture of Trump’s victory is clear,” Charlie Mahtesian wrote in an article in the Nov. 8 edition of Politico Magazine, “[*The Stunning Geography of Trump’s Victory*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/)”:

He managed to squeeze even more votes out of rural America — and that includes gains with rural Black voters. He continued to make significant advances with Latino voters, from the Southwest to the Acela Corridor. In big, diverse urban places — like Houston’s Harris County or Chicago’s Cook County — he pared down traditionally large Democratic margins. Many of the populous suburbs that so thoroughly rejected him in 2020 lost their anti-Trump edge. Even the biggest college counties appeared to lose the sense of urgency and outrage that marked their 2020 results.

The most worrisome development for Democrats is the gradual deterioration of the party’s [*upstairs-downstairs coalition*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/), which brings together relatively comfortable, well-educated, well-to-do and largely white voters with relatively less well-off, if not struggling, Black and Hispanic voters.

In the congressional district in Queens and the Bronx represented by Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, for example, Trump’s 55-percentage-point loss (77 to 22) in 2020 was [*cut to 32 points*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/) in 2024 (65 to 33), one of the biggest shifts in New York.

Ocasio-Cortez was so taken aback by Trump’s gains in her district that she went [*on Instagram to ask*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/) constituents “who supported Trump &amp; me OR voted Trump/Dem, tell us why,” adding “Sometimes you gotta dig in and see it to understand and adapt! Even if it makes you want to barf.”

As Democrats lose support among working- and middle-class minority voters, it sharpens the image of the party as dominated by college-educated, largely white progressives. When Republicans have been successful in portraying the Democratic Party as dominated by voters seeking to impose left-wing racial and cultural politics on a moderate electorate, the results have been devastating: Just ask George McGovern, Michael Dukakis and Hillary Clinton.

“When we look at education and income simultaneously,” [*Musa al-Gharbi*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/), a sociologist at Stony Brook University, wrote in a [*post-election analysis*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/) on his Substack, “it becomes [*even clearer*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/) that Democrats have become the party of elites. The class composition of the Democratic and Republican parties has basically flipped over the last 30 years.”

Al-Gharbi cited a host of data:

With respect to the electorate, wealthy voters shifted even further toward Harris than they did in 2020 — a significant feat, given how heavily these voters were [*consolidated*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/) into the Democratic Party over the course of the last decade.

Harris was the clear choice for voters with [*six-figure salaries*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/) or higher, while Trump won with people earning less than $50,000 per year.

White progressives who dominate agenda setting in the Democratic Party have in recent years moved far to the left, well beyond Black, Hispanic and Asian American Democrats, prompting a slow but steady rise in minority defections to Trump and the Republican Party.

[*Whit Ayres*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/), a Republican pollster, argued in an email that the left wing of the Democratic Party played a crucial role in the defeat of Kamala Harris:

The Democratic coalition appears extremely fragile, driven as it has been by highly educated white liberals whose values are far out of step with the country. The vast majority of Americans do not believe biological males should be playing in women’s sports, they do not believe taxpayers should be funding sex-change operations for prisoners, and they sure don’t think you need to suggest that there is a pronoun to be used for both men and women.

Ayres wrote that he is uncertain whether

class outweighs racial and ethnic identity, but class (or more precisely, education) is at least as important now. Whether that has created a sustainable multiethnic coalition for Republicans depends on who follows Trump as the leader of the party. There is no one on the horizon who appears to have his magnetic appeal to those on the lower end of the income and educational ladder.

[*John Burn-Murdoch*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/), a British expert on demography and statistics who writes for The Financial Times, contended in a prescient Oct. 11 essay, “[*The Left Is Losing Its Grip on Ethnic Minority Voters*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/),” that

the sharp leftward turn among educated white liberals has caused white Democrats to overshoot the minority position on a growing number of issues, including immigration, racism, patriotism and meritocracy.

White progressive Americans now hold views on these culture questions that are completely out of line with the average Black or Hispanic voter, according to analysis from opinion research firm [*Echelon Insights*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/).

Burn-Murdoch cited data showing that white progressives are well to the left not only of white conservatives but also of Hispanic and Black voters when asked if they agree or disagree with such statements as “Most people can make it if they work hard,” “Racism is built into our society,” “America is the greatest country in the world” and “Government should increase border security and enforcement.”

In Burn-Murdoch’s view:

Where, historically, the left was the natural home for nonwhite Americans, that is now less obviously the case. In terms of self-reported political ideology, Americans of color are now roughly equidistant between white progressives and conservatives.

[*Patrick Ruffini*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/), a Republican pollster and the author of the book “[*Party of the People*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/): Inside the Multiracial Populist Coalition Remaking the GOP,” provided data showing how white college-educated liberals stand apart not only from Republicans but also from other key Democratic constituencies.

In a March 2023 post on his Substack, “[*The Shape of Polarization in America*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/),” Ruffini examined the major American political constituencies, measuring the ideological polarization of various voter groups on the basis of their answers to 50 policy questions in the 2020 [*Cooperative Election Study*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/). “Giving the conservative or liberal answer more than 75 percent of the time” places you at the ideological extreme, Ruffini wrote. “If you’re above this threshold, you’re not persuadable in the slightest.”

Ruffini found:

In each group but for one, solid majorities are in the nonideological middle: 83 percent of Black voters, 77 percent of Hispanic voters, 69 percent of Asian American voters, 58 percent of white non-college voters and 56 percent of Native and other voters. And here again, one of these groups is not like the other: Just 38 percent of white college graduates are in the middle, with large groups of extremely polarized liberals and conservatives.

White college graduates also stand out in their representation of polarized liberals, with a concentration of them that’s nearly double that of any other group. And in the ranks of polarized liberals, there’s a notable absence of voters of color. Within a group of voters who agree with liberal positions more than 90 percent of the time, white voters with college degrees outnumber Black voters by 20 to 1, 60 to 3 percent.

How could growing numbers of Black and Hispanic voters support a Republican Party dominated by Donald Trump, a man who demonized minorities both before and after becoming a politician?

While some [*analyse*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/)s have [*shown*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/) that the shift to the Republican Party among Black and Hispanic voters is primarily driven by young men, [*John Sides*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/) and [*Michael Tesler*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/), political scientists at Vanderbilt and the University of California, Irvine, found that these minority-group defectors hold racial and ethnic views relatively similar to those of white ***working-class*** Republicans.

In their April paper “[*America Is Less Polarized by Race*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/) — But More Polarized About Race: The Pro-G.O.P. Shift Among People of Color Is Making Racial Attitudes More Important to Politics, Not Less,” Sides and Tesler wrote:

People of color are more likely than white respondents to believe that white people have advantages and to disagree that racial problems are rare and isolated. But not all people of color feel this way.

For example, in 2020 about 11 percent of Black people, 33 percent of Latinos and 24 percent of Asian Americans either disagreed that white people have an advantage or expressed no opinion. Similarly, between 19 to 38 percent of these groups agreed that racial problems are isolated or expressed no opinion.

These are the voters of color who were more likely to shift to Trump between 2016 and 2020.

Sides and Tesler provided data in their paper showing that the biggest shifts to the Republican Party among Hispanic, Black and Asian American voters were consistently among those who agreed with the statement “Racial problems in the United States are rare situations.”

In the case of Latino voters, Sides and Tesler cited trends in two Pew surveys, one in 2019 and the other in 2022, that showed that among Hispanic voters who agreed with the statement “When it comes to giving Black people equal rights to whites, the United States has not gone far enough,” Democratic partisanship remained high and secure. In contrast, Democratic partisanship among Hispanics who said the drive for equal rights for African Americans “had gone too far” dropped precipitously.

Sides and Tesler concluded:

If voters of color are shifting durably toward the Republican Party, this most certainly does not make race less important, if race is defined as “what people think” not just “what group they belong to.” In fact, racial attitudes are becoming more strongly correlated with political attitudes, among white voters and voters of color alike.

How resilient is the emerging Trump coalition?

[*Udi Sommer*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/) is a political scientist at Tel Aviv University and a co-author of “[*Solidarity in Question*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/): Activation of Dormant Political Dispositions and Latino Support for Trump in 2020” and “[*Trump’s African Americans?*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/) Racial Resentment and Black Support for Trump in the 2020 Elections,” both published this year.

In an email, Sommer wrote:

2024 marked historically high levels of minority support for any Republican candidate in decades. Our research traces this phenomenon back to 2020, and even to 2016, when an ethnic and racial realignment in the Trump era started.

In 2016, Sommer pointed out, “neither Biden nor Harris was on the ticket, inflation was low, and still we observed those trends among minority voters.”

Minority voters “did not vote for Trump despite his anti-minority rhetoric and policy,” in Sommer’s view:

Instead, they cast a Trump vote because of his positions on minorities; his perception of minority political identity matched their own. Just like the candidate himself, Latinos voting for Trump were high on anti-immigration sentiment.

Trump, Sommers wrote,

ran racially and ethnically explosive campaigns. Focusing on immigration, Trump forced Latinos to confront this aspect of their identity. Likewise, when he called Black Lives Matter a “symbol of hate,” he forced Blacks to think about their positions on race relations in America. For many in these groups, the automatic association made by political pundits and Democrats between their identities and issues like immigration and race was not well received. Not all Latinos and Blacks feel this way about their groups.

While there is little prospect of a wholesale shift of minority voters to the Republican Party, Sommers pointed out:

A significant number of Black individuals hold views closer to Clarence Thomas than to Ketanji Brown Jackson when it comes to their perspectives on what it means to be African American. A notable number of Latinos express anti-immigration sentiments. These voters not only struggle to identify with how a progressive Democratic elite defines them but also feel patronized.

Republican success or failure in building a more durable coalition will depend in large part on how the public reacts to the policies adopted during Trump’s second term. Aaron Blake of The Washington Post, in a Nov. 11 article, “[*Americans Elected Trump. They Might Not Like What Comes Next*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/),” examined poll data on Trump’s announced plans.

Take Trump’s pledge to deport 11 million or more undocumented immigrants. Surveys have revealed considerable ambivalence among voters, Blake reported:

[*Polls showed*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/) Americans were about evenly split — and sometimes leaning in favor — of deporting most or all undocumented immigrants, of using the military to do it and even of putting people in detention camps while they awaited their deportation hearings. An October ABC News/Ipsos poll showed Americans supported deporting all undocumented immigrants [*56 percent to 43 percent*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/).

But few proposals better demonstrate how Americans often hold contradictory feelings about policies. For example, polls have shown that many people who say they favor mass deportation also say they favor allowing undocumented immigrants to [*have a path to legal status*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/) — with the latter polling much better. A recent CNN poll asked people to choose between the two, and registered voters chose a path to legal status over deporting all undocumented immigrants [*by a 2-to-1 margin*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/).

Blake pointed to the potential of Trump’s proposal to impose 10 to 20 percent across-the-board tariffs and a specific 60 to 100 percent tariff on Chinese imports:

A September [*Reuters/Ipsos poll*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/) showed that Americans said they were more likely to back a candidate who supported the lower numbers in those ranges (10 percent on all imports and 60 percent on Chinese ones) than one who didn’t, 53 to 42. But a February [*poll from YouGov*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/) showed just 61 percent of people who said they wanted increased tariffs stood by that support when tariffs were attached to higher prices for American consumers. Tariffs can protect American industry, but they generally do lead to inflation — [*possibly high inflation*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/) — depending on the scale of what Trump does.

Blake added that “Americans tend to balk more when you dig into the details,” but if there is one thing Trump dislikes doing, it’s digging into the details — a weakness that could prove to be a major liability, given the extremity of his agenda and the uncertainty of the consequences of his proposals.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/). And here&#39;s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/).

Follow the New York Times Opinion section on [*Facebook*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/), [*Instagram*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/), [*TikTok*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/), [*WhatsApp*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/), [*X*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/) and [*Threads*](https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/votecast/).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Rose Marie Cromwell for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 13, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Best Sellers: Combined Print & E-Book Nonfiction: Sunday, August 25th 2024***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CTJ-NS61-DXY4-X00J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 25, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 536 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the August 25, 2024 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending August 10, 2024. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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|  |  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Combined Print & E-Book Nonfiction |
| This | Last | On |  |
| Week | Week | List |  |
| 1 | 1 | 93 | HILLBILLY ELEGY, by J.D. Vance. (Harper) The Yale Law School graduate and 2024 Republican vice presidential nominee looks at the struggles of the white ***working class*** through the story of his own childhood. |
| 2 |  | 1 | THE ART OF POWER, by Nancy Pelosi. (Simon & Schuster) The representative from California chronicles her journey in politics, including her time as the first woman to serve as speaker of the House. |
| 3 |  | 1 | OVER RULED, by Neil Gorsuch and Janie Nitze. (Harper) An associate justice of the United States Supreme Court questions the amount and complexity of laws in America. |
| 4 | 3 | 20 | THE ANXIOUS GENERATION, by Jonathan Haidt. (Penguin Press) A co-author of ?The Coddling of the American Mind? looks at the mental health impacts that a phone-based life has on children. |
| 5 | 5 | 206 | THE BODY KEEPS THE SCORE, by Bessel van der Kolk. (Penguin) How trauma affects the body and mind, and innovative treatments for recovery. |
| 6 | 4 | 15 | THE DEMON OF UNREST, by Erik Larson. (Crown) The author of ?The Splendid and the Vile? portrays the months between the election of Abraham Lincoln and the beginning of the Civil War. |
| 7 |  | 5 | ASK NOT, by Maureen Callahan. (Little, Brown) The author of ?American Predator? puts forward a history of the Kennedy family that describes the abuse of women in its orbit. |
| 8 | 2 | 2 | ALL IN THE FAMILY, by Fred C. Trump III. (Gallery) The nephew of Donald Trump explains how he came to terms with his family?s complex legacy and worked to protect his wife and children. |
| 9 | 8 | 69 | OUTLIVE, by Peter Attia with Bill Gifford. (Harmony) A look at recent scientific research on aging and longevity. |
| 10 | 9 | 5 | THE BACKYARD BIRD CHRONICLES, by Amy Tan. (Knopf) Essays and drawings by the author of ?The Joy Luck Club? and ?The Bonesetter's Daughter,? which depict a search for peace through birding. |
| 11 | 6 | 3 | AUTOCRACY, INC., by Anne Applebaum. (Doubleday) The Pulitzer Prize-winning author elucidates the structures and technologies that bolster autocracies in the 21st century. |
| 12 | 11 | 11 | NUCLEAR WAR, by Annie Jacobsen. (Dutton) The author of ?Operation Paperclip? portrays possible outcomes in the minutes following a nuclear missile launch. |
| 13 | 7 | 10 | THE TRUTHS WE HOLD, by Kamala Harris. (Penguin) A memoir by the daughter of immigrants who is currently serving as the 49th vice president and is the Democratic Party's 2024 presidential nominee. |
| 14 | 12 | 2 | SHEPHERDS FOR SALE, by Megan Basham. (Broadside) A culture reporter for The Daily Wire describes evangelical leaders who are influenced by liberal politics. ? |
| 15 |  | 1 | A WELL-TRAINED WIFE, by Tia Levings. (St. Martin's) Levings describes events she encountered after being pulled into the fundamentalist Quiverfull movement as a young wife. ? |

**Load-Date:** August 26, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Best Sellers: Hardcover Nonfiction: Sunday, August 25th 2024***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CTJ-NS61-DXY4-X00H-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 25, 2024 Sunday

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 517 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the August 25, 2024 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending August 10, 2024. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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|  |  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Hardcover Nonfiction |
| This | Last | On |  |
| Week | Week | List |  |
| 1 |  | 1 | THE ART OF POWER, by Nancy Pelosi. (Simon & Schuster) The representative from California chronicles her journey in politics, including her time as the first woman to serve as speaker of the House. |
| 2 | 3 | 20 | THE ANXIOUS GENERATION, by Jonathan Haidt. (Penguin Press) A co-author of ?The Coddling of the American Mind? looks at the mental health impacts that a phone-based life has on children. |
| 3 |  | 1 | OVER RULED, by Neil Gorsuch and Janie Nitze. (Harper) An associate justice of the United States Supreme Court questions the amount and complexity of laws in America. |
| 4 | 13 | 6 | ASK NOT, by Maureen Callahan. (Little, Brown) The author of ?American Predator? puts forward a history of the Kennedy family that describes the abuse of women in its orbit. |
| 5 | 4 | 15 | THE DEMON OF UNREST, by Erik Larson. (Crown) The author of ?The Splendid and the Vile? portrays the months between the election of Abraham Lincoln and the beginning of the Civil War. |
| 6 | 2 | 2 | ALL IN THE FAMILY, by Fred C. Trump III. (Gallery) The nephew of Donald Trump explains how he came to terms with his family?s complex legacy and worked to protect his wife and children. |
| 7 | 6 | 72 | OUTLIVE, by Peter Attia with Bill Gifford. (Harmony) A look at recent scientific research on aging and longevity. |
| 8 | 5 | 3 | AUTOCRACY, INC., by Anne Applebaum. (Doubleday) The Pulitzer Prize-winning author elucidates the structures and technologies that bolster autocracies in the 21st century. |
| 9 |  | 1 | THE BOOKSHOP, by Evan Friss. (Viking) A professor of history at James Madison University depicts the role bookstores have played in American cultural life. |
| 10 | 10 | 11 | NUCLEAR WAR, by Annie Jacobsen. (Dutton) The author of ?Operation Paperclip? portrays possible outcomes in the minutes following a nuclear missile launch. |
| 11 | 1 | 77 | HILLBILLY ELEGY, by J.D. Vance. (Harper) The Yale Law School graduate and 2024 Republican vice presidential nominee looks at the struggles of the white ***working class*** through the story of his own childhood. |
| 12 | 11 | 5 | LOVE & WHISKEY, by Fawn Weaver. (Melcher Media) A portrayal of the bond between Jack Daniel and the African American distiller Nearest Green. ? |
| 13 |  | 3 | JUST ADD WATER, by Katie Ledecky. (Simon & Schuster) A memoir by the seven-time Olympic gold medalist and 21-time world champion swimmer. |
| 14 | 14 | 66 | THE WAGER, by David Grann. (Doubleday) The survivors of a shipwrecked British vessel on a secret mission during an imperial war with Spain have different accounts of events. |
| 15 |  | 1 | CATHERINE, THE PRINCESS OF WALES, by Robert Jobson. (Pegasus) A biography of Kate Middleton by the royal editor of the London Evening Standard. ? |

**Load-Date:** August 26, 2024

**End of Document**



[***‘Hillbilly Elegy’ Sales Surge After JD Vance Joins Trump Campaign***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CKW-3Y41-DXY4-X00P-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 30, 2024 Tuesday 12:54 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS

**Length:** 362 words

**Byline:** Alexandra Alter Alexandra Alter writes about books, publishing and the literary world for The Times.

**Highlight:** The book has sold more than 750,000 copies since July 15, his publisher said.

**Body**

The book has sold more than 750,000 copies since July 15, his publisher said.

Shortly after Donald J. Trump announced JD Vance as his running mate on July 15, Vance’s 2016 memoir, [*“Hillbilly Elegy,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/11/books/review-in-hillbilly-elegy-a-compassionate-analysis-of-the-poor-who-love-trump.html) shot up Amazon’s best-seller list. It has remained there for roughly two weeks — evidence that, even as Vance has stumbled in his debut as a vice-presidential candidate, joining the ticket has delivered a huge boost to his book sales.

Vance’s memoir has sold more than 750,000 copies in all formats since he was named Trump’s vice-presidential pick, according to his publisher, Harper, a HarperCollins imprint. Harper is printing hundreds of thousands of additional copies to keep up with demand.

In paperback alone, “Hillbilly Elegy” sold some 200,000 copies in the week ending July 20, and was the No. 1 best selling print book across all genres, according to Circana Bookscan. The previous week, its print sales totaled 1,500 copies. Sales for the e-book and the audiobook, narrated by Vance, have also surged.

Vance’s memoir was a hit before he entered politics. Since its release, “Hillbilly Elegy” has sold some three million copies and was adapted into a movie by Ron Howard.

The memoir chronicles Vance’s path from a rough childhood growing up in Middletown, Ohio, to his success as a graduate of Yale Law School and as a Silicon Valley venture capitalist. After Trump’s unexpected political rise, Vance’s book was embraced by some pundits and reviewers as a kind of cultural-political Rosetta Stone that helped illuminate why he drew in white ***working class*** voters.

The memoir also attracted its share of critics, including those who said he had misrepresented the lives and culture of the disadvantaged white Americans he claimed to represent. It even inspired a book-length anthology, “[*Appalachian Reckoning: A Region Responds to ‘Hillbilly Elegy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/11/books/review-in-hillbilly-elegy-a-compassionate-analysis-of-the-poor-who-love-trump.html),’” which aimed to be a corrective of sorts to the stereotypes about the region and people that were pervasive in Vance’s books.

PHOTO: JD Vance signs copies of his book, “Hillbilly Elegy,” in 2021 after announcing that he was running for the U.S. Senate. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Jeffrey Dean/Associated Press FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 30, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction: Sunday, August 25th 2024***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CTJ-NS61-DXY4-X00K-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 25, 2024 Sunday

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 534 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the August 25, 2024 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending August 10, 2024. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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|  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction |
| This | On |  |
| Week | List |  |
| 1 | 70 | HILLBILLY ELEGY, by J.D. Vance. (Harper) The Yale Law School graduate and 2024 Republican vice presidential nominee looks at the struggles of the white ***working class*** through the story of his own childhood. |
| 2 | 303 | THE BODY KEEPS THE SCORE, by Bessel van der Kolk. (Penguin) How trauma affects the body and mind, and innovative treatments for recovery. |
| 3 | 10 | THE BACKYARD BIRD CHRONICLES, by Amy Tan. (Knopf) Essays and drawings by the author of ?The Joy Luck Club? and ?The Bonesetter's Daughter,? which depict a search for peace through birding. |
| 4 | 22 | THE TRUTHS WE HOLD, by Kamala Harris. (Penguin) A memoir by the daughter of immigrants who is currently serving as the 49th vice president and is the Democratic Party's 2024 presidential nominee. |
| 5 | 7 | FRIENDS, LOVERS, AND THE BIG TERRIBLE THING, by Matthew Perry. (Flatiron) The late actor, known for playing Chandler Bing on ?Friends,? shares stories from his childhood and his struggles with sobriety. |
| 6 | 226 | BRAIDING SWEETGRASS, by Robin Wall Kimmerer. (Milkweed Editions) A botanist and member of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation espouses having an understanding and appreciation of plants and animals. |
| 7 | 7 | THE ART THIEF, by Michael Finkel. (Vintage) The author of ?The Stranger in the Woods? tells the story of Stéphane Breitwieser, who stole art more than 200 times for the sake of admiring it. |
| 8 | 9 | CHAOS, by Tom O'Neill with Dan Piepenbring. (Back Bay) A reassessment of events surrounding the murders committed by Charles Manson?s followers. |
| 9 | 84 | EDUCATED, by Tara Westover. (Random House) The daughter of survivalists, who is kept out of school, educates herself enough to leave home for university. |
| 10 | 222 | BORN A CRIME, by Trevor Noah. (One World) A memoir about growing up biracial in apartheid South Africa by the former host of ?The Daily Show.? |
| 11 | 498 | THE GLASS CASTLE, by Jeannette Walls. (Scribner) The author recalls how she and her siblings were constantly moved from one bleak place to another. ? |
| 12 | 60 | EVERYTHING I KNOW ABOUT LOVE, by Dolly Alderton. (Harper Perennial) The British journalist shares stories and observations; the basis of the TV series. |
| 13 | 180 | KILLERS OF THE FLOWER MOON, by David Grann. (Vintage) The story of a murder spree in 1920s Oklahoma that targeted Osage Indians, whose lands contained oil. The fledgling F.B.I. intervened, ineffectively. |
| 14 | 374 | OUTLIERS, by Malcolm Gladwell. (Back Bay) Unexpected factors that explain why some people succeed, such as upbringing, timing and 10,000 hours of deliberate practice. |
| 15 | 310 | JUST MERCY, by Bryan Stevenson. (One World) A civil rights lawyer and MacArthur grant recipient?s memoir of his decades of work to free innocent people condemned to death. |

**Load-Date:** August 26, 2024

**End of Document**



[***City Bus Lanes Hit a Snag as Riders Wait for Relief***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CTC-KP11-DXY4-X293-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 25, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section MB; Column 0; Metropolitan Desk; Pg. 7; STREET WARS

**Length:** 1911 words

**Byline:** By Dana Rubinstein

**Body**

Buses are often unreliable and slow (thanks to clogged streets), but even projects to ease these problems are getting delayed. Is Mayor Eric Adams to blame?

This is Street Wars, a weekly series on the battle for space on New York's streets and sidewalks.

Buses have little of the subway's sex appeal. In New York City, their riders lean ***working class*** and older. A transit advocacy group gives out decidedly unglamorous ''Schleppie'' and ''Pokey'' awards to the city's slowest and most unreliable buses. It has many to choose from.

But in the age of bloated subway construction costs, subway extensions are almost never built here. And transit experts consider improving bus speeds low-hanging fruit in the effort to make New York City, which has the nation's largest bus system, a more navigable (and tolerable) place to live.

And yet, in the jurisdictional tangle that is the city, building better bus routes requires the cooperation of the mayor, whose Transportation Department controls its streets, and the state-run Metropolitan Transportation Authority, which oversees its buses.

In an indication that all is not well between the two, the departing president of New York City Transit, which operates the subway and buses for the M.T.A., delivered a broadside against the administration of Mayor Eric Adams.

The president, Richard Davey, in his final week on the job in June, sent a letter to Mr. Adams's transportation commissioner, declaring that his agency was ''very disappointed'' with the administration's decision last year to water down a proposal to speed up buses in a busy section of the Bronx. The weakened version, he wrote, has instead done next to nothing. The New York Times acquired the letter through a Freedom of Information Law request, and it was first reported by Streetsblog.

Mr. Davey pressed Ydanis Rodriguez, the transportation commissioner, to adopt one of the more robust proposals for the route, which would have given more space to the buses that provide 85,000 rides along Fordham Road every day. Mr. Davey's interim successor at New York City Transit, Demetrius Crichlow, signed the letter, too.

''We both want to reiterate that the Fordham Road bus priority project remains of critical importance,'' they wrote.

City buses provide nearly three million rides each weekday along streets packed with double-parked cars and delivery trucks -- streets controlled by the mayor. They often operate in areas poorly served by subways. They are the nimble workhorses of an aging system.

Fordham Road has the busiest bus route in the Bronx, the city's poorest borough. About half of Bronxites travel by public transportation to work.

When he was running for mayor, Mr. Adams highlighted his ***working-class*** origins and promised to build 150 miles of bus lanes in four years.

But the numbers suggest a different story: New York City is on track to build just seven miles of bus lanes by the end of this year, according to an analysis by Streetsblog. Three Transportation Department officials, who requested anonymity to discuss internal projections, told The Times that the Streetsblog estimate is in the right ballpark, with one saying the mileage might actually be lower.

The city built 14.7 miles of new bus lanes last year and 5.4 miles the year before, according to the Transportation Department. That means that the administration is on track to have built fewer than 30 miles in its first three years, which suggests that it will fall well short of the mayor's initial goal of 150 miles in four. His administration's bus lane construction also falls well short of the 30 miles of protected bus lanes required to be built each year by a law known as the Streets Master Plan.

Liz Garcia, a spokeswoman for Mr. Adams, said the mayor had made it ''easier, safer and more affordable to get around New York City -- especially for young people and ***working-class*** New Yorkers.''

She noted that last week the city and the M.T.A. announced an expansion of bus-mounted camera enforcement against cars blocking or double-parking near bus stops. She also touted the city's efforts to drive down subway crime, its investment in subsidized fares for low-income New Yorkers, and its commitment to building more than 40 miles of new protected paths for cyclists and pedestrians known as greenways.

''We are reviewing the data on Fordham Road, and continue to consider upgrades for the corridor as we build a New York City that works for everyone -- straphangers, cyclists, pedestrians and drivers alike,'' Ms. Garcia said.

Three men trying to unseat Mr. Adams in next year's Democratic primary for mayor are saying they could do better.

In interviews last week, Brad Lander, the New York City comptroller; Zellnor Myrie, a New York state senator, and Scott Stringer, a former comptroller and Manhattan borough president, all said that if elected, they would better abide by the law and bring more dedicated bus lanes to city streets.

Mr. Stringer said the mayor ''has shown an aversion to creating a transportation network that would meet the needs of all communities, especially beyond Manhattan.''

Mr. Lander said, ''The only thing moving slower than the buses in New York City are Mayor Adams's projects to do anything about it.''

Mr. Myrie, a graduate of Fordham University, knows the Fordham Road bus ecosystem better than most. When he was in college, he would generally avoid taking the bus along Fordham Road, since walking or running was faster.

The state of New York City's bus system ''should be a source of embarrassment,'' Mr. Myrie said.

Initially, the M.T.A. and the city's Transportation Department considered building a true busway along Fordham Road, like the one they built along 14th Street in Manhattan. Access for private vehicles would be severely limited. Buses would have primacy. Then they proposed a bus lane that was offset from the curb, which could have averted conflicts between buses and other vehicles trying to access the curb.

Business leaders in the area rose up in protest, complaining that their patrons would lose valuable parking spots. The Bronx Zoo and New York Botanical Garden opposed the more aggressive proposals, too.

''Buses are important, but so are cars,'' said Peter Madonia, another Fordham graduate and the chairman of the Belmont Business Improvement District, which encompasses the Bronx's Little Italy. He was a key opponent of the more aggressive bus lane proposals.

''In Belmont, 85 percent of our clientele comes from 10 to 40 miles away, and they come by car. And they bring dollars and jobs from the tristate area to New York City,'' he said.

So planners merely repainted the existing bus lane instead, promising more enforcement against vehicles that infringed on it.

The Transportation Department wants to increase bus speeds by 15 percent on Fordham Road. Instead, according to the letter from Mr. Davey and Mr. Crichlow, bus speeds have improved by just 2 to 4 percent.

''Improvements have been marginal at best, so additional measures are warranted to speed up bus service for our customers,'' Mr. Davey and Mr. Crichlow wrote.

Mr. Davey, who now runs the Massachusetts Port Authority, declined to comment further.

At a recent media availability, Janno Lieber, the M.T.A.'s chief executive, expressed frustration with the pace of bus lane construction in New York.

''I'll tell you this: We need more bus lanes,'' he said, noting that building more was required by law. ''I stood with the mayor a couple years ago and said that we want to really make buses faster, and bus lanes are a part of that. And I want to renew my offer to do everything possible to enable the city to make good on their commitments.''

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Tackling 'a public health issue that needs to be taken seriously': street noise

During the height of the coronavirus pandemic, Washington Heights and Inwood, two neighborhoods in Upper Manhattan, were ''inundated with noise,'' said Tanya Bonner, a longtime resident of the area. Fireworks, dirt bikes, street parties, boomboxes and outdoor dining all contributed to the cacophony.

''It was insane,'' said Ms. Bonner, who has lived in Washington Heights since 2005. ''I was staying in hotels because I could not sleep.''

New York City is known for being loud. More than 50,000 noise complaints were filed last year with the city's Department of Environmental Protection, which is just one of the agencies that receives and handles such complaints. Nearly 20,000 of those complaints were filed in Manhattan, according to the department.

Washington Heights and Inwood are among the neighborhoods where a significant number of complaints have been filed over the years. In 2020, when more and more people started gathering outside, the problem came to a head, Ms. Bonner said.

She and some of her neighbors formed a group known as the Washington Heights-Inwood Task Force on Noise, which brought together elected officials, police and fire officers, and others in hopes of addressing the problem.

The situation has improved, but the noise is still an issue, said Ms. Bonner, who chairs the task force.

''You have some people try to stereotype the people who are complaining as just a bunch of gentrifiers, colonizers or whatever,'' Ms. Bonner said. ''This is not true. Noise is a public health issue that needs to be taken seriously.''

She added: ''I'm a Black woman and I live here, and I'm complaining. I'm surely not a gentrifier.''

The task force is working with Columbia University's Mailman School of Public Health on a noise study and is currently recruiting people to take part. The goal is to ensure that participants reflect the community, which is largely Spanish-speaking.

Once the pilot study gets underway, sound level meters will be placed in the homes of 30 participants, said Arline Bronzaft, an environmental psychologist and longtime New York City noise activist who is also a member of the task force.

The meters will monitor the noise outside each apartment. Cameras will also be installed to determine where the noise is coming from. And participants will wear wrist devices that measure their sleep health by looking at how long they sleep and whether their sleep gets disrupted.

''You can look at the sleep and look at the time to see whether a sound was coming into the apartment at the same time,'' Ms. Bronzaft said.

The goal of the study is to get public officials to take meaningful action to reduce noise.

''While we may have research worldwide on the effects of noise on sleep, public officials tend to be moved more readily when it is their constituents that are being affected,'' Ms. Bronzaft said.

The task force's recommendations include updating the city's noise code, reviving noise education programs that were once taught in schools and for police officers to more frequently carry noise decibel readers.

What we're reading

Another highway in the Bronx? [Streetsblog]

Efforts to protect the Brooklyn Botanic Garden from a new building that would cast shadows over it. [Brooklyn Paper]

After a yearslong battle, the Elizabeth Street Garden in Manhattan could soon be replaced with affordable housing. [Patch]

A dispute over a makeshift goldfish pond in Brooklyn. [The New York Times]

Residents are complaining that music performances under the Kosciuszko Bridge are too loud. [New York Post]

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/19/nyregion/street-wars-bus-lanes.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/19/nyregion/street-wars-bus-lanes.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Many New Yorkers rely on buses in areas of the city without much subway access, but buses are often slowed down by clogged streets. (PHOTOGRAPH BY THALIA JUAREZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page MB7.

**Load-Date:** August 25, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Who Is Angela Rayner, Britain’s Deputy Prime Minister?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CDH-RXW1-DXY4-X0WM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 5, 2024 Friday 12:21 EST

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 709 words

**Byline:** Megan Specia Megan Specia reports on Britain, Ireland and the Ukraine war for The Times. She is based in London.

**Highlight:** While politics in Britain have traditionally been dominated by the country’s elites, Ms. Rayner has taken a less traditional route to the top.

**Body**

While politics in Britain have traditionally been dominated by the country’s elites, Ms. Rayner has taken a less traditional route to the top.

“I’ve never been called timid in my life,” Angela Rayner, a Labour lawmaker, told an audience of British voters during [*a televised debate*](https://www.theguardian.com/politics/article/2024/jun/13/laughter-as-rayner-and-mordaunt-clash-again-in-tv-debate-repeat) last month while laying out her policy priorities.

The deputy leader of the Labour Party, Ms. Rayner, 44, is set to become one of the most powerful women in British politics as her party forms a new government on Friday, ending 14 years of Conservative Party rule.

A straight-talking lawmaker with a warm, direct manner and an at times brutal honesty, Ms. Rayner is considered one of Labour’s most powerful electoral assets in reaching ordinary voters.

Political analysts say she appeals to parts of the public that the new prime minister, Keir Starmer, might otherwise struggle to connect with.

“She can speak to a broad swath of voters, including ***working-class*** voters who might not connect to the Starmer project,” said Dr. Lise Butler, a lecturer in Modern History at City, University of London. “I do think that her gender is important. She is appealing. She is clear spoken, and sometimes very frankly spoken.”

Ms. Rayner was named deputy prime minister and the secretary of state for improving housing and communities on Friday, both major roles in the new administration.

In the early hours of Friday morning, after she won her seat in Ashton-under-Lyne near Manchester, she paid tribute to “the ***working class*** people who are the bedrock of this country" in her victory speech. “There is no greater honor than to serve you,” she said.

While the top political roles in Britain have traditionally been dominated by the country’s elites, with many in power hailing from the same private schools and universities, Ms. Rayner has taken a less traditional route to the top.

She left school at 16 when she was pregnant and later cared for older people and then became a union representative at her workplace.

It was through the trade union movement that she came to politics, rising first through the ranks of the union, before being elected as her constituency’s first female member of Parliament.

She served in prominent political positions under Jeremy Corbyn, the former Labour leader, and is often associated with the more left-leaning wing of the party. In 2020, she was elected as the Labour Party’s deputy leader, and despite some initial tensions with Mr. Starmer, she has thrived in his revamped and more center-left Labour Party.

“She’s very carefully bridged different parts of the party,” said Ms. Butler. “She’s a rare example, I think, of someone who has been able to gain a profile within both the Corbyn leadership and the Starmer leadership.”

But political adversaries and the tabloid press have regularly taken aim at her, something Sarah Childs, a professor of politics and gender at the University of Edinburgh, said is certainly linked to her ascendant political career.

“The fact that she is unapologetic, that she can at times be quite strident, she doesn’t necessarily behave always how some people might want women in public life to behave,” Ms. Childs said. And that “creates a context where critics who want to will take that particular way of behaving and problematize it.”

In 2022, a British tabloid printed a report based on an unnamed Conservative lawmaker’s claim that Ms. Rayner had [*tried to distract Prime Minister Boris Johnson*](https://www.theguardian.com/politics/article/2024/jun/13/laughter-as-rayner-and-mordaunt-clash-again-in-tv-debate-repeat) in Parliament by rearranging her legs, comparing her to Sharon Stone in “Basic Instinct.” The article was met with widespread outrage from other lawmakers in parliament, with one saying: “The story is that there is misogyny alive and well and stalking the corridors of the House of Commons.”

Ms. Rayner’s strong northern accent, a clear marker of her upbringing in Stockport, has been mocked by some anti-Labour critics on social media, but it is a point of pride for her.

“I speak like people do where I grew up,” Ms. Rayner [*wrote on the social media platform X last year*](https://www.theguardian.com/politics/article/2024/jun/13/laughter-as-rayner-and-mordaunt-clash-again-in-tv-debate-repeat). “I want people from backgrounds like mine who’ve been told to ‘know your place’ to know that public life is their place too.”

PHOTO: Angela Rayner arriving at 10 Downing Street on Friday. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Christopher Furlong/Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 5, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Vance Criticizes Harris in First Solo Campaign Stop as Trump’s Running Mate***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CJ4-2X71-JBG3-61VM-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 22, 2024 Monday 19:42 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 822 words

**Byline:** Michael C. Bender Michael C. Bender is a Times political correspondent covering Donald J. Trump, the Make America Great Again movement and other federal and state elections.

**Highlight:** JD Vance stumped in Ohio and Virginia on Monday, in a race suddenly scrambled by President Biden’s announcement that he would not stand for re-election.

**Body**

JD Vance stumped in Ohio and Virginia on Monday, in a race suddenly scrambled by President Biden’s announcement that he would not stand for re-election.

In JD Vance’s first solo day of campaigning as the Republican vice-presidential nominee, the Ohio senator questioned Vice President Kamala Harris’s appreciation for the United States and chastised her fellow Democrats for supporting President Biden “until he became political deadweight.”

“If you want to lead this country, you should feel grateful for it, you should feel a sense of gratitude,” Mr. Vance said Monday. “And I never hear that gratitude coming through when I listen to Kamala Harris.”

Mr. Vance’s speech in southwest Ohio — and similar remarks later in Virginia — came the day after President Biden announced on Sunday he would not seek a second term.

Mr. Biden stepped down just a week after Mr. Vance was named former President Donald J. Trump’s running mate, which the Ohio senator joked was like a bait-and-switch. Mr. Vance said he had expected to join a vice-presidential debate against Ms. Harris, but she is now widely expected to take over as her party’s presidential nominee.

“I was told I was going to get to debate Kamala Harris,” Mr. Vance said in Ohio. “Now President Trump is going to get to debate her?”

Mr. Vance spoke in Ohio at Middletown High School, where he [*graduated*](https://www.middletowncityschools.com/district-news/entry/jd-vance-middletown-high-school-graduate-named-republican-vice-president-nominee/) in 2003, and later at Radford University, a public college in the corner of southwest Virginia that overlaps with Appalachia, where Mr. Trump’s brand of grievance-based politics has resonated.

Mr. Vance’s addition to the Republican ticket was a bet by Mr. Trump that together they can drive more white, ***working-class*** voters to the polls in battlegrounds like Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin and make other states more competitive, such as Virginia, where Mr. Trump lost by 10 percentage points four years ago.

Mr. Vance opened his speech in Radford by telling more than 1,000 supporters that he “grew up in a place a lot like this one.” He spent much of his time talking about his biography and the lessons he learned growing up in southwest Ohio and on trips to rural Kentucky with his grandmother to visit extended family. That experience was at the core of his best-selling memoir, “Hillbilly Elegy.”

In Ohio, Mr. Vance called for ramping up domestic energy production and manufacturing but offered few details on how he would accomplish those goals other than asking supporters to vote “the current crop of crazies out of there and replace them with President Trump.”

“We’re going to fight for every single worker in this country,” Mr. Vance said. “Work hard and play by the rules — you get a good life, it’s that simple.”

In Ohio, several thousand supporters lined up early to give their native son a warm welcome, including Stephanie Baker, 51, who grew up in the same neighborhood. She said she was thrilled to have someone from her hometown on the Republican presidential ticket.

“I am a Republican, but I am more excited now that JD is on the ticket,” said Ms. Baker, a nurse. “That means more to me and gives me a lot of confidence in the future.”

Mr. Vance, who will turn 40 next week, is among the youngest Americans ever nominated to a presidential ticket. His youth and relative inexperience in politics — he was sworn in to his first elected office last year — immediately made him an intriguing figure in a race featuring an 81-year-old incumbent and a 78-year-old challenger.

In the aftermath of Mr. Biden’s sudden exit from the race, Mr. Vance’s performance on the trail will draw even more interest as Republicans scramble to take aim at a new political target: Ms. Harris, whom Mr. Biden endorsed to take his place at the top of the Democratic ticket.

Not everyone welcomed the hometown candidate in Ohio. The Butler County Democratic Party organized a protest of Mr. Vance’s event that drew about a dozen people, including Carolyn Dell-Patrick, who said Mr. Vance’s memoir was an unfair portrayal of their shared hometown.

“He made our town sound like a hillbilly haven, and it’s not true,” said Ms. Dell-Patrick, 73, a lifelong Middletown resident.

Susan Swecker, chairwoman of the Virginia Democratic Party, said Mr. Vance’s conservative positions would do little to help the blue-collar workers he has vowed to support.

“As someone born and raised in Appalachia, I know two things about JD Vance: He forgot where he came from and he doesn’t care about ***working-class*** people,” Ms. Swecker said. “His extremism isn’t welcome here in Virginia, and we’re going to make sure to defeat him and Trump in November — just like we did last time.”

Kevin Williams contributed reporting.

Kevin Williams contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Senator JD Vance on Saturday in Grand Rapids, Mich., where he and former President Donald J. Trump held their first rally together since Mr. Vance became his running mate. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Haiyun Jiang for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 22, 2024

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[***New York City Ballot Proposals Face Fierce Opposition***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DB2-P871-DXY4-X4V5-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 2, 2024 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2024 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 21

**Length:** 1161 words

**Byline:** By Jeffery C. Mays

**Body**

A broad coalition opposes the citywide questions placed on the ballot by Mayor Eric Adams's charter revision commission, saying they weaken City Council power.

Amid the festive sounds and alluring scents of food drifting through the Latin Night Market in Upper Manhattan, Ana María Archila, co-director of the New York Working Families Party, was engaged on a different agenda.

With Election Day nearing, Ms. Archila made the rounds to urge people to vote -- not for the left-leaning candidates on her ballot line but against five charter revision proposals for New York City.

The five ballot questions have become a central battleground in a power struggle between Mayor Eric Adams and the City Council as Mr. Adams and his inner circle face federal indictments and several investigations. And in that fight, Ms. Archila knows where she stands.

''The mayor cannot be trusted to remake the balance of power in the city because what he has done is surround himself with people who are suspected of misusing and abusing their power,'' Ms. Archila said.

Allies of the City Council, including 60 civil rights and community groups such as the Working Families Party and 50 elected officials, have launched a broad effort aimed at defeating the five measures. Since forming the No Power Grab NYC coalition a little over a month ago, the group has conducted dozens of rallies, text banks and voter outreach efforts.

In Jackson Heights, Queens, the coalition spoke to voters at a green market. There were canvassers at the Bronx Puerto Rican Day Parade earlier this month and at watch parties for the New York Mets and Liberty in Fort Greene and Williamsburg in Brooklyn.

A political nonprofit, New Yorkers Defending Democracy, spent $122,000 to oppose the measures, according to records from the Campaign Finance Board. And the group spent $32,000 for palm cards urging a vote in favor of Kamala Harris and Tim Walz; Proposition 1, a statewide measure to protect reproductive rights; and against the mayor's ballot measures.

The group also spent $50,000 on an internet advertisement that began: ''Mayor Adams can't be trusted with the power he has, so why give him more?''

The Adams administration has focused on voter education efforts on social media and ethnic and community media but is not allowed to direct voters to vote for or against the measures.

''The beauty of this process is that it's the will of ***working-class*** New Yorkers who use their voices at the polls, and not elected officials, who ultimately decide what laws should be enshrined in the city's charter,'' said Liz Garcia, a spokeswoman for Mr. Adams.

The ballot referendums emerged from a new Charter Revision Commission that was hastily convened in May by Mr. Adams. The move seemed orchestrated to counter the Council's planned introduction of legislation that would have subjected 21 of the mayor's commissioner-level appointments to the Council's approval. Forming the commission effectively knocked the Council's measure, which required approval from voters, off the ballot.

Among the five ballot proposals, two would directly affect the way the Council passes laws. One measure would require the Council to give the mayor eight days' notice before holding a hearing or voting on legislation. The measure would also require the Council to release fiscal impact statements about a particular bill earlier, while extending the deadline for the mayor to introduce the executive budget.

The other proposal would require the Council to give the mayor 30 days' notice before voting on public safety legislation. The 30-day window, critics charge, would allow the mayor to interfere with or delay a bill.

Council leaders say the proposed change is a vindictive response to the Council's passage of public safety laws that would ban solitary confinement in city jails and require the police to record more information about the people they stop. The mayor vetoed the bills, but the Council successfully overrode his vetoes.

Diane Savino, a senior adviser to Mr. Adams who served as the executive director of the charter review commission, said the proposals would improve life for New Yorkers. She questioned the ''disingenuous'' motives of opponents.

Ms. Savino said that Proposition 2, which would allow the Sanitation Department to have more power to enforce rules in areas where they currently don't have jurisdiction, would make the city cleaner in places like city parks. And adding cost estimates to Council bills, she said, would help better clarify the fuller implications of proposed legislation.

She said opponents of the proposals were not considering their merits. ''For them, it's purely about Eric Adams,'' Ms. Savino said.

Mr. Adams is in the middle of pretrial hearings after being indicted in September on five counts of bribery, conspiracy and fraud related to accepting luxury gifts, travel and illegal campaign donations from foreign nationals in exchange for favors.

Prosecutors have said they expect him to face additional charges. That investigation is just one of five state and federal investigations swirling around Mr. Adams and his inner circle.

''We know this administration is in turmoil, whether the mayor wants to acknowledge it or not,'' said Bertha Lewis, the president of the Black Institute, who opposes four of the five ballot proposals.

Ms. Lewis views the measures -- as well as Mr. Adams's contentious City of Yes housing plan -- as part of his effort to ''create a legacy'' for his administration. Her opposition to the housing plan led her to help organize a coalition called ''City of Mess'' to oppose it.

The procedural battle between the mayor and the Council shows no sign of stopping.

Adrienne Adams, the Council speaker, announced last week that she would form a commission of her own to ''transparently and inclusively revise the City Charter'' over several months. Ms. Adams will appoint a majority of the members.

And two state legislators from Manhattan, Liz Krueger, a senator, and Tony Simone, an assemblyman, have sponsored legislation designed to prevent Mr. Adams or another mayor from using the office's powers in a similar way to usurp the Council's authority.

''My gut is that at this moment in history, I'm not sure giving Eric Adams anything he asks for is a very good idea,'' Ms. Krueger said.

At the night market, Ms. Archila appeared to win over Carlos Depaz, a portfolio manager. She told him that the measures were ''designed to make the mayor's office more powerful and the City Council less powerful.''

Mr. Depaz said he was unaware of the proposals but had held concerns about Mr. Adams's management of the city even before he was indicted in September.

''I'm glad she explained what these propositions are all about because nobody would understand them,'' said Mr. Depaz, adding that he planned to vote no. ''The mayor that we have now is not the very best one, especially with everything that has happened.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/01/nyregion/adams-ny-ballot-questions.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/01/nyregion/adams-ny-ballot-questions.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Ana María Archila, a director of the New York Working Families Party, canvassing the Latin Night Market in Upper Manhattan. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CAROLINA HIDALGO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A21.

**Load-Date:** November 2, 2024

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[***Kamala Harris’s 2024 in Pictures***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DB3-2MS1-JBG3-606G-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 2, 2024 Saturday 08:26 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1183 words

**Byline:** Nicholas NehamasNicholas Nehamas is a Times political reporter covering the presidential campaign of Vice President Kamala Harris.

**Highlight:** As the year began, few expected Kamala Harris to make a historic march toward the presidency. After a head-spinning summer, her campaign’s remarkable story awaits its conclusion.

**Body**

As the year began, few expected Kamala Harris to make a historic march toward the presidency. After a head-spinning summer, her campaign’s remarkable story awaits its conclusion.

Vice President Kamala Harris has run a presidential campaign like no other in modern American history. Thrust unexpectedly onto the top of the ticket, she had less than four months to take on former President Donald J. Trump, who has dominated the nation’s politics for nearly a decade.

The compressed cycle had disadvantages. She inherited a campaign and playbook that were not hers. She had to quickly introduce herself to voters before turning to a limited rollout of policy. She had little time to counter voters’ anger at President Biden over inflation.

But there were benefits, too. Democratic energy and fund-raising surged. Opposition researchers had just a few months to dig into her background. She avoided a messy primary race.

Ms. Harris has sometimes struggled to explain how her administration would differ from the unpopular Mr. Biden’s. She is running as a change candidate without much detail on what that change might look like. But on the biggest stages, the first Black woman and first person of South Asian descent to lead a major party into a presidential election has been consistent and disciplined. At her party’s convention, she presented herself as a unifying figure with values forged as a prosecutor. She eviscerated Mr. Trump in their only debate, and he refused to participate in another.

This is the story of her campaign as told through some of its most powerful photos.

On June 27, long-brewing Democratic anxieties about Mr. Biden’s age burst into the open when he struggled to string together coherent sentences at a debate against Mr. Trump. Pressure immediately blossomed for him to drop out.

But Ms. Harris remained loyal, both in public and, by all accounts, behind the scenes. She continued to crisscross the country campaigning for him — even as she drew rising scrutiny as the president’s most likely replacement.

The seemingly inevitable happened in [*a post on X*](https://x.com/JoeBiden/status/1815080881981190320). On July 21, Mr. Biden dropped out of the race after extraordinary maneuvering from top Democrats, including Nancy Pelosi, the former House speaker. Moments later, he said he would endorse Ms. Harris.

The party quickly coalesced behind her, despite some internal grumbling. Now she faced the biggest and perhaps most unexpected test of her career.

Once relegated to the sidelines as Mr. Biden’s No. 2, she instantly found herself in the center of the action. Huge crowds gathered for her rallies in battleground states. Democratic enthusiasm exploded. Trying to burnish her foreign policy credentials, she also held high-profile meetings with world leaders like Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel and President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine.

Ms. Harris soon faced her first major decision: choosing a running mate. Normally, that process can take months of vetting and interviews. She had just weeks. In the end, she [*trusted her gut*](https://x.com/JoeBiden/status/1815080881981190320) and picked Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, the folksy liberal favorite who was little known on the national stage but whom Ms. Harris liked when they met.

The pick pleased the left wing of her party — and avoided a fight over the war in Gaza that might have resulted had she picked Gov. Josh Shapiro of Pennsylvania, a polished orator who had vocally condemned pro-Palestinian protests at universities, citing strains of antisemitism.

The Democratic National Convention was Ms. Harris’s biggest and best chance to introduce herself to voters. Riding the momentum of her surprise nomination, she promised a new and more vigorous era of Democratic leadership. “It is now our turn to do what generations before us have done, guided by optimism and faith, to fight for this country we love, to fight for the ideals we cherish,” she said.

But it was an image of Ms. Harris’s young great-niece — her hair in twin braided ponytails, looking up at her history-making aunt — that would leave perhaps the most lasting impression.

One of Ms. Harris’s high points came on Sept. 10, when she was widely seen to have thumped Mr. Trump in their debate. A courtroom prosecutor earlier in her career, she baited him into many a verbal cul-de-sac, notably [*preying on his insecurity*](https://x.com/JoeBiden/status/1815080881981190320) about the size of his rallies. He turned down her offer to debate again.

The Harris campaign also began strategizing how it could better reach traditional Democratic constituencies like young voters, African Americans and Latinos, especially men, who polls showed were not supporting Ms. Harris in expected numbers for a Democrat.

Ms. Harris was often trailed by protesters upset with American support for Israel in the war in Gaza, and they frequently interrupted her speeches. Even as she expressed more empathy for the plight of Palestinians than Mr. Biden had, she did not call for a different approach.

Eventually, she developed a standard line to shut down disruptions at her rallies. “We all want the war in Gaza to end and get the hostages out as soon as possible,” she frequently said. “Everyone has a right to be heard, but right now I am speaking.”

In the election’s final month, Ms. Harris made a hard play for moderate Republicans and independents in the suburbs, particularly women. She campaigned across the Northern battlegrounds with Liz Cheney, the Republican former congresswoman who became a fierce critic of Mr. Trump, and opened up more about her faith.

With Mr. Trump barely making outreach to voters who had supported Nikki Haley in the Republican primary race, Ms. Harris saw an opening. Reaching across the aisle was also an avenue to make up for her apparent losses among ***working-class*** Black and Latino men.

In the closing days, Ms. Harris was joined on the trail by some of her party’s most popular politicians, including Barack and Michelle Obama, and celebrities like Bruce Springsteen and Beyoncé. Her get-out-the-vote rallies attracted as many 30,000 people. And her closing argument speech — pointedly held at the same spot in Washington where Mr. Trump had urged his supporters to march on the Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021 — drew a crowd of roughly 75,000.

Ms. Harris finished her abbreviated bid for the presidency by touring every battleground state, reshuffling events as she [*worked with her staff to identify*](https://x.com/JoeBiden/status/1815080881981190320) where internal data showed she could mobilize the most voters. She tried to drive the daily news cycle by holding brief gaggles with reporters every morning and going on the attack against Mr. Trump.

Above all, she leaned into her message that she could serve as a unifying force for the nation while casting her rival as a self-centered authoritarian.

In the days ahead, voters in a few battleground states will reveal whether they are returning Mr. Trump to power — or electing the nation’s first female president.

Produced by Jeffrey Furticella, Jenni Lee and Marisa Schwartz Taylor. Additional production by Alice Fang.

Produced by Jeffrey Furticella, Jenni Lee and Marisa Schwartz Taylor. Additional production by Alice Fang.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 2, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Fight For House Will Be Decided By Narrow Slice***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DB2-P871-DXY4-X4TN-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 2, 2024 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1253 words

**Byline:** By Catie Edmondson

**Body**

Public and private polling this cycle, as well as strategists in both parties, point to one of the tightest contests yet for the House majority, in races that stretch from California to Nebraska to Virginia.

Control of the House is on a knife's edge, with Democrats and Republicans from the liberal coasts to the nation's heartland running neck-and-neck in the key races that will decide which party will hold the majority in the next Congress.

Public and private polling, as well as interviews with strategists and operatives in both parties, point to one of the tightest contests yet for the House majority, which Republicans now hold by a mere four seats. While the vast majority of the 435 seats in the House are not in play, the roughly two dozen that are being contested are truly up for grabs. Of the 22 races rated most competitive by the nonpartisan Cook Political Report, 20 are within the margin of error in internal Democratic polling.

''We started with a narrow margin, we're ending with a narrow margin,'' said Ian Russell, a former deputy executive director of the House Democrats' campaign arm who this year is advising Representative Jared Golden of Maine, one of the party's most vulnerable incumbents. ''It's close because it's a presidential year and it's going to be close at the presidential level.''

The battlefield includes centrist Democratic incumbents in Maine, Washington, Alaska and Pennsylvania who are trying to hang on in their rural districts that favor former President Donald J. Trump and Midwestern Republicans facing unexpectedly steep challenges in Nebraska, Iowa and Wisconsin.

But control of the House may ultimately come down to about nine competitive races in blue states on the East and West Coasts, where Republicans in liberal-leaning districts are attempting to stave off Democratic challenges and protect five seats in California and four in New York.

Democrats have run aggressively on protecting reproductive rights, and, especially in more conservative districts where incumbents are at risk, have emphasized measures passed in Mr. Biden's landmark Inflation Reduction Act, including slashing the price of insulin.

Republicans' message has focused instead on inflation, public safety and immigration.

The biggest obstacle for Democrats seeking to take the House, said David Winston, a veteran Republican pollster and strategist, is that polling indicates most Americans think the country is on the wrong track. A nationwide New York Times/Siena College poll conducted in late October showed that 61 percent of likely voters said the country was headed in the wrong direction.

''The challenge for Democrats here in this environment -- and inflation is driving this environment -- is, how are they not the status quo?'' Mr. Winston said. ''And what are they going to do to change things and making some separation from Biden?''

In many districts, candidates' fate may rest on how Mr. Trump and Ms. Harris perform. Polling has shown an extremely close race between the two candidates in battleground states, but strategists in both parties say that Mr. Trump is generally on pace with his 2020 performance or doing slightly better in battleground districts in blue states, while Ms. Harris is on track to match Mr. Biden's 2020 performance in key districts in the Midwest. At the same time, they expect suburban voters to continue peeling away from Mr. Trump, a shift that helped Democrats take back the House in 2018.

The past two House cycles were marked by conventional wisdom in the run-up to Election Day that turned out to be wrong. In 2020, when Democrats expected to expand their majority, they instead were set back on their heels and lost seats. In 2022, the so-called ''red wave'' that Republicans predicted would deliver them an ample majority never materialized, instead giving them control of the House by a razor-thin margin.

A year ago House Republicans were openly fretting that voters would punish them at the ballot box for a historically chaotic Congress, beginning with the bitter infighting that had marked the election of Kevin McCarthy as speaker, featuring dysfunction on the floor wrought by hard-right rebels and culminating in Mr. McCarthy's ouster and three weeks of G.O.P. paralysis while they were unable to coalesce around a leader.

By summer, it was Democrats' turn to fret following President Biden's disastrous debate performance, as polling showed Democrats in tight races that they would need to outrun him in some cases by double digits in order to win re-election.

Now, with Vice President Harris at the top of the ticket, the only certainty is that the critical contests are closer than ever.

Here is a look at the tossup races that will decide control of the House.

The Republicans in blue states

The improbable heart of the battle for House control is the liberal states of New York and California, where Republicans are defending Biden-friendly territory. Democrats arguably lost their majority in these districts in 2022, as voters registered their dissatisfaction with the states' high living costs and fears about public safety.

In New York, the two Republicans in most danger are Representatives Brandon Williams in Syracuse and Anthony D'Esposito on Long Island, both first-term congressmen in districts Mr. Biden handily won in 2020.

In California, Representative John Duarte, a freshman from the Central Valley, is seen as the party's most vulnerable member. A number of the other seats, including those held by Representative Michelle Steel in Orange County, one of the first Korean American women to serve in Congress and a prodigious fund-raiser, and Mike Garcia, a former Navy combat pilot in the Antelope Valley, are hotly contested.

Many of the Republicans holding these swing seats are battle-tested and have become adept at distancing themselves from the most extreme elements in their party.

Still, some may be unable to weather a wave of Democratic enthusiasm in increasingly liberal-leaning districts. In Omaha, known as the ''blue dot'' in the otherwise solidly Republican state of Nebraska, Representative Don Bacon, a mainstream conservative with longstanding bipartisan credentials, is in the fight of his political life to hang onto his seat.

The Trump-district Democrats

Republicans have long hoped to unseat the small group of Democrats who hold the rural, ***working-class*** districts that Mr. Trump won in 2020. But those Democrats, including Mr. Golden in Maine, Marie Gluesenkamp Perez of Washington, Mary Peltola of Alaska, and Matt Cartwright of Pennsylvania, have all established centrist brands for themselves, making them particularly difficult to dislodge.

Republicans are betting that this year, with better challengers and increased turnout among Trump voters, they will finally be able to flip some of these seats.

The open seats vacated by Democrats

Democrats are toiling to defend a trio of seats vacated by well-known, prolific fund-raisers who have been able to keep the swingy districts solidly in Democratic control for years. Both Representatives Elissa Slotkin of Michigan and Abigail Spanberger of Virginia, who flipped their seats in 2018 to hand Democrats the majority, are seeking higher office; Ms. Slotkin is running for Senate and Ms. Spanberger for governor.

A third, Representative Dan Kildee of Michigan, the scion of a political dynasty in the state who has served in the House for over a decade, announced he would retire after a recent cancer diagnosis.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/01/us/elections/house-election-republicans-democrats.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/01/us/elections/house-election-republicans-democrats.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Control of the House of Representatives may ultimately come down to about nine competitive races in Democratic-leaning states on the East and West Coasts. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIC LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A19) This article appeared in print on page A1, A19.

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**End of Document**



[***Seeing Boost For Workers In Hard Line On Migrants***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DGJ-J551-JBG3-63HD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 23, 2024 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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**Length:** 1632 words

**Byline:** By Lydia DePillis

**Body**

JD Vance and others on the ''new right'' say limiting immigration will raise wages and give jobs to sidelined Americans. Many studies suggest otherwise.

As President-elect Donald J. Trump's second administration takes shape, his plans for a signature campaign promise are becoming clear: mass deportations of undocumented immigrants, including new detention centers, workplace raids and possibly the mobilization of the military to aid in expulsions.

Most economists are skeptical that this project will improve opportunities for ***working-class*** Americans. Mr. Trump and his allies don't typically argue for purging undocumented immigrants on economic grounds; the case is more often about crimes committed by migrants, or simply a need to enforce the law.

But there is an intellectual movement behind immigration restriction that seeks to reshape the relationship between employers and their sources of labor. According to this rising conservative faction, most closely identified with Vice President-elect JD Vance, cutting off the supply of vulnerable foreigners will force employers to seek out U.S.-born workers.

''We cannot have an entire American business community that is giving up on American workers and then importing millions of illegal laborers,'' Mr. Vance said in an interview with The New York Times in October, adding, ''It's one of the biggest reasons why we have millions of people who've dropped out of the labor force.''

Mr. Vance is correct that the share of men in their prime working years who are in the labor force -- that is, either working or looking for work -- has declined in recent decades, sliding during recessions and never totally recovering. (Women in that age group, 25 to 54 years old, are working at the highest levels on record.)

It seems like a simple equation: When fewer workers are available, employers have to try harder to compete for them. Certainly that dynamic played a role in the swift wage growth early in the pandemic, when people willing to do in-person jobs -- waiters or nurses, for example -- were in especially short supply.

And the surge in immigration in 2022 and 2023 did play a role in blunting inflation, by allowing businesses to fill open positions. Without that new work force, in some cases employers might have simply produced less, driving prices higher. In other cases, they might have brought more American workers off the sidelines with offers of even better pay and benefits.

That's why members of Mr. Vance's wing of the Republican Party -- a group that sometimes calls itself the ''new right'' -- have embraced restricting immigration in the name of helping American workers. Its most prominent exponent is Oren Cass, chief economist at American Compass, a think tank that has positioned itself in opposition to the business-friendly elements of the traditional G.O.P.

''A situation where employers know they will have much less access to labor in general, and especially illegal, easily exploitable labor, the better the outcomes for workers in the labor market will be,'' Mr. Cass said. ''You can't seriously claim to care about worker power and simultaneously suggest that high levels of low-wage immigration are good for workers who are here.''

This argument has had some academic support: The Harvard economist George Borjas has long argued that large waves of immigration have hurt workers without a college degree. Dr. Borjas's conclusions have been widely disputed, but Stephen Miller, an immigration adviser to Mr. Trump, cited his work to defend restrictive policies in the first term.

The viewpoint also, however, bears some similarity to positions held by the Democratic Party in the 1980s and '90s. Mr. Cass points to the conclusions of a bipartisan government commission in the 1990s, whose chairwoman was appointed by President Bill Clinton, that recommended tighter controls over immigration flows to protect American workers without college degrees. For the same reason, Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont, a progressive firebrand, opposed proposals in the 2000s that gave immigrants a path to citizenship and expanded guest worker programs.

A few factors started to change the political dynamics.

First, the research was evolving. New forms of empirical data analysis started to show that the Economics 101 version of immigration -- more workers means lower wages -- didn't always hold true.

A recent synthesis of dozens of studies found that immigration had only a very slight negative impact on the wages of less-educated native-born workers. A comprehensive overview by the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering and Medicine found modest negative effects only for some earlier immigrants and for teenagers. A paper published this spring, whose authors included Giovanni Peri, an economist at the University of California, Davis, found that immigration had a positive impact on U.S. workers.

Why could that be? Immigrants don't just add labor to an economy; they also add demand for goods and services, which creates jobs for other people. Also, those coming illegally tend to have low levels of education. The jobs they do, like working in meatpacking plants, allow more native-born workers to move into positions as supervisors, salespeople and accountants.

''It really matters how you ask the questions,'' said Janice Fine, director of the Workplace Justice Lab at Rutgers University, who has long studied immigrants and the work force. ''Neoclassical economists were modeling the relationship, but they weren't going to particular labor markets in real time and looking at what had happened.''

Second, labor unions had figured out that it was possible to organize with immigrants. Those increasingly diversified organizations -- including the Service Employees International Union, which represents immigrant-heavy sectors like janitorial work and health care -- began to fight for protections for unauthorized workers, rather than to exclude them from the country.

In recent years, labor unions and politicians they support have argued for a path to legal status for those who have lived in the United States for years without authorization. They also generally support changes to guest worker programs, used in seasonal industries like agriculture, fishing, hospitality and landscaping, that would raise pay and allow workers to move around to different jobs. Such provisions could make employers less likely to use those programs to undercut wages for Americans.

That's the approach Daniel Costa favors. He is the director of Immigration Law and Policy Research at the Economic Policy Institute, a think tank funded partly by labor unions that advocates greater resources for the Department of Labor to go after employers that violate wage and hour laws. The agency does so in a way that is blind to immigration status, lifting conditions for all workers.

''It's employers that are using immigration to degrade wages and standards,'' Mr. Costa said. ''Immigrants are being used as a scapegoat and being blamed, while a whole slew of policies that would actually improve conditions for workers are being ignored.''

For a concrete example, take construction work. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, which represents workers on all kinds of building jobs, has long campaigned against labor brokers that allow general contractors to avoid liability for illegally employing undocumented immigrants through subcontractors. That practice puts union employers -- and their workers -- at a disadvantage.

Instead of calling for a government crackdown on immigrants, however, the union has backed measures that would create a path to legal status for those living in the United States without authorization. Work site raids and deportations, they argue, will only make immigrants less willing to stand up for their rights, eroding standards for everyone else.

''Our industry has always been an entry to the middle class for the immigrant work force,'' said Matthew Capece, a representative of the union's general president. ''It's needed, it's here, they're doing the work, so we need comprehensive immigration reform to bring them out from the shadows.''

That isn't to say the labor-aligned left wants unfettered immigration. The A.F.L.-C.I.O. has backed a commission that would adjust levels based on economic conditions, with fewer visas available when the economy is slow and more when it's running hot.

But that is very different from what Mr. Trump and Mr. Vance have said they would do: remove everyone living here without authorization and seal the border to new arrivals. Mr. Cass has also argued for winding down guest worker programs entirely.

Doing so, they believe, would create more opportunities for the approximately five million men between the ages of 25 and 54 who would be working if employment rates remained at the peak reached in 1953. But a closer look at why those men are not working suggests that immigrants aren't the problem.

Among working-age men without a college degree who are not working, a majority cite poor health or a disability as the reason, and some cite mental health issues. Some of that probably stems from substance abuse. Injuries sustained from physical jobs and chronic conditions play a role as well.

That's why Richard V. Reeves, who studies such issues as president of the American Institute for Boys and Men, doesn't think that removing millions of immigrants from the labor force will on its own draw substantial numbers of less-educated native-born men back in.

''There are huge issues with their employability,'' Dr. Reeves said. ''It's not like, by getting rid of the other guys, suddenly employers will say, 'Oh, great, here's this reserve army of labor sitting there, raring to go.'''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/22/business/economy/immigration-trump-economy.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/22/business/economy/immigration-trump-economy.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: JD Vance and others argue that limiting immigration will increase wages. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ARIANA DREHSLER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Oren Cass of American Compass, a conservative think tank and part of the so-called ''New Right.'' (B4) This article appeared in print on page B1, B4.

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[***The Climate Generation***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCT-HCX1-JBG3-62HD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 10, 2024 Sunday

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**Length:** 1148 words

**Body**

Lucy Currie, 14

Jasper, Alberta

On seeing your home burn.

In June, after much negotiating with their parents, Lucy Currie and three of her friends went solo camping for the first time. Growing up in Jasper, Alberta, at the edge of a vast national park, Currie has explored the backcountry since she was a little kid, but never without adults. The group set up their tent, roasted hot dogs and played card games late into the night, while one friend's dad camped nearby just in case. ''It was so much fun,'' Currie says.

A few weeks later, wildfires swept through Jasper National Park, burning over 81,000 acres and ravaging the town of Jasper. Currie found out about the evacuation order while she and her family were on a weeklong vacation; soon after, she learned that the fire had consumed her home and her grandparents' house next door. ''I was in shock,'' she says. Normally an overpacker, Currie had been proud to bring just one backpack and one stuffed animal; now, everything else she owned was gone. ''It sounds kind of dumb, but I was just sad about what I had collected on my walls,'' she says. ''I had so many pictures, like Polaroids of me and my friends, and random cutouts from magazines.''

Currie is back at school now, although with about a third of the town's buildings destroyed, life doesn't feel back to normal. Her family is living in a rental that's half an hour outside town, which means she has to ask for a ride anytime she wants to meet up with friends. ''I have to plan everything ahead,'' she says.

Currie is still grappling with what she lost, including her ability to turn away from climate change. ''I've always heard of other towns being affected,'' she says, ''but it was just a passing thought.''

By the 2050s, the abnormally hot and dry weather conditions that led to recent record fire seasons in Canada are likely to become common, which could lead to larger and more frequent wildfires. Currie will be in her 40s.

â¬¤ Lucy Currie peering into the rubble that was once her home.

Photograph by Grant Harder for The New York Times

'I've used the word ''weird'' so much to describe everything, but I just don't know how else to say it.'

Photographs by Grant Harder for The New York Times

â¬¤ Left: The twisted remains of Currie's mother's bicycle. Above: Currie at a trail summit near Jasper.

Ireoluwa Ajayi, 16

Ota, Nigeria

On feeling like one of the lucky ones.

Ota, where Ireoluwa Ajayi lives, is a market town an hour's drive north of Lagos. In recent years, the region has experienced extreme heat and heavy rainfall. Around Nigeria, floods contaminate drinking water and create breeding grounds for malaria-carrying mosquitoes; the high temperatures can lead to heatstroke and rashes.

Ajayi emphasizes how lucky he feels. His family has fans that they use at night during heat waves, which are powered by a mini solar panel. They have a water purifier to use when water sources become contaminated. They used to live in an area of Lagos State where the flooding was much worse; they were able to move to safer ground, while many others were not. ''I think about the people that don't have a way to leave, especially children,'' he says. ''When the weather is so bad, I'll be thinking of how they do without food and without water.''

But Ajayi, for all his concern about others, is hardly unscathed himself. For a while he got heat rashes, which sometimes grew so painful that he wound up hospitalized. When it floods, the roads get so bad that Ajayi has to take off his shoes and walk in the water to get home from school. Other days, flooding forces his school to close and makes seeing friends impossible, leaving him isolated. ''I don't get to play outside or hang out with my friends because there'll be water everywhere,'' he says. Instead, he stays home and draws.

Ajayi believes that once people connect the dots on the effects of climate change, they'll start to take action. ''I feel like a lot of people are not taught about climate,'' he says, ''and that's why they keep burning up fossil fuels.''

By 2080, the number of heat-related deaths in Nigeria could increase fourfold. Ajayi will be 72.

â¬¤ Right, top: In Ota, gutters help with rainwater flooding. Right, bottom: After school, Ireoluwa Ajayi usually does his chores, including washing dishes. Far right: The fans in Ajayi's home are solar-powered.

Photographs by Yagazie Emezi for The New York Times

Sara Saumanaia, 15

Christchurch, New Zealand, and Tuvalu

On losing your motherland to the ocean.

When Sara Saumanaia thinks about climate change, she thinks about both of her homes. She sees New Zealand, where she has lived her entire life, as her homeland. And she sees Tuvalu, where her family is from, as her motherland. ''It's hard to see one country doing so well,'' she says, ''and one country struggling.''

Saumanaia and her family live on the east side of Christchurch, a predominantly ***working-class*** neighborhood of Maori and Pacific Islander immigrants. The area is especially vulnerable to the effects of climate change; after a heavy rain, the streets around Saumanaia's home regularly flood.

Once, during a lesson on climate change, Saumanaia's science teacher asked if anyone in the class was from Tuvalu. Everyone looked at Saumanaia, the only Tuvaluan in her grade. The teacher explained that the island might soon be subsumed by rising sea levels. Students oohed, as if she were in trouble; some classmates laughed.

''I'm a really confident, brave, strong person, and I know what I stand for,'' Saumanaia says. ''But there's also my family back home, who I pray for every day. They're just struggling, and here they are, mocking them, because their island is about to be gone.''

She wants to change the perception of Tuvaluans and those from other small Pacific islands. And she wants to foster pride among the next generation of Tuvaluans too. She practices the fatele, or traditional Tuvalu dance, and the Tuvaluan language in part so she can pass it on to her future children. ''Even if our country does end up going away,'' she says, ''that doesn't make our culture and who we are as people go away.''

â¬¤ Sara Saumanaia on a street in the Residential Red Zone, an area of Christchurch near her home that became uninhabitable after the 2011 earthquake.

By 2050, it's estimated that half the land area of Funafuti, the main atoll of Tuvalu, will become flooded by tidal waters. Saumanaia will be 41.

Photograph by Tatsiana Chypsanava for The New York Times

'Why do people care so much for the things that they already have, when other countries are out there struggling?'

â¬¤ Left: Saumanaia with her siblings and friends at a park near her home. Above: The Residential Red Zone in Christchurch.

Photographs by Tatsiana Chypsanava for The New York Times

Additional reporting by Alawi Masare and Bianca PadrÃ³ Ocasio

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/31/magazine/10mag-teenagerspart2.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/31/magazine/10mag-teenagerspart2.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Lucy Currie peering into the rubble that was once her home. (MM38-MM39)

Left: The twisted remains of Currie's mother's bicycle. Above: Currie at a trail summit near Jasper. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY GRANT HARDER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (MM40

MM41)

Right, top: In Ota, gutters help with rainwater flooding. Right, bottom: After school, Ireoluwa Ajayi usually does his chores, including washing dishes. Far right: The fans in Ajayi's home are solar-powered. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY YAGAZIE EMEZI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (MM42

MM43)

Sara Saumanaia on a street in the Residential Red Zone, an area of Christchurch near her home that became uninhabitable after the 2011 earthquake. (MM44-MM45)

â¬¤ Left: Saumanaia with her siblings and friends at a park near her home. Above: The Residential Red Zone in Christchurch. (PHOTOGRAPH BY TATSIANA CHYPSANAVA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (MM46

MM47) This article appeared in print on page MM38, MM39, MM40, MM41, MM42, MM43, MM44, MM45, MM46, MM47.

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**End of Document**



[***Harris and Walz Venture Into Less-Friendly Terrain to Court Pennsylvania Voters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CS1-Y551-DXY4-X002-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Rebecca Davis O’Brien and Nicholas Nehamas Rebecca Davis O&amp;#8217;Brien covers campaign finance and money in U.S. elections. She previously covered federal law enforcement, courts and criminal justice. Nicholas Nehamas is a Times political reporter covering the re-election campaign of President Biden.

**Highlight:** The Democratic presidential ticket went to the crucial swing state on Sunday to visit areas that are competitive and somewhat more conservative.

**Body**

The Democratic presidential ticket went to the crucial swing state on Sunday to visit areas that are competitive and somewhat more conservative.

Before their convention this week that will signal the final sprint to November, Vice President Kamala Harris and her running mate, Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, headed out on a brief bus tour on Sunday to fire up voters in perhaps the most crucial battleground state in the 2024 election.

As they toured western Pennsylvania, their play for support beyond the state’s more liberal cities was apparent at the team’s first stop, a field office in Rochester, Pa., in the largely conservative Beaver County: Ms. Harris picked up a volunteer’s cellphone to speak with a resident from Erie, a northwestern city in one of the state’s swingiest counties, which Hillary Clinton lost in 2016 but Joseph R. Biden Jr. won four years later.

“I love Erie,” Ms. Harris said. “At some point we’ll get to Erie.”

Ms. Harris and Mr. Walz were joined on the outing by their spouses, Doug Emhoff and Gwen Walz, traveling in two new campaign buses from the Pittsburgh airport, where they arrived on Air Force Two to greet a small group of supporters.

The Pittsburgh and Philadelphia areas are the two main drivers of Democratic support in Pennsylvania, a state whose 19 electoral votes could decide the presidency. Recent [*polling*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/us/elections/polls-president-pennsylvania.html) shows a neck-and-neck race there between Ms. Harris and former President Donald J. Trump, with some surveys showing Ms. Harris gaining a narrow edge recently.

Mr. Trump is also increasing his presence in Pennsylvania: On Saturday he held a rally in Wilkes-Barre and another is set in York on Monday, while Senator JD Vance of Ohio, his running mate, campaigns in Philadelphia.

Both candidates have used their trips in the state to make attacks.

Speaking to a crowd of supporters outside the Rochester campaign office on Sunday, Ms. Harris appeared to suggest that Mr. Trump was a “coward” — just a day after he had called her a “radical” and a “lunatic” in Wilkes-Barre.

“Over the last several years there’s been this kind of perversion that has taken place, I think, which is to suggest that the measure of the strength of a leader is based on who you beat down,” Ms. Harris said — though she did not name Mr. Trump. “Anybody who’s about beating down other people is a coward.”

President Biden [*often preferred to campaign*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/us/elections/polls-president-pennsylvania.html) in Philadelphia, by far the state’s largest metro area. The city is easily reached from Washington and close to his home state of Delaware, nestled in friendly territory surrounded by counties [*he carried in 2020*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/us/elections/polls-president-pennsylvania.html).

Outside Allegheny County, where Pittsburgh sits, western Pennsylvania is less hospitable to Democrats, and Ms. Harris’s visit there suggests she may branch out more than Mr. Biden did.

“God bless them, they need to,” Nancy Cannon, a retired teacher who showed up at the Pittsburgh airport, said of the campaign’s planned visits. She described a landscape of Trump supporters, where she knew of Democrats who were afraid to put out their own lawn signs. “Maybe they would feel more supported,” she said, if Ms. Harris and Mr. Walz showed up.

Ms. Cannon said Ms. Harris’s swift ascent to the top of the Democratic ticket had given a jolt of energy to her family and friends. “I love Joe. But I am happier to see a younger person. I feel like this is an Obama moment.”

The trip points to the Democratic hopes that Mr. Walz can help the party reach ***working-class*** voters outside the big cities. The suburbs and small towns surrounding Pittsburgh resemble areas in Minnesota where Mr. Walz has performed well in his previous races.

One campaign stop on Sunday was also a clear effort to tap into Mr. Walz’s personal history: a football practice at Aliquippa High School in a former steel town with many Black residents that has struggled economically for decades. Mr. Walz’s own experience as a high school football coach has been a touchstone of the campaign so far, with Ms. Harris occasionally referring to him as “Coach Walz.”

Mr. Walz told the team he “remembered every single call” from his team’s state football championship. He and Ms. Harris were joined at the event by Jerome Bettis, the Hall of Fame running back who won a Super Bowl with the Pittsburgh Steelers. Mr. Bettis, nicknamed The Bus, was a surprise, if appropriately named, addition to the Harris-Walz motor coach tour, which also made short stops at a nearby firehouse, a Sheetz gas station and Primanti Bros., a beloved chain of sandwich shops founded in Pittsburgh.

“The way you win elections in Pennsylvania is literally going everywhere,” said Lt. Gov. Austin Davis of Pennsylvania, a Democrat who is from the Pittsburgh area. “Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, but all the small communities in between.”

Mr. Davis also said that Ms. Harris would find a welcome audience in the ***working-class*** region for [*the economic agenda she rolled out last week*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/us/elections/polls-president-pennsylvania.html) that focused on lowering the costs of everyday life and cutting taxes for working families.

Conor Lamb, a Democrat who once represented a congressional district outside Pittsburgh, said Mr. Biden had become well known to many Pennsylvania voters, thanks to his decades of service as a senator in neighboring Delaware, an advantage Ms. Harris does not possess.

Mr. Lamb said that the bus tour reflected the fact that Democrats had learned their lesson from Mrs. Clinton losing the state after focusing most of her campaign on the major cities.

“You can’t just do Philly and Pittsburgh and rely on social media,” Mr. Lamb said.

And he agreed that Ms. Harris’s economic plans would be popular in places like Rochester, a small town once known for its [*glassmaking factories*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/us/elections/polls-president-pennsylvania.html) that sits in his old district.

“Some of the things that she laid out in that speech — the child tax credit, extending health care subsidies — all that kind of stuff is just universal,” Mr. Lamb said. “That should do as well in Rochester as it does in the heart of the city of Pittsburgh. And I’ve felt in the past that Democrats were a little bit afraid to go on the offense in those areas.”

PHOTO: Kamala Harris and Tim Walz were joined on their tour on Sunday by their spouses, Doug Emhoff and Gwen Walz. Their stop in Rochester, Pa., was part of an afternoon bus tour. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Erin Schaff/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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**End of Document**



[***‘I Know What It’s Like to Struggle,’ Biden Says in New Ad on Inflation; Ad Watch***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C7V-1KR1-JBG3-6012-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 598 words

**Byline:** Nicholas Nehamas Nicholas Nehamas is a Times political reporter covering the re-election campaign of President Biden.

**Highlight:** Inflation has cooled but many voters give significantly higher marks to President Biden’s opponent, Donald J. Trump, on the economy.

**Body**

Inflation has cooled but many voters give significantly higher marks to President Biden’s opponent, Donald J. Trump, on the economy.

Inflation is one of President Biden’s biggest weaknesses with voters heading into November, and former President Donald J. Trump has hammered him on the issue relentlessly.

But Mr. Biden is trying to fight back: His campaign released [*a new advertisement*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q4m42DUoluc) on Thursday featuring him talking about his ***working-class*** roots and expressing sympathy for Americans struggling with high prices.

The ad, produced in English and Spanish, is part of a seven-figure June media purchase targeted to Hispanic voters. It will run on television, radio and digital platforms across the battleground states, according to the Biden campaign, and is debuting on a day when Mr. Trump is [*set to speak in Washington*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q4m42DUoluc) to the Business Roundtable, a powerful lobbying group.

Mr. Biden has built a sizable fund-raising advantage over Mr. Trump and has used his campaign war chest to dominate the airwaves. But the former president still leads in many polls, and he has made significant progress with Hispanic voters since his defeat in 2020. He is also [*making up ground*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q4m42DUoluc) in fund-raising.

What the ad says

The 30-second ad begins with a voice-over from Mr. Biden recounting his family leaving their hometown so his father could find work, paired with a black-and-white image of people carrying suitcases.

“I know what it’s like to struggle,” the president says. “I know many American families are fighting every day to get by.”

The video then cuts to an image of a yelling Mr. Trump, as Mr. Biden continues to speak in the background. “That’s why no one, especially a billionaire like Donald Trump, will stop me from fighting to lower costs for food and rent,” he says.

Then the president appears directly before the camera, pointing his finger to emphasize his message: “Because hardworking families deserve a chance to get ahead.”

What the ad is trying to do

Mr. Biden is walking a delicate line in talking about rising prices.

[*Inflation has cooled*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q4m42DUoluc) but the damage to Mr. Biden has already been done in the eyes of many voters, who give significantly higher marks to Mr. Trump on the economy.

Many Democrats have [*urged him to respond by blaming corporate price gouging for inflation*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q4m42DUoluc). They regularly use terms like “corporate greed,” “[*shrinkflation*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q4m42DUoluc)” and “greedflation.” In his re-election race, Senator Bob Casey of Pennsylvania cut a campaign ad showing corporate executives sneaking into a grocery store and switching out cereal boxes for smaller replacements.

But Mr. Biden has generally preferred to focus on his administration’s efforts to cut costs for consumers, and he has pursued an argument that Mr. Trump is on the side of billionaires and big companies, not the ***working class***.

In the ad, Mr. Biden continues to follow that approach, telling Americans that he feels the pain in their pocketbooks and is fighting for them, without directly attacking corporations. In a news release accompanying the ad, the Biden campaign was more aggressive.

“Hardworking Latinos shouldn’t be struggling with high costs while massive corporations and billionaires see record profits and salaries,” said Julie Chavez Rodriguez, Mr. Biden’s campaign manager. “That’s why President Biden won’t stop fighting to lower costs, create good-paying quality jobs, and go after greedy corporations.”

PHOTO: President Biden has emphasized his efforts to cut costs for consumers, saying Donald J. Trump is on the side of billionaires. (PHOTOGRAPH BY DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A17.

**Load-Date:** June 13, 2024

**End of Document**



[***This Crime Novelist Spins Murder Mysteries Out of Emails, Memos and Texts***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D20-5NW1-JBG3-6539-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 25, 2024 Wednesday 08:34 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS

**Length:** 1544 words

**Byline:** Sarah LyallSarah Lyall is a writer at large for The Times, writing news, features and analysis across a wide range of sections.

**Highlight:** After years of this-and-that jobs, Janice Hallett began to write a novel: “What do I have to lose?” Now a widely celebrated voice in crime fiction, she just launched her fifth book, “The Examiner.”

**Body**

After years of this-and-that jobs, Janice Hallett began to write a novel: “What do I have to lose?” Now a widely celebrated voice in crime fiction, she just launched her fifth book, “The Examiner.”

Janice Hallett never imagined that, in her 50s, she would become a novelist, let alone a celebrated new voice in crime fiction. But a few years ago, after a lifetime of other jobs — beauty-industry journalist, government speechwriter-for-hire, frustrated author of unproduced screenplays — she fired up her laptop and opened a blank document.

“I thought, what do I have to lose?” she recalled recently.

The result was “[*The Appeal*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/26/books/review/new-thrillers.html),” a murder mystery set among the members of a provincial drama group, which was published to rapturous reviews and huge sales in Britain in 2021. A fiendishly clever modern-day reimagining of the classic epistolary novel, using emails, text messages, newspaper clippings and interoffice memos in place of letters, “The Appeal” invited readers to become detectives themselves, teasing out the mystery within.

Three years on, Hallett has used variations on this approach in equally innovative novels about, among other things, a pair of competing true-crime journalists investigating a possibly supernatural cult (“[*The Mysterious Case of the Alperton Angels*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/26/books/review/new-thrillers.html)”) and an ex-con describing his hunt for the code concealed in the novels of an Enid Blyton-esque children’s author while also, it turns out, describing something else entirely (“[*The Twyford Code*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/26/books/review/new-thrillers.html)”).

Her most recent book, out this month both in the United States and Britain, is “The Examiner,” an even more complicated puzzle box of a story using instant messages, emails and academic essays to plumb the nefarious goings-on in a multimedia art course at a British university.

Reviewers have marveled at the books’ ingenuity. “Hallett’s treatment of crimes as intellectual puzzles looks like a logical progression in a market hungry for locked-room thrillers,” [*Madeleine Feeny wrote*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/26/books/review/new-thrillers.html) in The Bookseller. “Yet she has somehow managed to revolutionize the genre.”

In person, Hallett, 55, is low-key, unfussy and wryly funny. She describes herself as an introvert and seems genuinely surprised at the turn in her fortunes.

“If I sat down and thought about how to write a novel, I never would have come up with this format,” she said in an interview over the summer. But it makes sense for her, she added, since her preference for listening rather than speaking has made her acutely sensitive to what people say and what they leave out.

“There’s a lot of deception, and self-deception, in communication,” she said. “People try to cover things up and don’t admit things even to themselves, and that thrills me.”

Wearing comfortable pants, a sensible black cardigan and a pair of fuzzy pink house slippers, Hallett was chatting over lunch in her house. It’s a compact two-story structure identical to hundreds of other houses on a very long street in Northolt, a suburb in West London. Hallett was born nearby and sees no reason to move away or to change much about the way she lives.

“You may have noticed that the furniture is from the ’90s, which is the last time we decorated,” she said, laughing. (She has ordered a new sofa, though.)

She had set out a variety of salads and sandwiches — along with a spectacular selection of fancy cakes and cookies displayed on a tiered pastry stand — for lunch. Her partner, Gary, a gas engineer whom she first encountered in a local drama group, the Raglan Players, when both were teenagers, was out.

Hallett’s parents met at a local factory that produced the pungent liquid antiseptic TCP. “They said you had to go out with someone else who worked there because no one else could stand the smell,” she said. Later, her mother worked at the local gas board, and her father became the manager of an appliance-rental shop — a point of familial pride.

“My mother always made sure you said ‘manager,’” Hallett said. “If I were to give my family a class label, I would say they were in the aspiring ***working class***, always trying to better themselves.”

When Hallett was 12, her beloved brother, Brian, who was as gregarious and outgoing as she was reserved and private, died of Hodgkin’s disease. He was 21. There was no option to give in to grief, or to address it with therapy, and Hallett retreated inside herself. But it sparked something.

“It gave me my creativity,” she said. “It’s what makes me write.”

Hallett’s parents weren’t remotely bookish, but she was. Though her classmates derided her as a nerdy “swot,” she found school a refuge and — after getting unexpectedly good grades on her pre-college A-level exams — realized that higher education was an option. “I had to hastily ring round the universities and say, “Have you got any spaces?” Hallett said. She ended up studying English at University College London.

She always wanted to write, she said, even if it meant writing about topics she wasn’t naturally interested in, like makeup. She worked at Cosmetic International, a trade magazine, and left it to help start Pure Beauty, a publication for people who sell beauty products. In her late 30s, she quit.

“I thought, ‘it’s now or never,’” she said. She wrote speeches and policy documents for politicians and government agencies; she got a master’s in screenwriting; she wrote, directed and acted in plays for the Raglan Players.

In 2006, after answering an online ad, she was hired to help rewrite a screenplay for a movie about people on an island who have been told that they are the survivors of a pandemic. The movie, [*“Retreat,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/26/books/review/new-thrillers.html) starred Cillian Murphy and came out in 2011; the relative ease of the experience filled Hallett with confidence about her future in the film industry.

“Hahaha,” she said, looking back. Though she wrote numerous screenplays and TV pilots, along with experimental plays that were put on in pubs — including [*“NetherBard,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/26/books/review/new-thrillers.html)” a feminist comedy about three actresses caught in some sort of Shakespearean alternative universe — none of her work made it to the screen. “Nothing convinced me to give up, not even failure,” she said. “I wasn’t discouraged. Isn’t that weird?”

Finally, she was admitted to a program for would-be screenwriters “who had fallen through the net,” as she described it. “They were into diversity, and I was an older, ***working-class*** woman, so I qualified.”

Her mentor in the course, Cameron Roach, the former head of drama at Sky Studios, said, “Have you thought about writing a novel?” she recalled. That’s what led to “The Appeal,” which — after its success in Britain — was published in the United States in 2022; [*Barnes &amp; Noble made it their mystery pick of the month that November*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/26/books/review/new-thrillers.html).

“It’s not a usual trajectory, no,” said Lucy Fawcett, an agent at Sheil Land Associates, in Britain, who had been working with Hallett for years as she wrote screenplays. “I must admit I was initially bemused that a head of drama would suggest to a screenwriter that they write a novel, because in many ways it’s a very different discipline and not straightforward at all.”

Fawcett conferred with her colleague Gaia Banks, who became Hallett’s book agent. “Janice started delivering chapters and we couldn’t read them quickly enough,” Fawcett said. (In a satisfying plot twist, several of the books are now in development for television.)

Her literary success means that Hallett has had to adjust to, among other things, being “required to go places and talk” to promote her books, she said. “I had no idea that novelists did that sort of thing.”

She shuddered as she recalled her first appearance, on a panel for debut writers at a literary festival. “I repeated myself; I trailed off; I forgot the questions,” she said. “I’m good on paper, but talking in public is something I’ve always struggled with. Finding my actual voice has been a lifelong problem.”

Currently, she’s at work on a series for children about a pair of siblings investigating a cold murder case using documents they’ve unearthed from a box in the attic. Her next book for adults will be set in the world of pub quizzes, a familiar milieu since she and Gary are on a local quiz team.

“Talk about bragging — these are my two quiz trophies,” she said, pointing to a pair of statuettes on a shelf. “Gary’s specialty is music, and mine is supposed to be books, but I can guarantee if I’m asked a question about a book, it’s one I haven’t read.”

Her greatest recent triumph, she said, was helping her team to victory by correctly spelling the word “diarrhoea”— it takes an “o” in Britain — in a local quiz.

Lunch was nearly over, and Hallett began to pack up some of the uneaten pastries into a little box, kindly insisting that I take it with me — the first time I’ve ever left an interview with a care package.

She had to think for a moment when asked how success had changed her. “I was quite old when it happened, so I was very set in my ways,” she said. Then she tried again.

She feels happy in her work and her life, she said. More than that: “The dogged determination I always had, which meant that I wasn’t put off by failure, has finally worked,” she said.

PHOTOS: Janice Hallett’s most recent book, out now in the United States and Britain, is “The Examiner.” (PHOTOGRAPH BY CHARLOTTE HADDEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page C6.

**Load-Date:** January 15, 2025

**End of Document**



[***Return of a Toll Plan May Bring Risk to Hochul***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DF2-FKD1-JBG3-62WK-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 16, 2024 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1379 words

**Byline:** By Grace Ashford

**Body**

Gov. Kathy Hochul's move to revive congestion pricing in New York has energized her Republican opponents, giving them fodder to fight her re-election in 2026.

When Gov. Kathy Hochul of New York brought congestion pricing to a screeching halt in June, many speculated that the decision was politically motivated.

Ms. Hochul had pledged to do everything in her power to support Democrats in November, particularly in key House races in the Hudson Valley and on Long Island, where the party lost ground in the 2022 midterms, and where the tolling plan was particularly toxic.

The governor insisted that economics, not politics, was behind her decision. Even so, with congestion pricing off the table, New York was one of the few states where Democrats gained House seats.

But now Ms. Hochul's decision on Thursday to reinstate the plan, even at a deeply discounted price, may have brought some risk to another election: her own, in 2026.

Emboldened by their electoral victories, Republicans pledged to do whatever was necessary to stop the plan, while suburban Democrats on Long Island and in the Hudson Valley dismissed the toll reduction -- to $9 for most drivers, from $15 -- as insufficient.

Even some progressive Democrats who favor congestion pricing regard the new plan with some skepticism, noting the questionable math behind the promise that New York will still get 100 percent of the financial benefit from the program, even though it will be charging only 60 percent of the original toll to start.

And while the move did earn the approval of key constituencies -- chief among them New York City's business and real estate communities, as well as labor, good-government groups and Mayor Eric Adams -- it also set in motion a series of new and renewed challenges in the courts as well as from the incoming president, Donald J. Trump.

At least nine lawsuits have been filed over congestion pricing, including one from a fellow Democratic governor, Philip D. Murphy of New Jersey.

Perhaps most ominous is the opposition of Mr. Trump, who called the tolling scheme ''the most regressive tax known to womankind'' and warned that it would make it ''virtually impossible'' for New York to recover economically from the coronavirus pandemic.

Both Ms. Hochul and Mr. Trump have been largely optimistic about their ability to work together to improve the lives of New Yorkers. But the tolling plan -- which Ms. Hochul said would go into effect by early January and generate $500 million a year to support the Metropolitan Transportation Authority's capital infrastructure spending plan -- has quickly emerged as a flashpoint.

''She supposedly had a very nice conversation with President Trump, when she indicated he wanted to help fix and beautify our transit system,'' Representative Nicole Malliotakis, Republican of Staten Island, a vocal opponent of the plan, said. ''Why poke him in the eye trying to jam this through right before he takes office?''

Other Republican opponents include Representative Mike Lawler, who is actively considering challenging Ms. Hochul in the governor's race. In recent days, Mr. Lawler, whose district includes Rockland County and the northern part of Westchester County, began a full attack on congestion pricing.

He held a news conference at the foot of the Verrazzano-Narrows Bridge, which connects Staten Island and Brooklyn; wrote a letter urging Mr. Trump to take action; and accused Ms. Hochul of trying to ''pick the pockets of New Yorkers to bail out the corrupt M.T.A.'s waste, fraud and abuse.''

Bruce Blakeman, the Nassau County executive who is largely expected to seek higher office or a Trump administration position, called his own news conference on Thursday to denounce the revived congestion pricing program.

''The governor has a tin ear to the issues that are important to people who live in this state,'' Mr. Blakeman said in an interview. ''It's a tax on hardworking families, it's a tax on students, it's a tax on first responders.''

But in her announcement on Thursday, the governor said that she saw congestion pricing as the only way to save the city's subway system.

''We have to do this,'' Ms. Hochul said. ''It's economically essential that we have this lifeblood of New York City fully functioning, not just for the next couple years but for decades to come.''

Democrats spent more than a decade crafting the original congestion pricing scheme, which many see as their best hope for funding the Metropolitan Transportation Authority and addressing the gridlock that has come to serve as a metaphor for New Yorkers' frustrations.

Over those years, countless hours have been spent studying, debating and planning for the program, initially authorized under former Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo.

When Ms. Hochul paused the program in June, she said that the planned $15 toll was simply too high for working New Yorkers to bear, a decision that frustrated both supporters and opponents.

''Traffic is part of what contributes to the sense that the quality of life in the city is diminishing,'' said Kathryn Wylde, the president of the Partnership for New York City, which has been a key proponent of the plan. She cheered Ms. Hochul for having the courage to carry out the unpopular policy.

''Every city where congestion pricing has been put in place, the public opposed it until they experienced it,'' she said. ''You have to appreciate how much time you are saving, how much safer and more pleasant the streets and subways are, that buses can move rapidly, et cetera.''

It's a gamble that Ms. Hochul has barely enough political capital to make. A Siena poll in August found that just a third of New Yorkers had a favorable view of the governor. One of the few topics that polled less favorably than she did was congestion pricing itself.

Republicans have already begun to use the issue to make their case that Democrats are not reliable on economic issues -- an argument that may be particularly potent outside New York City, where voters have consistently told pollsters that the high cost of living was a top concern.

Some have already called on Mr. Trump to stop the program. But they also hope to use the issue as a wedge to drive cracks deeper still into Democrats' coalition ahead of 2026.

Others see in Ms. Hochul's announcement a promise kept.

Andrew Gounardes, a Democrat, was elected to the State Senate in 2019 to represent a largely ***working-class*** district in South Brooklyn, in part on his pledge to get congestion pricing done.

''There wasn't a single accessible subway station anywhere in my district,'' he recalled. He secured promises for improvements -- including an elevator at the 18th Avenue station of the D train, which serves Dyker Heights, Bensonhurst and other neighborhoods. But when congestion pricing was put on hold, so was the elevator project.

Mr. Gounardes hopes that Ms. Hochul's decision will allow Democrats to salvage some of the trust that had been lost with transit riders.

''If you lead with the benefits we're going to get from this, that it will help the vast majority of commuters -- that's a winning argument,'' he said. ''We've lost the ability to do that for the last six months.''

Mayor Adams said on Friday that he ''strongly supports'' the governor's decision to reinstate congestion pricing, saying that the city must address traffic and pollution. In a radio interview with 94.7 The Block, the mayor disagreed that her decision will cost the governor her re-election, saying that Ms. Hochul was helping move the city forward.

Even so, many Democrats worry that Mr. Trump has every intention to make good on his threats to kill or undermine congestion pricing by any means necessary, and they lament Ms. Hochul's decision to pause it in the first place.

State Senator Liz Krueger, who represents the Upper East Side and chairs the Senate Finance Committee, said that considerable angst could have been avoided had the plan proceeded in June as planned.

''It would have been up and running quite a while before this election was decided,'' she said, adding of Mr. Trump: ''I'm just not sure he would have noticed that much.''

Nicholas Fandos and Emma Fitzsimmons contributed reporting.Nicholas Fandos and Emma Fitzsimmons contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/15/nyregion/hochul-congestion-pricing-lawsuits.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/15/nyregion/hochul-congestion-pricing-lawsuits.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Gov. Kathy Hochul's decision to put congestion pricing back on the table at a lower price may complicate her own re-election in 2026. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHELLE V. AGINS/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A17.

**Load-Date:** November 16, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Why There’s a Fierce Pushback Against 5 N.Y.C. Ballot Proposals***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D9V-SBS1-JBG3-64C6-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 1, 2024 Friday 22:43 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1186 words

**Byline:** Jeffery C. MaysJeffery C. Mays is a Times reporter covering politics with a focus on New York City Hall.

**Highlight:** A broad coalition opposes the citywide questions placed on the ballot by Mayor Eric Adams’s charter revision commission, saying they weaken City Council power.

**Body**

A broad coalition opposes the citywide questions placed on the ballot by Mayor Eric Adams’s charter revision commission, saying they weaken City Council power.

Amid the festive sounds and alluring scents of food drifting through the Latin Night Market in Upper Manhattan, Ana María Archila, co-director of the New York Working Families Party, was engaged on a different agenda.

With Election Day nearing, Ms. Archila made the rounds to urge people to vote — not for the left-leaning candidates on her ballot line but against five charter revision proposals for New York City.

The five ballot questions have become a central battleground in a power struggle between Mayor Eric Adams and the City Council as Mr. Adams and his inner circle face [*federal indictments and several investigations*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-investigations.html). And in that fight, Ms. Archila knows where she stands.

“The mayor cannot be trusted to remake the balance of power in the city because what he has done is surround himself with people who are suspected of misusing and abusing their power,” Ms. Archila said.

Allies of the City Council, including 60 civil rights and community groups such as the Working Families Party and 50 elected officials, have launched a broad effort aimed at defeating the five measures. Since forming the No Power Grab NYC coalition a little over a month ago, the group has conducted dozens of rallies, text banks and voter outreach efforts.

In Jackson Heights, Queens, the coalition spoke to voters at a green market. There were canvassers at the Bronx Puerto Rican Day Parade earlier this month and at watch parties for the New York Mets and Liberty in Fort Greene and Williamsburg in Brooklyn.

A political nonprofit, New Yorkers Defending Democracy, spent $122,000 to oppose the measures, according to records from the Campaign Finance Board. And the group spent $32,000 for palm cards urging a vote in favor of Kamala Harris and Tim Walz; [*Proposition 1*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-investigations.html), a statewide measure to protect reproductive rights; and against the mayor’s ballot measures.

The group also spent [*$50,000 on an internet advertisement*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-investigations.html) that began: “Mayor Adams can’t be trusted with the power he has, so why give him more?”

The Adams administration has focused on voter education efforts on social media and ethnic and community media but is not allowed to direct voters to vote for or against the measures.

“The beauty of this process is that it’s the will of ***working-class*** New Yorkers who use their voices at the polls, and not elected officials, who ultimately decide what laws should be enshrined in the city’s charter,” said Liz Garcia, a spokeswoman for Mr. Adams.

The ballot referendums emerged from a new Charter Revision Commission that was [*hastily convened*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-investigations.html) in May by Mr. Adams. The move seemed orchestrated to counter the Council’s planned introduction of legislation that would have subjected 21 of the mayor’s commissioner-level appointments to the Council’s approval. [*Forming the commission*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-investigations.html) effectively knocked the Council’s measure, which required approval from voters, off the ballot.

Among the [*five ballot proposals*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-investigations.html), two would directly affect the way the Council passes laws. One measure would require the Council to give the mayor eight days’ notice before holding a hearing or voting on legislation. The measure would also require the Council to release fiscal impact statements about a particular bill earlier, while extending the deadline for the mayor to introduce the executive budget.

The other proposal would require the Council to give the mayor 30 days&#39; notice before voting on public safety legislation. The 30-day window, critics charge, would allow the mayor to interfere with or delay a bill.

Council leaders say the proposed change is a vindictive response to the Council’s passage of public safety laws that would ban solitary confinement in city jails and require the police to record more information about the people they stop. The mayor vetoed the bills, but the Council [*successfully overrode*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-investigations.html) his vetoes.

Diane Savino, a senior adviser to Mr. Adams who served as the executive director of the charter review commission, said the proposals would improve life for New Yorkers. She questioned the “disingenuous” motives of opponents.

Ms. Savino said that Proposition 2, which would allow the Sanitation Department to have more power to enforce rules in areas where they currently don’t have jurisdiction, would make the city cleaner in places like city parks. And adding cost estimates to Council bills, she said, would help better clarify the fuller implications of proposed legislation.

She said opponents of the proposals were not considering their merits. “For them, it’s purely about Eric Adams,” Ms. Savino said.

Mr. Adams is in the middle of pretrial hearings after being [*indicted in September*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-investigations.html) on five counts of bribery, conspiracy and fraud related to accepting luxury gifts, travel and illegal campaign donations from foreign nationals in exchange for favors.

Prosecutors have said they expect him to [*face additional charges*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-investigations.html). That investigation is just one of [*five state and federal investigations*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/nyregion/eric-adams-investigations.html) swirling around Mr. Adams and his inner circle.

“We know this administration is in turmoil, whether the mayor wants to acknowledge it or not,” said Bertha Lewis, the president of the Black Institute, who opposes four of the five ballot proposals.

Ms. Lewis views the measures — as well as Mr. Adams’s contentious City of Yes housing plan — as part of his effort to “create a legacy” for his administration. Her opposition to the housing plan led her to help organize a coalition called “City of Mess” to oppose it.

The procedural battle between the mayor and the Council shows no sign of stopping.

Adrienne Adams, the Council speaker, announced last week that she would form a commission of her own to “transparently and inclusively revise the City Charter” over several months. Ms. Adams will appoint a majority of the members.

And two state legislators from Manhattan, Liz Krueger, a senator, and Tony Simone, an assemblyman, have sponsored legislation designed to prevent Mr. Adams or another mayor from using the office’s powers in a similar way to usurp the Council’s authority.

“My gut is that at this moment in history, I’m not sure giving Eric Adams anything he asks for is a very good idea,” Ms. Krueger said.

At the night market, Ms. Archila appeared to win over Carlos Depaz, a portfolio manager. She told him that the measures were “designed to make the mayor’s office more powerful and the City Council less powerful.”

Mr. Depaz said he was unaware of the proposals but had held concerns about Mr. Adams’s management of the city even before he was indicted in September.

“I’m glad she explained what these propositions are all about because nobody would understand them,” said Mr. Depaz, adding that he planned to vote no. “The mayor that we have now is not the very best one, especially with everything that has happened.”

PHOTO: Ana María Archila, a director of the New York Working Families Party, canvassing the Latin Night Market in Upper Manhattan. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CAROLINA HIDALGO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A21.

**Load-Date:** November 1, 2024

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[***How the Democrats' Effort to Neutralize Immigration as a Campaign Issue Failed***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DF2-FKD1-JBG3-62X1-00000-00&context=1519360)

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November 16, 2024 Saturday

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 15

**Length:** 1490 words

**Byline:** By Jazmine Ulloa and Ruth Igielnik

**Body**

Democrats struggled to respond to real and manufactured challenges as voters grew more concerned over the number of people crossing the border.

Vice President Kamala Harris campaigned for the presidency on the toughest immigration platform of any Democrat in decades: She vowed to continue the Biden administrations's crackdown on asylum and to impose order on the southern border. She championed her record as a border-state prosecutor and her support of a bipartisan border bill that failed after former President Donald J. Trump urged Republicans to reject it.

But her message fell flat, as voters across the country doubted her resolve, associated her with the Biden administration's failures at the border or were simply won over by Mr. Trump's starkly xenophobic rhetoric.

His relentless portrayals of migrants crossing the southern border as an invading force, and Republicans' false claims that Democrats were welcoming migrants into the country in hopes that they would vote for their party, effectively overwhelmed Ms. Harris's milder attempts to neutralize the issue.

''I don't think she had a message on immigration, and even if she did, I wouldn't have believed it,'' said Kathy Maranville, 70, a systems analyst in Waverly, Ga., who described herself as a conservative.

In the suburbs of Houston and Atlanta, Republicans denounced undocumented migrants who were charged in the killings of girls and young women. In blue cities and states like Chicago and Massachusetts, they cast newly arrived foreigners as a drain on schools, housing and hospitals.

''It was one of the issues that invoked an emotional response from voters,'' said Ryan Williams, a Republican strategist and former spokesman and aide to Mitt Romney, who is now a Utah senator.

And it was one that Republicans could lay at Ms. Harris's feet: Early in President Biden's administration, he deputized Ms. Harris to tackle the root causes of migration, a thorny task that Mr. Trump's allies used to misleadingly criticize her as Mr. Biden's failed ''border czar.''

That made for ''a very easy messaging target,'' Mr. Williams said.

A priority for voters

Immigration was not the top issue on most voters' minds in the presidential election this year, according to exit polls and pre-election surveys, but it often came in as a close second. Border concerns, driven as much by real challenges as manufactured ones -- and wrapped up with voters' other worries about the economy, housing prices and crime -- built up an appetite for Mr. Trump's staunch isolationist approach. They helped make blue areas less blue and fueled rightward shifts across the country, pollsters and strategists said.

An exit poll conducted by Fox News and The Associated Press showed that about 20 percent of voters said immigration was the single most important issue for their ballot decision, more than the percentage of voters who named abortion as their top issue.

In North Carolina, Derrick Crews, 51, a registered Republican who said he had voted for Democrats and Republicans alike, was just the type of swing voter Ms. Harris's campaign tried to reach.

Mr. Crews, who has worked in law enforcement for 30 years, said he did not buy the Republican argument that Ms. Harris had been the ''border czar.'' But he nonetheless doubted her promise to fight traffickers and criminals at the border as she said she had as a prosecutor.

''You have been in office long enough,'' Mr. Crews said, addressing Ms. Harris and adding that she should have drawn on that prosecutorial experience more as vice president.

In Athens, Ga., an undocumented Venezuelan migrant is on trial on charges that include malice murder and aggravated assault in connection with the death of Laken Riley. Kelly Girtz, the city's Democratic mayor, said that ''any violent crime is horrible and a blight on the community.''

Mr. Girtz said that deaths like that of Ms. Riley, a 22-year-old nursing student whose killing in February became a political flashpoint, helped amplify the anger over immigration. Some of that frustration was based on practical concerns over the large number of people entering the country, but he said much of it could also be traced to false fears of immigrants.

Mr. Girtz, who spent the final stretch of the presidential race knocking on doors for Ms. Harris, said he agreed with residents who expressed a desire for an orderly process at the border. But he said he also found it difficult to counter many claims echoed on right-wing media that were not based on facts, including contentions that migrants were coming to take jobs that would otherwise be held by American citizens or that they would degrade communities.

''I would try to correct them, but I would be one voice trying to correct things that they would hear day in and day out from their television,'' Mr. Girtz said.

Immigrant rights activists and lawyers now girding for mass deportations and an expansion of detention under a second Trump administration attributed Mr. Trump's victory to uglier forces. ''The results of this election have demonstrated that xenophobia and racist hatred remain very present in this country,'' said Milka Uribe, a leader of Make the Road Action Pennsylvania, which focuses on mobilizing ***working-class*** Latinos.

Reversing course

Democrats have struggled for years to shore up their vulnerability on the issue of immigration. Shortly after taking office, President Biden rolled back restrictive Trump administration policies. But in the years that followed, as the number of people arriving at the southern border hit records, he reversed course and embraced some of the same measures he had previously derided.

During those early years of the Biden administration, Democrats mostly avoided talking about the issue.

Govs. Greg Abbott, Republican of Texas, and Ron DeSantis, Republican of Florida, forced Democrats to address it in late 2023 when they began shuttling migrants, in buses and airplanes, from the southern border to blue cities. Democratic mayors and governors scrambled to assemble temporary housing, medical care and social services, and pleaded with the Biden administration for help with paying for it all.

The messaging campaign by Republicans, on the other hand, was in lock step with Mr. Trump's arguments and echoed by candidates up and down the ballot. They blamed unchecked borders and immigrants for rising housing costs, increased crime and the flow of fentanyl into cities. Their warnings came not only in campaign ads and right-wing media, but also in courtrooms, state legislatures and the halls of Congress, as Republican-led legislatures sought to empower states to enforce immigration laws and curb access to voting.

Immigration Hub, a national group that backs progressive immigration policies, reported data from AdImpact, an ad tracking firm, this month that found that Democratic candidates, political action committees and other groups spent only $107 million on campaign ads about immigration from January to October this election cycle. Republicans and other groups spent $573 million on negative messaging about immigrants.

The right-wing messaging dovetailed with anti-immigrant narratives that had already been taking hold across Mexico and Latin America -- and spread to Latino communities in the United States that Democrats would come to count on. In May 2023, as Mr. Biden prepared to ease Mr. Trump's pandemic-era restrictions on asylum, YouTube influencers on the Mexican side of the border were depicting recently arrived Venezuelans as unruly, unwilling to work and a drag on local economies.

A shift in the electorate

Calvin Jillson, a political scientist at Southern Methodist University in Texas, said polling over the past year showed that more people were increasingly supportive of tightening the nation's borders.

Mr. Jillson said that Hispanic voters, particularly in communities along the border, were concerned that undocumented immigrants would take jobs and drive down wages. Those concerns, coupled with the perception that Democrats were letting too many people in, most likely led to major shifts among the electorate, he added.

More than half of voters supported building a border wall between the United States and Mexico, according to a New York Times/Siena College poll last month; that is an increase from 2016, when about 40 percent of voters supported the wall. And 57 percent of voters now say they support deporting immigrants living in the country illegally, including about one-third of Democrats and a majority of independents.

Mr. Crews, the law enforcement officer in North Carolina, said he knew immigration crackdowns damaged the ability of the police to build relationships with some communities. He was not entirely pleased with Mr. Trump's approach, he added, and preferred more moderation.

''But if I have to choose between the two extremes, I would choose Trump's extreme,'' he said.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/15/us/politics/kamala-harris-immigration-campaign-issue.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/15/us/politics/kamala-harris-immigration-campaign-issue.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Vice President Kamala Harris promised to take a tougher line on immigration, but the message failed to resonate with voters. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A15.

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**End of Document**



[***Why Trump Allies Say Immigration Hurts American Workers***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DGB-MY61-JBG3-6333-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** BUSINESS; economy

**Length:** 1663 words

**Byline:** Lydia DePillisLydia DePillis reports on the American economy. She has been a journalist since 2009, and can be reached at lydia.depillis@nytimes.com.

**Highlight:** JD Vance and others on the “new right” say limiting immigration will raise wages and give jobs to sidelined Americans. Many studies suggest otherwise.

**Body**

JD Vance and others on the “new right” say limiting immigration will raise wages and give jobs to sidelined Americans. Many studies suggest otherwise.

As President-elect Donald J. Trump’s second administration takes shape, his plans for a signature campaign promise are becoming clear: mass deportations of undocumented immigrants, including new detention centers, workplace raids and possibly the [*mobilization of the military*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/18/us/politics/trump-military-mass-deportation.html) to aid in expulsions.

Most economists are [*skeptical*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/18/us/politics/trump-military-mass-deportation.html) that this project will improve opportunities for ***working-class*** Americans. Mr. Trump and his allies don’t typically argue for purging undocumented immigrants on economic grounds; the case is more often about crimes committed by migrants, or simply a need to enforce the law.

But there is an intellectual movement behind immigration restriction that seeks to reshape the relationship between employers and their sources of labor. According to this rising conservative faction, most closely identified with Vice President-elect JD Vance, cutting off the supply of vulnerable foreigners will force employers to seek out U.S.-born workers.

“We cannot have an entire American business community that is giving up on American workers and then importing millions of illegal laborers,” Mr. Vance said in an [*interview with The New York Times*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/18/us/politics/trump-military-mass-deportation.html) in October, adding, “It’s one of the biggest reasons why we have millions of people who’ve dropped out of the labor force.”

Mr. Vance is correct that the share of men in their prime working years who are in the labor force — that is, either working or looking for work — has declined in recent decades, sliding during recessions and never totally recovering. (Women in that age group, 25 to 54 years old, are working at the highest levels on record.)

It seems like a simple equation: When fewer workers are available, employers have to try harder to compete for them. Certainly that dynamic played a role in the swift wage growth early in the pandemic, when people willing to do in-person jobs — waiters or nurses, for example — were in especially short supply.

And the surge in immigration in 2022 and 2023 did play a role in blunting inflation, by allowing businesses to fill open positions. Without that new work force, in some cases employers might have simply produced less, driving prices higher. In other cases, they might have brought more American workers off the sidelines with offers of even better pay and benefits.

That’s why members of [*Mr. Vance’s wing*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/18/us/politics/trump-military-mass-deportation.html) of the Republican Party — a group that sometimes calls itself the “new right” — have embraced restricting immigration in the name of helping American workers. Its most [*prominent exponent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/18/us/politics/trump-military-mass-deportation.html) is Oren Cass, chief economist at American Compass, a think tank that has positioned itself in opposition to the business-friendly elements of the traditional G.O.P.

“A situation where employers know they will have much less access to labor in general, and especially illegal, easily exploitable labor, the better the outcomes for workers in the labor market will be,” Mr. Cass said. “You can’t seriously claim to care about worker power and simultaneously suggest that high levels of low-wage immigration are good for workers who are here.”

This argument has had some academic support: The Harvard economist George Borjas has [*long argued*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/18/us/politics/trump-military-mass-deportation.html) that large waves of immigration have hurt workers without a college degree. Dr. Borjas’s conclusions have been [*widely*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/18/us/politics/trump-military-mass-deportation.html) [*disputed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/18/us/politics/trump-military-mass-deportation.html), but Stephen Miller, an immigration adviser to Mr. Trump, [*cited his work*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/18/us/politics/trump-military-mass-deportation.html) to defend restrictive policies in the first term.

The viewpoint also, however, bears some similarity to positions held by the Democratic Party in the 1980s and ’90s. Mr. Cass points to the conclusions of a bipartisan government commission in the 1990s, whose chairwoman was appointed by President Bill Clinton, that [*recommended tighter controls*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/18/us/politics/trump-military-mass-deportation.html) over immigration flows to protect American workers without college degrees. For the same reason, Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont, a progressive firebrand, [*opposed proposals in the 2000s*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/18/us/politics/trump-military-mass-deportation.html) that gave immigrants a path to citizenship and expanded guest worker programs.

A few factors started to change the political dynamics.

First, the research was evolving. New forms of empirical data analysis started to show that the Economics 101 version of immigration — more workers means lower wages — didn’t always hold true.

A recent [*synthesis of dozens of studies*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/18/us/politics/trump-military-mass-deportation.html) found that immigration had only a very slight negative impact on the wages of less-educated native-born workers. A [*comprehensive overview*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/18/us/politics/trump-military-mass-deportation.html) by the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering and Medicine found modest negative effects only for some earlier immigrants and for teenagers. A paper published this spring, whose authors included Giovanni Peri, an economist at the University of California, Davis, found that immigration had a [*positive*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/18/us/politics/trump-military-mass-deportation.html) [*impact*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/18/us/politics/trump-military-mass-deportation.html) on U.S. workers.

Why could that be? Immigrants don’t just add labor to an economy; they also add demand for goods and services, which creates jobs for other people. Also, those coming illegally tend to have low levels of education. The jobs they do, like working in meatpacking plants, allow more native-born workers to [*move into positions*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/18/us/politics/trump-military-mass-deportation.html) as supervisors, salespeople and accountants.

“It really matters how you ask the questions,” said Janice Fine, director of the Workplace Justice Lab at Rutgers University, who has long studied immigrants and the work force. “Neoclassical economists were modeling the relationship, but they weren’t going to particular labor markets in real time and looking at what had happened.”

Second, labor unions had figured out that it was possible to organize with immigrants. Those increasingly diversified organizations — including the Service Employees International Union, which represents immigrant-heavy sectors like janitorial work and health care — began to fight for protections for unauthorized workers, rather than to exclude them from the country.

In recent years, labor unions and politicians they support have argued for a path to legal status for those who have lived in the United States for years without authorization. They also generally support changes to guest worker programs, used in seasonal industries like agriculture, fishing, hospitality and landscaping, that would raise pay and allow workers to move around to different jobs. Such provisions could make employers less likely to use those programs to undercut wages for Americans.

[*That’s the approach*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/18/us/politics/trump-military-mass-deportation.html) Daniel Costa favors. He is the director of Immigration Law and Policy Research at the Economic Policy Institute, a think tank funded partly by labor unions that advocates greater resources for the Department of Labor to go after employers that violate wage and hour laws. The agency does so in a way that is blind to immigration status, lifting conditions for all workers.

“It’s employers that are using immigration to degrade wages and standards,” Mr. Costa said. “Immigrants are being used as a scapegoat and being blamed, while a whole slew of policies that would actually improve conditions for workers are being ignored.”

For a concrete example, take construction work. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, which represents workers on all kinds of building jobs, has long campaigned against labor brokers that allow general contractors to avoid liability for illegally employing undocumented immigrants through subcontractors. That practice puts union employers — and their workers — at a disadvantage.

Instead of calling for a government crackdown on immigrants, however, the union has backed measures that would create a path to legal status for those living in the United States without authorization. Work site raids and deportations, they argue, will only make immigrants less willing to stand up for their rights, eroding standards for everyone else.

“Our industry has always been an entry to the middle class for the immigrant work force,” said Matthew Capece, a representative of the union’s general president. “It’s needed, it’s here, they’re doing the work, so we need comprehensive immigration reform to bring them out from the shadows.”

That isn’t to say the labor-aligned left wants unfettered immigration. The A.F.L.-C.I.O. [*has backed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/18/us/politics/trump-military-mass-deportation.html) a [*commission*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/18/us/politics/trump-military-mass-deportation.html) that would adjust levels based on economic conditions, with fewer visas available when the economy is slow and more when it’s running hot.

But that is very different from what Mr. Trump and Mr. Vance have said they would do: remove everyone living here without authorization and seal the border to new arrivals. Mr. Cass has also argued for [*winding down*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/18/us/politics/trump-military-mass-deportation.html) guest worker programs entirely.

Doing so, they believe, would create more opportunities for the approximately five million men between the ages of 25 and 54 who would be working if employment rates remained at the peak reached in 1953. But a closer look at why those men are not working suggests that immigrants aren’t the problem.

Among working-age men without a college degree who are not working, [*a majority cite poor health or a disability*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/18/us/politics/trump-military-mass-deportation.html) as the reason, [*and some cite mental health issues*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/18/us/politics/trump-military-mass-deportation.html). Some of that probably stems from substance abuse. Injuries sustained from physical jobs and chronic conditions play a role as well.

That’s why Richard V. Reeves, who studies such issues as president of the American Institute for Boys and Men, doesn’t think that removing millions of immigrants from the labor force will on its own draw substantial numbers of less-educated native-born men back in.

“There are huge issues with their employability,” Dr. Reeves said. “It’s not like, by getting rid of the other guys, suddenly employers will say, ‘Oh, great, here’s this reserve army of labor sitting there, raring to go.’”

PHOTOS: JD Vance and others argue that limiting immigration will increase wages. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ARIANA DREHSLER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Oren Cass of American Compass, a conservative think tank and part of the so-called “New Right.” (B4) This article appeared in print on page B1, B4.

**Load-Date:** November 24, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Knife Attack Throws German City Into an Unwanted Spotlight***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CV0-M4M1-JBG3-60RP-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 7

**Length:** 1280 words

**Byline:** By Christopher F. Schuetze

**Body**

After the fatal stabbing, which prosecutors say was committed by a Syrian who was rejected for asylum, the city of Solingen finds itself at the center of a longstanding debate over migrants.

Two days after a deadly knife attack in the German city of Solingen, the youth wing of the far-right AfD party put out a call for supporters to stage a protest demanding the government do more to deport migrants denied asylum.

The authorities had identified the suspect in the stabbing spree that killed three people and wounded eight others as a Syrian man who was in the country despite having been denied asylum and who prosecutors suspected had joined the Islamic State. The attack tore at the fabric of the ethnically diverse, ***working-class*** city in the country's west.

But even before the right-wing protests had begun on Sunday, scores of counterprotesters had gathered in front of the group home that housed the suspect and other refugees. They carried banners that read, ''Welcome to refugees'' and ''Fascism is not an opinion, but a crime,'' and railed against those who would use the attack to further inflame an already fraught national debate over immigration and refugees.

The dueling protests -- not unlike those recently in Britain -- are emblematic of Germany's longstanding tug of war over how to deal with a large influx of asylum seekers in recent years. The country needs immigration to bolster its work force, but the government often finds itself on the defensive against an increasingly powerful AfD.

The party and its supporters are attempting to use the stabbing attack to bolster their broader anti-immigrant message, with some blaming the assault on ''uncontrolled migration'' even before the nationality of the suspect was known.

''They are trying to use this tragedy to foment fear,'' said Matthias Marsch, 67, a Solingen resident who was at Sunday's counterprotest and worries about a rightward drift in society. ''I'm here to stand against that.''

In the end, just 30 or so far-right youths showed up and unfurled a banner that read, ''Our People First,'' but their speeches were difficult to hear over the chants of the counterprotesters.

Germany has been among the European countries most welcoming to immigrants, but as the AfD has gained traction -- and as some local officials say they can no longer support the large number of asylum seekers -- even mainstream politicians have begun to shift their stance. Many are now focusing on failed deportations and backing tougher measures to deport migrants who have been denied asylum but find ways to remain in the country.

The attack in Solingen has intensified the deportation argument. The suspect, identified only as Issa Al H., per Germany's privacy rules, had managed to elude deportation after he was denied asylum. The right-wing is using that to argue that the government has lost control of immigration and, in this case, allowed a dangerous man to remain in the country.

Prosecutors are treating Friday's attack as an act of terrorism given the suspect's possible link to ISIS.

The attack has dominated headlines for days. ''Why was the alleged Solingen assassin still in Germany?'' asked the mainstream Süddeusche Zeitung newspaper -- the same question raised by many other news organizations. Bild, Germany's most widely read tabloid, ran an article suggesting that some German laws made the country a '''paradise' for terrorists.'' And Der Stern, a glossy weekly, ran a column titled: ''Not everyone who addresses the problems of immigration is a Nazi.''

Chancellor Olaf Scholz, who faces voters next year and whose party and coalition have been bleeding support, visited the site of the attack on Monday morning and focused in good part on the issue of deportations.

''We will have to do everything we can to ensure that those who cannot and should not remain here in Germany are sent back,'' he told reporters, pointing to changes his government had already approved that have sped up deportations.

For Solingen, a ***working-class*** city, it has been difficult being at the center of the immigration debate. For years, the city had relied on immigrants to work in manufacturing jobs and the service industry, leading to a population that includes about 20 percent of residents who are not German citizens and many more who hold dual citizenship.

The attack, and the media spotlight, also reopened old wounds. For a time, Solingen had been a byword for racist violence after a neo-Nazi arson attack against a Turkish family killed five, including three children, in 1993.

The stabbing attack occurred during a city festival, and Philipp Müller, who had organized the musical acts that were part of the festivities, said: ''It's too early for politics. We first need to mourn.''

The task of telling festivalgoers what was happening had fallen to Mr. Müller, who climbed onto the stage and told the shocked audience members that they needed to leave, but carefully, since the attacker was still on the loose. In the confusion, the assailant had managed to slip away, discarding a six-inch kitchen knife, officials said; the suspect gave himself up during an expansive manhunt a day later.

Solingen is in North Rhine-Westphalia State, and Hendrick Wüst, the state governor, also railed against what he called ''attempts to instrumentalize'' the attack and to make Solingen ''a political stage.'' ''Stay away from here, leave the people alone, leave this city alone,'' he said at a news conference.

For now, that seems unlikely. The attack, coming just a week before the AfD could become the strongest political force in two states in the eastern part of the country, has rattled German politics.

The details of the suspect's relatively short stay in Germany fit neatly with the far-right's claims that Germany has lost control over the many refugees it hosts.

The suspect came to Germany late in 2022 and was scheduled to be deported in 2023 to Bulgaria, where he first entered the European Union and, under the bloc's rules, where he was supposed to file his asylum claim.

But when officers showed up at the refugee center where he was living, he was nowhere to be found and his deportation was quietly dropped, according to the newsmagazine Der Spiegel and later confirmed by Herbert Reul, the interior minister of North Rhine-Westphalia.

Because the six-month limit for deportation to Bulgaria had lapsed without further attempts to deport him, the suspect was ultimately given a special protected status accorded to people who cannot be returned to their home countries because of the risk of physical harm, according to Der Spiegel and Mr. Reul. He was then officially able to register to live in refugee housing in downtown Solingen, where he moved in September of 2023, according to the report.

Last year, more than 70,000 refugees were given such protected status, according to official figures. A recent court decision challenged the notion that all people coming from Syria would face undue danger if sent home.

The fallout from the attack has shaken other immigrants who fear they will be lumped together with the minority who commit crimes.

Emran Gadi, 34, shares those worries. He moved to Solingen from Serbia with his parents when he was a baby and went to watch the chancellor's visit on Monday. He said that since the attack, he feels as if some people look at him with suspicion.

Asked what he thinks about the debate on immigration, he said: ''You are asking the wrong person, because we came here as refugees ourselves and I know what it is to come as a refugee from war.''

Then he added, ''But people who can't integrate or adapt simply don't belong.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/27/world/europe/germany-solingen-migration-far-right.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/27/world/europe/germany-solingen-migration-far-right.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Far-right supporters marching in Solingen, Germany, on Monday. A Syrian man is accused of stabbing three people to death last week at a festival in the city. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CHRISTOPHER NEUNDORF/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK)

A memorial for the victims. About 20 percent of Solingen's residents are not German citizens. (PHOTOGRAPH BY WOLFGANG RATTAY/REUTERS) This article appeared in print on page A7.

**Load-Date:** August 28, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Is the Urban Shift Toward Trump Really About Democratic Cities in Disarray?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DKB-8VP1-DXY4-X3NY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** UPSHOT

**Length:** 1939 words

**Byline:** Emily Badger and Alicia ParlapianoEmily Badger writes about cities and urban policy for The Times from Washington. She&amp;#8217;s particularly interested in housing, transportation and inequality &amp;#8212; and how they&amp;#8217;re all connected.

**Highlight:** Big cities have faced serious problems lately. But there’s little evidence those problems are what drove voters to the right in November.

**Body**

Big cities have faced serious problems lately. But there’s little evidence those problems are what drove voters to the right in November.

The presidential election has raised an uncomfortable possibility for big American cities, most of them run by Democrats.

Voters in the largest urban counties moved more as a group toward Donald J. Trump since the 2020 election than the nation did as a whole, with eye-popping shifts in New York, Los Angeles, Miami and Boston.

That shift may reflect not just the sour national mood, [*Democratic strategists*](https://x.com/lis_smith/status/1854712146153582712?s=51) [*and commenters*](https://x.com/lis_smith/status/1854712146153582712?s=51) [*have warned*](https://x.com/lis_smith/status/1854712146153582712?s=51), but a backlash to big cities themselves — their intractable housing costs, their homeless camps and migrant waves, their pandemic-era disruptions and long school closures. Perhaps a rising share of urban voters has rejected all that.

The theory proposes a kind of reverse-coattails effect: that local Democratic governance is dragging down the party nationally.

“It’s hard for Democrats to go out and make the case that we’re the party of good government, and Republicans are the party of chaos, when you have very visual examples of cities that look like they are ungovernable, or haven’t been governed well,” said Lis Smith, a Democratic strategist who has worked on presidential and mayoral campaigns.

A closer look at county-level results, however, offers little sign that urban woes were a primary driver of this rightward shift. Cities, rather, are the places where nationwide trends in this election stand out: Mr. Trump [*improved the most with nonwhite voters*](https://x.com/lis_smith/status/1854712146153582712?s=51), and they live in big cities in big numbers. We can see that by revisiting the above chart.

If local urban dynamics were what influenced voters, independent of these demographics, we would expect voters in areas with more extreme conditions — faster rent hikes, more asylum seekers, longer school closures, growing homeless populations — to shift more toward Mr. Trump.

Our analysis found some local factors that did help fill in gaps race can’t explain, to a modest degree. But most measures of urban ills we examined simply didn’t do that.

A clear demographic pattern

If urban voters were rejecting liberal overreach or social disorder in their cities, we might expect that to show up as shifts toward Mr. Trump in Seattle, Minneapolis and Portland, Ore., three places with [*disruptive pandemic-era protests*](https://x.com/lis_smith/status/1854712146153582712?s=51) and [*progressive policy*](https://x.com/lis_smith/status/1854712146153582712?s=51) [*experiments*](https://x.com/lis_smith/status/1854712146153582712?s=51).

But when we look at all 68 urban core counties — [*counties encompassing what we would think of as the “inner cities”*](https://x.com/lis_smith/status/1854712146153582712?s=51) of the nation’s largest metropolitan areas — the Minneapolis, Portland and Seattle areas notably didn’t shift much at all. They’re also among the least diverse:

Among these urban counties, how much they shifted toward Mr. Trump is correlated with how diverse their population is. At one end, Allegheny County, where Pittsburgh is, has the lowest nonwhite population share and made no shift at all. At the other, the Bronx and Miami have the highest nonwhite share and made large shifts toward Mr. Trump.

It’s possible that dissatisfaction with city conditions is part of what has pushed some Black, Asian and Hispanic voters away from Democrats, or to stay home on Election Day (a number of those voters who sat out this election [*may not have voted Democratic*](https://x.com/lis_smith/status/1854712146153582712?s=51) even if they had gone to the polls). But similar shifts happened outside of cities, especially in places with more Hispanic residents.

“That shifting was happening everywhere — so it’s happening in Lawrence, Mass., as much as it’s happening in the Rio Grande Valley, it’s happening in the Central Valley of California, it’s happening in Grand Rapids and Detroit,” said Carlos Odio, a co-founder of Equis Research, a Democratic-leaning group that focuses on Latino voters. “These places are so different that the only thing they have in common is that the kinds of people who are switching, they identify as Hispanic.”

He and other researchers and pollsters will now spend months trying to understand why ties have broadly loosened between Hispanic voters and the Democratic Party. But the answer is probably not a story that fits in New York but fails along the Rio Grande.

In cities where more granular precinct data is available, the same demographic pattern [*recurs at the neighborhood scale*](https://x.com/lis_smith/status/1854712146153582712?s=51): Overall, Mr. Trump was most popular in precincts where white residents were the largest group by population, but he made the smallest gains in such places this year. The broadest gains he made were often in Hispanic neighborhoods, whether they were predominantly Mexican, Puerto Rican or Dominican.

Among core urban counties, some voting differences clearly can’t be explained by basic diversity numbers. Why did Brooklyn, an East Coast liberal enclave, shift 11 points more than Washington, D.C., another East Coast liberal enclave with a similar share of nonwhite residents? Why did the Detroit area shift so much more than Milwaukee, when both are similarly diverse and subject to swing-state dynamics?

There are also nuances within racial and ethnic groups, white voters included. Detroit’s white population differs from Milwaukee’s — Wayne County, Mich., has one of the country’s largest communities of Arab Americans, [*who broke away from Democrats*](https://x.com/lis_smith/status/1854712146153582712?s=51) over the war in Gaza (census data currently counts people of Middle Eastern and North African descent [*as white*](https://x.com/lis_smith/status/1854712146153582712?s=51)). Washington’s white voters also differ from Brooklyn’s. The nation’s capital, which shifted less than one point toward Mr. Trump, has the lowest share of white ***working-class*** adults of all of these urban counties.

Other potential factors

There is no denying that over the past four years, many big cities have faced acute problems distinct from the surge in inflation that angered voters nationwide.

To test whether those ills were related to the rightward shifts, we compiled data on the [*local cost of living*](https://x.com/lis_smith/status/1854712146153582712?s=51); [*growth in rents*](https://x.com/lis_smith/status/1854712146153582712?s=51) and [*home prices*](https://x.com/lis_smith/status/1854712146153582712?s=51); [*new housing permits*](https://x.com/lis_smith/status/1854712146153582712?s=51); and [*homelessness*](https://x.com/lis_smith/status/1854712146153582712?s=51). We looked at where migrants have settled, using [*court records from federal deportation cases*](https://x.com/lis_smith/status/1854712146153582712?s=51). We considered [*long pandemic school closures*](https://x.com/lis_smith/status/1854712146153582712?s=51). To identify where residents may have been disaffected enough to pack up and leave, we measured which urban counties had lost population share since 2019. We also considered the places [*hit hardest by Covid deaths*](https://x.com/lis_smith/status/1854712146153582712?s=51).

Then we modeled whether these factors were able to predict how an urban county voted in the election.

Some data was incomplete, and many of these variables overlap, making it difficult to disentangle their effects statistically. When we sized them up individually, only some of these factors correlated with election results. After we controlled for race, those effects faded.

Three measures, looked at together, did help to fill in some of the differences between urban counties that remained after considering race: the share of white adults without a college degree, the local cost of living and migrant arrivals. But race still remained far and away the most important factor.

In an election year when voters were broadly upset about inflation, perhaps it mattered more in big cities, often already expensive places to live. But it doesn’t appear that voters shifted more in places where housing costs had risen the most. Big cities are also places where homelessness and high rents are longtime issues, said Stephen Eide, a senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute. That might make it less likely they can explain recent political changes.

Several of the counties that shifted significantly to the right also received among the most migrants since 2021, including Miami-Dade in Florida, much of New York City, and Essex and Union Counties in New Jersey. (This is also another difference between Brooklyn and Washington.)

Counties with long school closures did shift more toward Mr. Trump nationwide than counties where school returned to normal faster. But after accounting for race, the effect largely disappears. Because long closures happened broadly across big cities ([*often reflecting the concerns*](https://x.com/lis_smith/status/1854712146153582712?s=51) [*of nonwhite families*](https://x.com/lis_smith/status/1854712146153582712?s=51)), they also can’t explain the voting differences among urban counties. For example, highly diverse New York, San Francisco, Baltimore, Atlanta and New Orleans had widely varying election shifts. But all of them had long school closures.

One other factor we didn’t measure is crime, given that crime data is particularly spotty and difficult to compare across places. In politics, perceptions of crime may also matter more than actual crime, and the two trends often [*point in different directions*](https://x.com/lis_smith/status/1854712146153582712?s=51). So we don’t dismiss that crime fears may influence voters in a presidential election; we just can’t measure them.

Our overall analysis doesn’t mean that urban residents are unbothered by local problems. But that anger may not have much to do with choosing the country’s president.

If anything, said the Vanderbilt political scientist John Sides, U.S. politics have become increasingly nationalized — dominated by issues and dynamics at the national level. The theory of Democratic cities in disarray implies the opposite: that in big cities, a national election was actually localized.

Imagine a scenario, Mr. Sides suggested, where cities still experienced the same problems — subway crime in New York, a housing crisis in Los Angeles — but there had been no nationwide surge in inflation. Who wins that presidential race in a different national environment? Quite likely the Democrat, he said, and then perhaps people wouldn’t be having this same conversation.

Some urban voters did clearly express frustration with local conditions this year — in local elections. In San Francisco, they [*voted out a moderate Democratic mayor*](https://x.com/lis_smith/status/1854712146153582712?s=51). In neighboring Alameda County, they [*recalled a progressive district attorney and the mayor of Oakland*](https://x.com/lis_smith/status/1854712146153582712?s=51), who was also [*under investigation by the F.B.I.*](https://x.com/lis_smith/status/1854712146153582712?s=51) In Los Angeles, [*another progressive prosecutor*](https://x.com/lis_smith/status/1854712146153582712?s=51) was voted out.

But none of those counties shifted further to the right than we might expect given their demographics.

About the data

To conduct our analysis, we used election results provided by The Associated Press as of Nov. 27, excluding counties that had reported less than 94 percent of their votes (that threshold was set to capture counties in New York City). We matched that data to historical election results, demographic data from the 2018-2022 American Community Survey, and a series of other metrics:

[*Cost of living*](https://x.com/lis_smith/status/1854712146153582712?s=51), 2022

[*Rent prices*](https://x.com/lis_smith/status/1854712146153582712?s=51) Change, 2020-24

[*Home prices*](https://x.com/lis_smith/status/1854712146153582712?s=51) Change, 2020-23

[*New housing permits*](https://x.com/lis_smith/status/1854712146153582712?s=51) Total per capita, 2019-23

[*Homelessness*](https://x.com/lis_smith/status/1854712146153582712?s=51) Change per capita, 2021-24

[*Migrants*](https://x.com/lis_smith/status/1854712146153582712?s=51) Total per capita, 2021-24

[*Pandemic school closures*](https://x.com/lis_smith/status/1854712146153582712?s=51) The share of districts in each county, weighted by enrollment, that offered in-person classes five days a week in March 2021, a full year after the pandemic began.

[*Population loss*](https://x.com/lis_smith/status/1854712146153582712?s=51) Change in county population, 2019-23 (only for about 800 large counties)

[*Covid deaths*](https://x.com/lis_smith/status/1854712146153582712?s=51) Total per capita, April 2020 to June 2023

Not all data was available for every county, and most measures were missing for Connecticut, which [*adopted new counties in 2024*](https://x.com/lis_smith/status/1854712146153582712?s=51).

To identify cities in our analysis, we focused on counties considered “urban core” in a [*commonly used classification created by the C.D.C.*](https://x.com/lis_smith/status/1854712146153582712?s=51)

To measure the correlation between the electoral shift in each county and each of these factors, we added the variables individually and collectively to a simple linear regression. We created models for all counties and just urban counties, and tested each variable before and after accounting for race.

Robert Gebeloff, Ethan Singer and Dana Goldstein contributed research. Aatish Bhatia contributed production.

Robert Gebeloff, Ethan Singer and Dana Goldstein contributed research. Aatish Bhatia contributed production.

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[***Despite Lowering Toll to $9, Hochul May Find a Higher Political Cost***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DDV-HHW1-JBG3-61TK-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** NYREGION

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**Byline:** Grace Ashford, Grace Ashford covers New York government and politics for The Times.

**Highlight:** Gov. Kathy Hochul’s move to revive congestion pricing in New York has energized her Republican opponents, giving them fodder to fight her re-election in 2026.

**Body**

Gov. Kathy Hochul’s move to revive congestion pricing in New York has energized her Republican opponents, giving them fodder to fight her re-election in 2026.

When Gov. Kathy Hochul of New York [*brought congestion pricing to a screeching halt*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/09/nyregion/hochul-congestion-pricing.html) in June, many speculated that the decision was politically motivated.

Ms. Hochul had pledged to do everything in her power to support Democrats in November, particularly in key House races in the Hudson Valley and on Long Island, where the party lost ground in the 2022 midterms, and where the tolling plan was particularly toxic.

The governor insisted that economics, not politics, was behind her decision. Even so, with congestion pricing off the table, New York was one of the few states where [*Democrats gained House seats*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/nyregion/democrats-house-ny.html).

But now Ms. Hochul’s decision on Thursday to [*reinstate the plan*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/14/nyregion/congestion-pricing-nyc-hochul.html), even at a deeply discounted price, may have brought some risk to another election: her own, in 2026.

Emboldened by their electoral victories, Republicans pledged to do whatever was necessary to stop the plan, while suburban Democrats on Long Island and in the [*Hudson Valley*](https://x.com/PatRyanUC/status/1856807284489253095) dismissed the toll reduction — to $9 for most drivers, from $15 — as insufficient.

Even some progressive Democrats who favor congestion pricing regard the new plan with some skepticism, noting the questionable math behind the promise that New York will still get 100 percent of the financial benefit from the program, even though it will be [*charging only 60 percent of the original toll to start*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/14/nyregion/congestion-pricing-nyc.html).

And while the move did earn the approval of key constituencies — chief among them New York City’s business and real estate communities, as well as labor, good-government groups and Mayor Eric Adams — it also set in motion a series of new and renewed challenges in the courts as well as from the incoming president, Donald J. Trump.

At least nine lawsuits have been filed over congestion pricing, including one from a fellow Democratic governor, Philip D. Murphy of New Jersey.

Perhaps most ominous is the opposition of Mr. Trump, who called the tolling scheme “the most regressive tax known to womankind” and warned that it would make it “virtually impossible” for New York to recover economically from the coronavirus pandemic.

Both Ms. Hochul and Mr. Trump have been largely optimistic about their ability to work together to improve the lives of New Yorkers. But the tolling plan — which Ms. Hochul said would go into effect by early January and generate $500 million a year to support the Metropolitan Transportation Authority’s capital infrastructure spending plan — has quickly emerged as a flashpoint.

“She supposedly had a very nice conversation with President Trump, when she indicated he wanted to help fix and beautify our transit system,” Representative Nicole Malliotakis, Republican of Staten Island, a vocal opponent of the plan, said. “Why poke him in the eye trying to jam this through right before he takes office?”

Other Republican opponents include Representative Mike Lawler, who is actively considering challenging Ms. Hochul in the governor’s race. In recent days, Mr. Lawler, whose district includes Rockland County and the northern part of Westchester County, began a full attack on congestion pricing.

He held a news conference at the foot of the Verrazzano-Narrows Bridge, which connects Staten Island and Brooklyn; wrote a letter urging Mr. Trump to take action; and accused Ms. Hochul of trying to “pick the pockets of New Yorkers to bail out the corrupt M.T.A.’s waste, fraud and abuse.”

Bruce Blakeman, the Nassau County executive who is largely expected to seek higher office or a Trump administration position, called his own news conference on Thursday to denounce the revived congestion pricing program.

“The governor has a tin ear to the issues that are important to people who live in this state,” Mr. Blakeman said in an interview. “It’s a tax on hardworking families, it’s a tax on students, it’s a tax on first responders.”

But in her announcement on Thursday, the governor said that she saw congestion pricing as the only way to save the city’s subway system.

“We have to do this,” Ms. Hochul said. “It’s economically essential that we have this lifeblood of New York City fully functioning, not just for the next couple years but for decades to come.”

Democrats spent more than a decade crafting the original congestion pricing scheme, which many see as their best hope for funding the Metropolitan Transportation Authority and addressing the gridlock that has come to serve as a metaphor for New Yorkers’ frustrations.

Over those years, countless hours have been spent studying, debating and planning for the program, initially authorized under former Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo.

When Ms. Hochul paused the program in June, she said that the planned $15 toll was simply too high for working New Yorkers to bear, a decision that frustrated both supporters and opponents.

“Traffic is part of what contributes to the sense that the quality of life in the city is diminishing,” said Kathryn Wylde, the president of the Partnership for New York City, which has been a key proponent of the plan. She cheered Ms. Hochul for having the courage to carry out the unpopular policy.

“Every city where congestion pricing has been put in place, the public opposed it until they experienced it,” she said. “You have to appreciate how much time you are saving, how much safer and more pleasant the streets and subways are, that buses can move rapidly, et cetera.”

It’s a gamble that Ms. Hochul has barely enough political capital to make. A Siena poll in August found that just a third of New Yorkers had a favorable view of the governor. One of the few topics that polled less favorably than she did was congestion pricing itself.

Republicans have already begun to use the issue to make their case that Democrats are not reliable on economic issues — an argument that may be particularly potent outside New York City, where voters have consistently told pollsters that the high cost of living was a top concern.

Some have already called on Mr. Trump to stop the program. But they also hope to use the issue as a wedge to drive cracks deeper still into Democrats’ coalition ahead of 2026.

Others see in Ms. Hochul’s announcement a promise kept.

Andrew Gounardes, a Democrat, was elected to the State Senate in 2019 to represent a largely ***working-class*** district in South Brooklyn, in part on his pledge to get congestion pricing done.

“There wasn’t a single accessible subway station anywhere in my district,” he recalled. He secured promises for improvements — including an elevator at the 18th Avenue station of the D train, which serves Dyker Heights, Bensonhurst and other neighborhoods. But when congestion pricing was put on hold, so was the elevator project.

Mr. Gounardes hopes that Ms. Hochul’s decision will allow Democrats to salvage some of the trust that had been lost with transit riders.

“If you lead with the benefits we’re going to get from this, that it will help the vast majority of commuters — that’s a winning argument,” he said. “We’ve lost the ability to do that for the last six months.”

Mayor Adams said on Friday that he “strongly supports” the governor’s decision to reinstate congestion pricing, saying that the city must address traffic and pollution. In a radio interview with 94.7 The Block, the mayor disagreed that her decision will cost the governor her re-election, saying that Ms. Hochul was helping move the city forward.

Even so, many Democrats worry that Mr. Trump has every intention to make good on his threats to kill or undermine congestion pricing by any means necessary, and they lament Ms. Hochul’s decision to pause it in the first place.

State Senator Liz Krueger, who represents the Upper East Side and chairs the Senate Finance Committee, said that considerable angst could have been avoided had the plan proceeded in June as planned.

“It would have been up and running quite a while before this election was decided,” she said, adding of Mr. Trump: “I’m just not sure he would have noticed that much.”

Nicholas Fandos and Emma G. Fitzsimmons contributed reporting.

Nicholas Fandos and Emma G. Fitzsimmons contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Gov. Kathy Hochul’s decision to put congestion pricing back on the table at a lower price may complicate her own re-election in 2026. (PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHELLE V. AGINS/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A17.

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**End of Document**



[***How Harris’s Effort to Neutralize Immigration as a Campaign Issue Failed***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DDX-C6V1-DXY4-X3BV-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** Jazmine Ulloa and Ruth IgielnikJazmine Ulloa is a national politics reporter for The Times, covering the 2024 presidential campaign. She is based in Washington.

**Highlight:** Democrats struggled to respond to real and manufactured challenges as voters grew more concerned over the number of people crossing the border.

**Body**

Democrats struggled to respond to real and manufactured challenges as voters grew more concerned over the number of people crossing the border.

Vice President Kamala Harris campaigned for the presidency on the toughest immigration platform of any Democrat in decades: She vowed to continue the Biden administrations’s crackdown on asylum and to impose order on the southern border. She championed her record as a border-state prosecutor and her support of a bipartisan border bill that failed after former President Donald J. Trump urged Republicans to reject it.

But her message fell flat, as voters across the country doubted her resolve, associated her with the Biden administration’s failures at the border or were simply won over by Mr. Trump’s [*starkly xenophobic rhetoric*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/19/us/politics/trump-immigration-closing-message.html).

His relentless portrayals of migrants crossing the southern border as an invading force, and Republicans’ false claims that Democrats were welcoming migrants into the country in hopes that they would vote for their party, effectively overwhelmed Ms. Harris’s milder attempts to neutralize the issue.

“I don’t think she had a message on immigration, and even if she did, I wouldn’t have believed it,” said Kathy Maranville, 70, a systems analyst in Waverly, Ga., who described herself as a conservative.

In the suburbs of Houston and Atlanta, Republicans denounced undocumented migrants who were charged in the killings of girls and young women. In blue cities and states like Chicago and Massachusetts, they cast newly arrived foreigners as a drain on schools, housing and hospitals.

“It was one of the issues that invoked an emotional response from voters,” said Ryan Williams, a Republican strategist and former spokesman and aide to Mitt Romney, who is now a Utah senator.

And it was one that Republicans could lay at Ms. Harris’s feet: Early in President Biden’s administration, he deputized Ms. Harris to [*tackle the root causes of migration*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/19/us/politics/trump-immigration-closing-message.html), a thorny task that Mr. Trump’s allies used to misleadingly criticize her as Mr. Biden’s [*failed “border czar.”*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/19/us/politics/trump-immigration-closing-message.html)

That made for “a very easy messaging target,” Mr. Williams said.

A priority for voters

Immigration was not the top issue on most voters’ minds in the presidential election this year, according to exit polls and pre-election surveys, but it often [*came in as a close second*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/19/us/politics/trump-immigration-closing-message.html). Border concerns, driven as much by real challenges as manufactured ones — and wrapped up with voters’ other worries about the economy, housing prices and crime — built up an appetite for Mr. Trump’s staunch isolationist approach. They helped make [*blue areas less blue*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/19/us/politics/trump-immigration-closing-message.html) and fueled rightward shifts across the country, pollsters and strategists said.

An [*exit poll conducted by Fox News and The Associated Press*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/19/us/politics/trump-immigration-closing-message.html) showed that about 20 percent of voters said immigration was the single most important issue for their ballot decision, more than the percentage of voters who named abortion as their top issue.

In North Carolina, Derrick Crews, 51, a registered Republican who said he had voted for Democrats and Republicans alike, was just the type of swing voter Ms. Harris’s campaign tried to reach.

Mr. Crews, who has worked in law enforcement for 30 years, said he did not buy the Republican argument that Ms. Harris had been the “border czar.” But he nonetheless doubted her promise to fight traffickers and criminals at the border as she said she had as a prosecutor.

“You have been in office long enough,” Mr. Crews said, addressing Ms. Harris and adding that she should have drawn on that prosecutorial experience more as vice president.

In Athens, Ga., an undocumented Venezuelan migrant is [*on trial on charges*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/19/us/politics/trump-immigration-closing-message.html) that include malice murder and aggravated assault in connection with [*the death of Laken Riley*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/19/us/politics/trump-immigration-closing-message.html). Kelly Girtz, the city’s Democratic mayor, said that “any violent crime is horrible and a blight on the community.”

Mr. Girtz said that deaths like that of Ms. Riley, a 22-year-old nursing student whose killing in February became a political flashpoint, helped amplify the anger over immigration. Some of that frustration was based on practical concerns over the large number of people entering the country, but he said much of it could also be traced to false fears of immigrants.

Mr. Girtz, who spent the final stretch of the presidential race knocking on doors for Ms. Harris, said he agreed with residents who expressed a desire for an orderly process at the border. But he said he also found it difficult to counter many claims echoed on right-wing media that were not based on facts, including contentions that migrants were coming to take jobs that would otherwise be held by American citizens or that they would degrade communities.

“I would try to correct them, but I would be one voice trying to correct things that they would hear day in and day out from their television,” Mr. Girtz said.

Immigrant rights activists and lawyers [*now girding for mass deportations*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/19/us/politics/trump-immigration-closing-message.html) and an expansion of detention under a second Trump administration attributed Mr. Trump’s victory to uglier forces. “The results of this election have demonstrated that xenophobia and racist hatred remain very present in this country,” said Milka Uribe, a leader of Make the Road Action Pennsylvania, which focuses on mobilizing ***working-class*** Latinos.

Reversing course

Democrats have struggled for years to shore up their vulnerability on the issue of immigration. Shortly after taking office, President Biden rolled back restrictive Trump administration policies. But in the years that followed, as the number of people arriving at the southern border hit records, he reversed course and embraced [*some of the same measures*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/19/us/politics/trump-immigration-closing-message.html) he had previously derided.

During those early years of the Biden administration, Democrats mostly [*avoided talking about the issue*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/19/us/politics/trump-immigration-closing-message.html).

Govs. Greg Abbott, Republican of Texas, and Ron DeSantis, Republican of Florida, forced Democrats to address it in late 2023 when they began shuttling migrants, in buses and airplanes, from the southern border to blue cities. Democratic mayors and governors scrambled to assemble temporary housing, medical care and social services, and [*pleaded with the Biden administration*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/19/us/politics/trump-immigration-closing-message.html) for help with paying for it all.

The messaging campaign by Republicans, on the other hand, was in lock step with Mr. Trump’s arguments and echoed by candidates up and down the ballot. They blamed unchecked borders and immigrants for rising housing costs, increased crime and the flow of fentanyl into cities. Their warnings came not only [*in campaign ads*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/19/us/politics/trump-immigration-closing-message.html) and [*right-wing media*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/19/us/politics/trump-immigration-closing-message.html), but also in courtrooms, state legislatures and the halls of Congress, as Republican-led legislatures sought to empower [*states to enforce immigration laws*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/19/us/politics/trump-immigration-closing-message.html) and [*curb access to voting*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/19/us/politics/trump-immigration-closing-message.html).

Immigration Hub, a national group that backs progressive immigration policies, reported data from AdImpact, an ad tracking firm, this month that found that Democratic candidates, political action committees and other groups spent only $107 million on campaign ads about immigration from January to October this election cycle. Republicans and other groups spent $573 million on negative messaging about immigrants.

The right-wing messaging dovetailed with anti-immigrant narratives that had already been taking hold across Mexico and Latin America — and spread to Latino communities in the United States that Democrats would come to count on. In May 2023, as Mr. Biden prepared to ease Mr. Trump’s pandemic-era restrictions on asylum, YouTube influencers on the Mexican side of the border were depicting recently arrived Venezuelans as unruly, unwilling to work and a drag on local economies.

A shift in the electorate

Calvin Jillson, a political scientist at Southern Methodist University in Texas, said polling over the past year showed that more people were increasingly supportive of tightening the nation’s borders.

Mr. Jillson said that Hispanic voters, particularly in communities along the border, were concerned that undocumented immigrants would take jobs and drive down wages. Those concerns, coupled with the perception that Democrats were letting too many people in, most likely led to major shifts among the electorate, he added.

More than half of voters supported building a border wall between the United States and Mexico, according to a [*New York Times/Siena College poll*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/19/us/politics/trump-immigration-closing-message.html) last month; that is an increase from 2016, when about 40 percent of voters supported the wall. And 57 percent of voters now say they support deporting immigrants living in the country illegally, including about one-third of Democrats and a majority of independents.

Mr. Crews, the law enforcement officer in North Carolina, said he knew immigration crackdowns damaged the ability of the police to build relationships with some communities. He was not entirely pleased with Mr. Trump’s approach, he added, and preferred more moderation.

“But if I have to choose between the two extremes, I would choose Trump’s extreme,” he said.

PHOTO: Vice President Kamala Harris promised to take a tougher line on immigration, but the message failed to resonate with voters. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A15.

**Load-Date:** November 16, 2024

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[***A Red-District Conqueror Wants Fellow Democrats to Look in the Mirror***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCC-2FH1-DXY4-X1K7-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** US; politics

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**Byline:** Annie KarniAnnie Karni is a congressional correspondent for The Times. She writes features and profiles, with a recent focus on House Republican leadership.

**Highlight:** Representative Marie Gluesenkamp Perez, who is on track to win re-election in a rural Washington district, says her party needs to stop demonizing others and change the candidates it supports.

**Body**

Representative Marie Gluesenkamp Perez, who is on track to win re-election in a rural Washington district, says her party needs to stop demonizing others and change the candidates it supports.

It’s not always fun to say I told you so.

For two years, Representative Marie Gluesenkamp Perez, a Democrat from a rural, red district in Washington State, [*has been criticizing her party*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/01/magazine/marie-gluesenkamp-perez.html) for being too dismissive of ***working-class*** voters.

That message appears to have helped Ms. Gluesenkamp Perez, long considered perhaps the most vulnerable Democrat in the House, defy the odds in this week’s election. Even with President-elect Donald J. Trump at the top of the ticket and winning her district for the third cycle in a row, [*she appears on track to beat the same candidate she faced two years ago*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/01/magazine/marie-gluesenkamp-perez.html), the far-right Republican and former Green Beret Joe Kent, by a larger margin.

She declared victory in a statement on Thursday night after a newspaper in her district called the election for her, although The Associated Press had yet to do so.

Preliminary results showed her outrunning Vice President Kamala Harris by seven percentage points in two of the reddest counties in her district, including the rural timber county of Wahkiakum.

Ms. Gluesenkamp Perez, 36, who owns an auto shop now run by her husband, has angered progressives for sometimes crossing party lines, like when she [*voted with Republicans to repeal*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/01/magazine/marie-gluesenkamp-perez.html) President Biden’s student loan forgiveness initiative. She argued that it didn’t do much for her district, where most people don’t have college degrees.

On Thursday, Ms. Gluesenkamp Perez spoke on the phone from her home in Washougal, Wash., while her toddler son napped. She discussed what lessons she draws from her own performance amid her party’s losses.

This interview has been lightly edited and condensed for clarity.

You were considered the most vulnerable House Democrat, and yet you are set to win by a fairly comfortable margin in a very difficult political environment. How did that happen, and what can Democrats learn from you?

I just refused to let this race be nationalized. It’s not about the message. It’s about my loyalty to my community. The messenger is the message in a lot of ways. My awareness of my community has been durable, and it’s reflective in my vote record. That is a huge asset.

The fundamental mistake people make is condescension. A lot of elected officials get calloused to the ways that they’re disrespecting people.

I truly love case work. The other week we had a case, somebody was marked as deceased by the I.R.S., their tax returns kept getting flagged. I got to bring someone back from the dead. We’re at like 1,600 cases and $3 million returned to constituents.

How do you think Democratic lawmakers have been disrespecting people?

I was talking to a woman who runs one of the largest labor and delivery wards. She said 40 percent of the babies there have at least one parent addicted to fentanyl. What is empathetic — to tell them that’s their problem, or to take border security seriously?

People are putting their groceries on their credit card. No one is listening to anything else you say if you try to talk them out of their lived experiences with data points from some economists.

Do you feel like saying “I told you so” to your colleagues who somehow failed to appeal to those lived experiences?

Sometimes I feel like people just can’t hear me, so I’m not going to bother saying it to some of these people. They’ve got to come to Jesus; I can’t make them do that. I’m very focused on here and loyal to here.

What I really hope happens is we change the kinds of candidates we’re supporting.

I hope that other normal people see me and decide they can run, too. There’s not one weird trick that’s going to fix the Democratic Party. It is going to take parents of young kids, people in rural communities, people in the trades running for office and being taken seriously.

As a woman who has highlighted your own story of visiting an abortion clinic when you had a miscarriage in your second trimester, how do you feel about the re-election of Donald J. Trump?

I guess I’m still wrapping my head around where to go and what to do. But even when the national current changes, we still have all the same issues here.

There was a very surreal moment at the end of the campaign and the [*ballot boxes in my district had just been bombed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/01/magazine/marie-gluesenkamp-perez.html). I came home, and my husband showed me a video of this herd of elk on our property. One was missing a leg. It’s this disease, chronic wasting disease, that turns them into zombies. There are real problems here, and you guys think the solution is bombing ballot boxes? Get a grip.

What were your thoughts about Vice President Kamala Harris’s campaign?

When Harris first came out, I was open to talking with her. I know she called a lot of my colleagues; she never called me. I’ve had one interaction with Harris, at her Naval Observatory Christmas party.

I’m not super comfortable at that kind of thing. I’d had a couple of beers, and I noticed that almost all of the garlands were plastic. My district grows a hell of a lot of Christmas trees. I was strong-armed into taking a picture. I said, “Madam Vice President, we grow those where I live.” She just walked away from me. There was kind of an eye roll, maybe. My thinking was, it does matter to people where I live. It’s the respect, the cultural regard for farmers. I didn’t feel like she understood what I was trying to say.

Congress may be a bleak place for Democrats next year. Do you think you’ll be able to get anything done?

I don’t see the [*Right to Repair Act*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/01/magazine/marie-gluesenkamp-perez.html) [a bill that would require that farm equipment manufacturers provide the tools, parts and instructions needed for consumers to repair the equipment themselves] as particularly partisan, or advocating for shop class in junior high as partisan. I have no idea what it will be like, but I have an obligation to keep working. A lot of people before me sacrificed for us to be able to have our own business, build a home, own land, so what are you going to do with the gift that you have?

Were you surprised by the election results?

I got yelled at every time I tried to say something about that. By everyone. I think I’m at the platinum level of bipartisanship, where I’ve gotten threats of physical violence from both sides. Weighing in on national politics is not my focus and not my job.

Do you think the Democratic Party will be forced to change after this crushing election cycle?

It’s a lot easier to look outward, to blame and demonize other people, instead of looking in the mirror and seeing what we can do. It is not fun to feel accountability. It requires a mental flexibility that’s painful. So who knows?

PHOTO: Representative Marie Gluesenkamp Perez, left, with a welding student at Clark College in Vancouver, Wash. (PHOTOGRAPH BY M. SCOTT BRAUER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A12.

**Load-Date:** November 11, 2024

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[***The Election’s Other Biggest Losers? Economists.; Peter Coy***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCD-PB71-DXY4-X1WC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 8, 2024 Friday 15:00 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1399 words

**Byline:** Peter CoyPeter Coy is a writer for the Opinion section of The Times, covering economics and business. Email him at .

**Highlight:** Democrats have to reckon with the fact that voters don’t want what economists think is best.

**Body**

Twenty-three Nobel laureates [*warned*](https://www.cnbc.com/2024/10/23/nobel-prize-winning-economists-donald-trump-agenda-endorse-harris.html) last month that Donald Trump’s agenda would “lead to higher prices, larger deficits and greater inequality.” I think they were right. But voters utterly ignored them.

This week’s election was a defeat not just for Vice President Kamala Harris and the Democratic Party, but also for the mainstream of the economics profession. On one issue after another — tariffs, taxes and immigration — Trump delighted in taking positions that would earn him an F in most economics courses. He also [*slammed*](https://www.cnbc.com/2024/10/23/nobel-prize-winning-economists-donald-trump-agenda-endorse-harris.html) the Federal Reserve, which is [*quite likely*](https://www.cnbc.com/2024/10/23/nobel-prize-winning-economists-donald-trump-agenda-endorse-harris.html) the nation’s biggest employer of economists (and maybe the world’s).

And voters ate it up. Economists were perceived as spokespeople for the power structure — if not outright harmful, then at least ignorable.

“The elites cannot come to grips with how alienated they are from the country,” Newt Gingrich, the former House speaker, who is an informal adviser to Trump, [*told*](https://www.cnbc.com/2024/10/23/nobel-prize-winning-economists-donald-trump-agenda-endorse-harris.html) The Times this week.

The agony for the Harris campaign is that Harris’s platform would actually have done a lot more for the ***working class*** than Trump’s ever will. It included measures to lower costs by increasing competition and to promote economic growth and prosperity through targeted investment. Trump touted populist measures like ending taxes on tips and Social Security, but also has less-discussed and not-so-populist plans for cutting taxes on corporations and easing up on antitrust enforcement.

President Biden made a big bet on what the commentator Matt Stoller [*called*](https://www.cnbc.com/2024/10/23/nobel-prize-winning-economists-donald-trump-agenda-endorse-harris.html) “deliverism” — the principle that if you run the economy right and deliver the things people need, particularly good jobs, the votes will follow. It didn’t happen: Voters turned Democrats out of the White House despite strong job growth and the defeat of the Covid-related inflationary surge that marred the beginning of Biden’s term.

For the Democratic Party, this is a moment of reckoning. Should Democrats stick to the [*economic platform*](https://www.cnbc.com/2024/10/23/nobel-prize-winning-economists-donald-trump-agenda-endorse-harris.html) of 2024, which on the whole is based on standard economic principles, with a few concessions to electoral politics such as promises of mortgage down payment assistance and fulminations against “nefarious price gouging”? Or should they go full-on populist to compete with Trump?

American history and the experience of other countries provide some useful reference points for today’s Democrats. During the Depression, President Franklin Roosevelt started his first term as a doctrinaire budget-balancer but soon went populist to fight off threats from Communists on one side and right-wing populists such as Huey Long and Father Charles Coughlin on the other. He inveighed against “economic royalists” while calling for higher taxes on the rich, a federal minimum wage and Social Security.

“There are times when some economic populism may in fact be the only way to forestall its much more dangerous cousin, political populism,” Dani Rodrik, an economist at Harvard’s Kennedy School of Government, [*wrote*](https://www.cnbc.com/2024/10/23/nobel-prize-winning-economists-donald-trump-agenda-endorse-harris.html) in 2018.

In Rodrik’s telling, both economic and political populists reject constraints on political power in service of “the people” whom they claim to represent. For political populists, those constraints include the separation of powers, an independent judiciary and a free press. For economic populists, the constraints on the person in power may, for example, be global trade rules, autonomous federal agencies and independent central banks.

The Democrats may indeed become more economically populist. “The Democratic Party, sick of losing elections, will become more populist,” Gad Levanon, the chief economist of the Burning Glass Institute, [*flatly predicted*](https://www.cnbc.com/2024/10/23/nobel-prize-winning-economists-donald-trump-agenda-endorse-harris.html) in a LinkedIn post the day after the election. He argued that Democrats would support more restrictions on immigration and higher tariffs while employing “stronger rhetoric against economic elites to emphasize benefits for the ‘common people.’”

If Levanon is right, the two major parties could wind up one-upping each other with increasingly populist measures. That would be unfortunate. Higher tariffs would slow economic growth and raise prices, no matter how many times Trump denies it. As for immigration, effective border controls make sense, but sharp restrictions on new arrivals and expulsion of people who are already in the country would leave millions of jobs unfilled and possibly unfillable.

But copying the Republican playbook isn’t the Democrats’ only option. Larry Diamond, a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution, [*wrote*](https://www.cnbc.com/2024/10/23/nobel-prize-winning-economists-donald-trump-agenda-endorse-harris.html) in 2020 that established democracies such as the United States can learn from younger ones how to fend off populism.

“People who are angry, frustrated or afraid will rationalize a lot of bad behavior from a leader who they believe has their back,” Diamond wrote. But he cited the results of what at the time were recent municipal elections in Istanbul, Budapest and Prague and of national elections in Slovakia and Greece to make the case that “liberal democrats can defeat populist parties and leaders if they have the right strategy.”

In both politics and economics, Democrats can win while holding fast to their values. The multipart strategy, according to Diamond: Don’t try to “out-polarize the charismatic ‘polarizer in chief.’” Be inclusive. Show humility. Offer nonideological solutions. “Don’t let the populist hijack nationalism.” “Offer hope.” And — this one is kind of funny — “don’t be boring.”

Andrea Kendall-Taylor and Carisa Nietsche of the Center for a New American Security in Washington [*offered similar advice*](https://www.cnbc.com/2024/10/23/nobel-prize-winning-economists-donald-trump-agenda-endorse-harris.html) that year. Don’t “overly rely on ‘educating’ the other side,” they wrote. Doing so “can accentuate polarization.”

“Create unifying and aspirational narratives, use blame attributions sparingly, be intentional about myth-busting, highlight solutions and emphasize their efficacy and avoid adopting the language of right-wing populists,” the authors wrote.

One other essential element, of course, is to deliver the goods. A lot of voters clearly believed that Biden and Harris didn’t do that. I get the anger about the high cost of housing, child care and other essentials. The U.S. economy is still far from perfect. On the other hand, the fiscal and monetary authorities adroitly avoided what could have been a protracted economic slump after Covid hit. That’s not a record to run away from.

When your balloon is sinking, there’s an understandable instinct to throw overboard everything that seems to be weighing you down. But even though voters clearly gave Biden (and hence Harris) low marks on the economy, I don’t think bad policies were what dragged them down. What dragged them down more than anything, I think, was the surge of inflation, which was an unfortunate but hard-to-avoid result of Covid, as [*I*](https://www.cnbc.com/2024/10/23/nobel-prize-winning-economists-donald-trump-agenda-endorse-harris.html) and [*others*](https://www.cnbc.com/2024/10/23/nobel-prize-winning-economists-donald-trump-agenda-endorse-harris.html) have written.

Maybe I’ve spent too much time around economists, but I do think the prescriptions of mainstream economics still make sense. Trade should be free, within reason. Monetary policy should be insulated from politics. And so on.

Trump got a lot of political mileage out of defying these and other norms. But reality bites. In the long run, Democrats will be better off sticking to their economic principles while Trump and the party he controls founder. Unfortunately, the American people will pay a heavier price.

The Readers Write

You wrote about [*tariffs in the Gilded Age*](https://www.cnbc.com/2024/10/23/nobel-prize-winning-economists-donald-trump-agenda-endorse-harris.html). The high cost of transportation in the 19th century made imports expensive and gave the economy geographic protection, particularly for building-block items like iron and later steel. Today, tens of giant vessels carrying 20,000 truck containers are unloaded and loaded every day with finished goods on both coasts.

Vincent Arguimbau

Darien, Conn.

My non-economist’s perspective is that tariffs are effective. First, as a way to level the playing field with markets that are not open to U.S. imports. Second, as a geopolitical weapon against certain countries. The economists’ view is that global trade is a net positive. It can be but is not always. Kumbaya is not how we live, although I wish it were.

Ted Stenger

Birmingham, Mich.

Quote of the Day

“There’s an adage a historian once called a law of history, true of every society across the ages. The adage is, only when it is dark enough can you see the stars.”

— Vice President Kamala Harris, concession speech ([*Nov. 6*](https://www.cnbc.com/2024/10/23/nobel-prize-winning-economists-donald-trump-agenda-endorse-harris.html))

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Illustration by Sam Whitney/The New York Times; source image by NSA Digital Archive/Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 8, 2024

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[***My Manifesto for Despairing Democrats***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCB-P411-DXY4-X0XP-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 8, 2024 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 23; NICHOLAS KRISTOF

**Length:** 1283 words

**Byline:** By Nicholas Kristof

**Body**

So what do we do now?

For those who think as I do, the election feels devastating. My country has elected a felon whose former top aides have described him as a fascist and ''the most dangerous person to this country.'' Yet in an election that wasn't even close, voters not only chose him but also picked a Republican Senate to empower him further.

This will be a test of our country and of each of us, so let me offer a manifesto for how ordinary Americans of my ilk can respond.

1. I accept Donald Trump's victory. If we are to stand up to Trump, we must first resist the impulse to be like Trump. We lost. We were outvoted. In a democracy, the majority rules, and that was not us. Yes, there is a contradiction when a democratic election elevates someone working to undermine democracy, but our first obligation is still to respect the voters' choice.

2. I will be a watchdog, not a lap dog. Accepting Trump as president-elect does not mean surrendering to authoritarianism. In particular, I will be extra vigilant about attempts to abuse the legal system to go after Trump's critics, and I will support institutions that are the backbone of democracy, such as the legal system, journalism and the civil service. I may hug a lawyer.

3. I will back organizations fighting to uphold human values. During Trump's first term, the A.C.L.U. did heroic work battling family separation at the border. Planned Parenthood fought to preserve access to reproductive health. So many other organizations stepped up to assist the vulnerable. Let's support them.

4. I will subscribe to a news organization. This is self-serving, and God knows that we in journalism make mistakes all the time, but it remains true that journalism is critical to hold officials accountable. Oversight from news organizations will be particularly crucial if Republicans end up controlling both houses of Congress. A corollary for that subscription: Hold us in the news business accountable for holding Trump accountable. We journalists shouldn't dispassionately observe a journey to authoritarianism; we shouldn't be neutral about upholding democracy.

5. I will try to understand why so many Americans disagree with me. Too many Democrats reflexively assume that any person backing Trump must be a bigot or an idiot. But let's beware of invidious stereotypes, for finger-wagging condescension alienates centrist voters; it's difficult to win support from people you're calling idiots and racists. Many ***working-class*** Americans have been left behind economically and have reason to feel angry. And Democrats aren't going to win elections as long as they seethe at a majority of voters.

6. I will keep my cool. Conservatives regularly accused liberals like me of suffering from Trump derangement syndrome, and perhaps they had a point. When he was president, Trump pushed us liberals leftward on issues like immigration and policing, with some Democrats calling to abolish the police or to eliminate U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement. That might have felt noble, but the outcome was more support for Trump.

7. I will care for my mental health. There'll be many, many times in the next four years when we'll be irritated, anxious and alarmed, probably with good reason, so we need to find a way to relax and mellow out. For me, that's backpacking and making wine and cider. In my day job, I shout at the world, and it pays no attention, so it's a relief to raise grapes and apples and have them listen to me. And remember that sometimes the best therapist has four legs. A few years ago, many families got a pandemic dog, and for some this may be time to get a Trump dog.

8. I will be alert to gender nastiness. This campaign saw Trump gleefully engaging in vulgarity and misogyny, and one result was a widening gender divide. I suspect we may see more such nastiness targeting feminists, and it will be important -- particularly for men -- to uphold norms and push back at this tide of degradation.

9. I will help Ukrainians. One of the big winners of this election is Vladimir Putin, and one of the big losers is Ukraine. This will be a brutal winter for Ukrainians not just because of the cold and the North Korean troops joining Russian forces but also because America may soon abandon Ukraine. So consider supporting an organization that helps Ukraine, such as Razom.

10. I will back humanitarians around the world. Trump is likely to cut funds for the U.N. Population Fund and other reproductive health organizations, as he did before. The Trump administration may cut support for the U.N. agency providing education and assistance to Palestinians, UNRWA, and it is much less likely to speak out about Israeli abuses in Gaza and the West Bank. It will be less likely to work for peace in Sudan, now probably the world's worst humanitarian crisis. One way to fight back against isolationism and indifference is to support organizations with a global humanitarian mission.

11. I will push for blue places to govern themselves better. Trump isn't the only one we should hold accountable; we must also hold ourselves accountable. The truth is that some blue cities out West have fumbled issues like homelessness and public order: San Francisco and Portland are now Republican talking points. And even if liberal policies are stymied at the national level, federalism still allows Democratic cities and states to experiment and devise new approaches to improve education, chip away at poverty and increase the housing supply. Let's take that opportunity seriously.

12. I will temper my strong views with humility. The challenge is to unflinchingly proclaim our values even as we appreciate that we are fallible and may eventually be proved wrong. Accepting that contradiction curbs the tendency toward arrogance and self-righteousness, which in any case are utterly unhelpful in promoting those values.

13. I will share Thanksgiving with relatives, even if I think they're nuts. There's too much division in America, and we hang out too much with people who think just as we do. So if you're debating whether to break bread with family members whose politics you can't stand, go for it. Don't let Trump get between you and your family or friendships.

14. I will start planning for recovery. It's time to start working for the 2026 congressional elections. That will mean more focus on winning elections nationwide. Too often, Democrats in safe districts in New York or California stake out far-left positions that hurt Democrats in Ohio or Georgia, damaging the causes we believe in. America is a centrist nation, and just because Trump takes extreme stances does not mean we should.

15. Instead of despairing, I will find purpose. For four decades, I've reported on pro-democracy activists struggling against dictatorships. I saw them massacred in 1989 at Tiananmen Square in China, and I've had too many friends tortured and imprisoned in other countries, but I also saw democracy come to Eastern Europe, South Korea and South Africa. What I've learned from people like Archbishop Desmond Tutu is that despair -- even a quite reasonable despair -- is self-fulfilling, while democratic activists with a sense of purpose can sometimes, unpredictably and imperfectly, make unexpected progress. To avoid being crushed over the next four years, that sense of purpose must be our North Star guiding us forward.

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**Graphic**

PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY JENNA GARRETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A23.

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[***How Democrats Treat Trumpites***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CYW-0J11-JBG3-63DC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 15, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 11; LETTERS

**Length:** 1521 words

**Body**

Readers discuss Nicholas Kristof's column urging Democrats not to demean Trump supporters.

To the Editor:

Re ''Here's Why Democrats Shouldn't Demean Trump Voters,'' by Nicholas Kristof (column, Sept. 1):

I take exception to Mr. Kristof patronizing Democrats and instructing them how to address Donald Trump's supporters. Yes, there are those supporters who have suffered addiction and hardship, but that this might logically lead them to support a criminal and potential dictator who gives no reason for a rational person to believe he would serve their interests is simply a bridge too far.

Besides, many Trump supporters can't even plead hardship as an excuse. They include the wealthy, the angry and the just plain ignorant.

Robert MillsapWoodland, Calif.

To the Editor:

I appreciated Nicholas Kristof's measured view in this column, though I know many people did not.

It is far easier to diminish Trump supporters, to view them as morally degraded and backward, than it is to focus on the very real issues that animate them. Like those on the political left, they are troubled by the state of our country, by the widening gulf between the haves and the have-nots, and by the growing sense that most of us are getting shafted for the benefit of a few. They see the American system as wildly off course and in desperate need of fixing.

These views are familiar to Democrats. Indeed, I suspect that there is quite a lot more common ground than we realize.

These are not fundamentally bad people. Most are not bigots. Most are not xenophobes. So why on earth do we call them these things? All it does is ensure that they remain in the arms of a man who has already shown his greatest concern is power -- and holding onto it.

Brendan McNealShawnee, Kan.

To the Editor:

I strongly disagree with Nicholas Kristof's argument that we shouldn't demean Trump voters.

Donald Trump has referred to Mexicans as ''rapists'' and ''drug dealers''; mocked a disabled journalist; referred to Haiti and African nations as ''shithole countries''; told his supporters to ''knock the crap'' out of hecklers at a rally and that ''I will pay for the legal fees''; and recently used the hallowed ground of Arlington National Cemetery as a political prop.

Surely Trump voters are aware of all this and more, yet the cult of Trump remains more devoted to him than ever. Furthermore it is impossible -- and I've tried -- to get Trump voters to change their minds, as they live in a world of alternative reality where the 2020 election was stolen, Mr. Trump's indictments -- and subsequent convictions -- were orchestrated by the Biden administration, and human activities are not responsible for climate change.

Mr. Trump's cultists are his political oxygen. He would be nothing without them. They are beneath contempt and deserve to be demeaned.

Richard KaveshNyack, N.Y.The writer is a former mayor of Nyack.

To the Editor:

Nicholas Kristof correctly notes that demeaning Trump supporters is not only bad politics, but also ''morally offensive.'' However, I doubt that he realized that the tone of his article subtly reflects the same elitist attitude that he is trying to discourage.

Focusing on Trump supporters as ''disadvantaged'' and deserving our ''empathy, not insults'' reads as: ''Yes, we are better than you, and we understand why you have misguided beliefs and political positions.''

Missing is the fact that millions and millions of college-educated, financially successful Black, white and brown Americans who are not fans of Donald Trump will vote Republican based on the issues.

The notion that Mr. Trump is a threat to democracy is pure election politics. Our democracy is more at risk by undermining faith in the Supreme Court and weaponizing the judicial system against your political opponent (both recent tactics by the Democratic Party) than by a nasty, narcissistic President Trump.

The Democratic Party has swung so far left that millions of well-educated Americans will ''hold their noses'' and vote for Mr. Trump.

J.R. ClayEdwards, Colo.

To the Editor:

After reading Nicholas Kristof's excellent column, I would like to add my rationale for not demeaning the Trumpists -- the news source dichotomy.

The friends I grew up and live with are mostly Trump voters; I am liberal. We have learned not to talk about politics, but there is still an inevitable loss of respect on either side (''How can any intelligent person believe that?'').

My workaround is to realize that my friends, exclusively consuming conservative social media, are getting a completely different set of facts about the world. Indeed, if we assume a set of facts, either mine or theirs, we often can come close to agreeing on many things.

I've given up asking them to broaden their news sources, but at least we can now respect one another as equally intelligent people living on different news planets.

Drew SatteeFort Lauderdale, Fla.

To the Editor:

Thank you to Nicholas Kristof for once again reminding us that if democracy is to survive we cannot automatically demean those with whom we disagree. He is absolutely right that ''***working-class*** Americans have a right to feel betrayed,'' and the stories he cites should pull us up short in our condemnation.

However, it seems to this self-professed progressive that it is not at all morally offensive to demonize those Trump supporters who have reaped the benefits of what Franklin D. Roosevelt started and are thriving -- those, many from ***working-class*** families, who got a good education; who have safe comfortable homes and good, often union, jobs with health care; or who have even become wealthy bosses.

These are the Trump supporters who assert that ''I've got mine and you're not getting a piece of it, especially if you are Black or brown or come from another nation.'' They are too many of my suburban neighbors who, though comfortable and cared for, oppose efforts to build affordable housing or rail at paying taxes that benefit those less fortunate than they.

I assert that we must clearly call these people out for what they are: selfish, racist bigots like the man they support.

David S. SchwartzArdsley-on-Hudson, N.Y.

To the Editor:

Nicholas Kristof writes, ''By all means denounce Trump, but don't stereotype and belittle the nearly half of Americans who have sided with him.''

It seems that I read articles about ''the educated and the elites'' looking down on Trump supporters more than I actually hear such belittlement. Nevertheless, perhaps the reason is that many of these supporters appear to know little about the issues that concern them.

Did Mr. Kristof point out to his woman friend that while Mr. Trump failed to bring factory jobs back, President Biden has created 800,000 such jobs, with the promise of many more with bills like his CHIPS Act?

Did he explain to his haircutter the complex reasons for high food prices, and that inflation is now down to more expected levels?

Did he ask how they felt when Mr. Trump watched TV for three hours while dozens of law enforcement officers were injured as a mob he encouraged attacked the Capitol? Or when innocent poll workers' lives were ruined when he falsely accused them of election fraud?

To the extent that it is still possible, it behooves Mr. Kristof and the rest of us to try to educate voters whose understanding of the issues may be minimal or incorrect. The stakes are too high not to.

Joseph R. AdesDobbs Ferry, N.Y.

To the Editor:

Mr. Kristof, thank you for identifying the source of the divisions among us: a lack of respect for Americans whose lives have taken different paths than our own.

Scorn is a powerful weapon -- one that Donald Trump excels at wielding. But it's one of the most painful and divisive rhetorical tools that, like sarcasm, cuts to the emotional quick and then builds scars that don't heal.

As a divided nation, we've been using scorn, sarcasm and bullying to belittle one another since Donald Trump rode down his golden escalator. It's past time to stop. Divided we will not survive, and the basest parts of human nature will be the thing that destroys our two-and-a-half-century experiment in governance.

Janet SpauldingStratham, N.H.

To the Editor:

This liberal doesn't look down on those who don't share my values, but I am puzzled by people who don't realize that Donald Trump possesses no values at all. You need only a heart, a mind, a soul or a conscience to know this. No advanced degree or high income or elevated social status is required when basic intelligence, reason and empathy are more than enough.

I'd like to think that most Americans are capable of possessing these attributes, so it's striking that so many people support a man who is a bigot and a sex offender, who takes pleasure in cruelty, who is utterly corrupt and a compulsive liar, and who is selfish and totally self-absorbed.

Nicholas Kristof correctly notes that some Americans (and not just Democrats) look down on others they perceive as inferior, and that is indefensible. It is not, however, a reason to empower a monster.

Jim AndersonSanta Clarita, Calif.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/14/opinion/democrats-donald-trump-voters.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/14/opinion/democrats-donald-trump-voters.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page SR11.

**Load-Date:** September 15, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Kamala Harris Courts Union Members, an Up-for-Grabs Group of Voters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6C2Y-CWX1-DXY4-X3XH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

May 21, 2024 Tuesday 22:45 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 854 words

**Byline:** Nicholas Nehamas Nicholas Nehamas is a Times political reporter covering the re-election campaign of President Biden.

**Highlight:** Speaking in Philadelphia to supportive members of a major labor union, the vice president sought to draw a sharp contrast with Donald Trump and build support with a bloc of crucial voters.

**Body**

Speaking in Philadelphia to supportive members of a major labor union, the vice president sought to draw a sharp contrast with Donald Trump and build support with a bloc of crucial voters.

Vice President Kamala Harris rallied members of one of the nation’s largest labor unions in a key battleground state on Tuesday, redoubling Democrats’ efforts to cast themselves as the true champions of the ***working class*** and Republicans as catering to the wealthy.

“November is going to be about two choices, so let’s be clear about that,” Ms. Harris said in Philadelphia, at a convention for the Service Employees International Union. “Whereas the last administration buried our country in debt to pay for tax cuts for billionaires, we are helping dig families out of debt by telling billionaires to pay their fair share.”

Organized labor is a crucial component of President Biden’s fraying coalition as he seeks re-election against former President Donald J. Trump. Although prominent unions have endorsed Mr. Biden, some rank-and-file union members have [*drifted*](https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2024-election/union-households-favor-biden-closer-margin-2020-poll-finds-rcna140569) toward Mr. Trump, part of a political realignment in which white ***working-class*** voters have increasingly supported Republicans.

[*Across six of the top battleground states*](https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2024-election/union-households-favor-biden-closer-margin-2020-poll-finds-rcna140569), 47 percent of union members said they supported Mr. Trump, compared with 42 percent for Mr. Biden, a recent New York Times/Siena College/Philadelphia Inquirer poll found. Other surveys have shown Mr. Biden ahead with union households, but not by wide margins.

Ms. Harris’s speech served as a reminder of what she and Mr. Biden have accomplished for workers and an attempt to shore up support in an important constituency. She highlighted the administration’s efforts to expand health care access, forgive student debt and raise wages.

“We know when unions are strong, America is strong,” Ms. Harris told the crowd of roughly 3,500 S.E.I.U. members.

But her appearance also exposed deep divisions within the Democratic base over Israel’s war in Gaza. For most of her speech, a group of about three dozen protesters chanted “Free, free Palestine” and “Cease-fire now” in the back of the cavernous convention center.

Biden supporters tried to drown out their fellow union members by chanting, “Four more years.” Notably, the union’s leadership [*signed on to a letter to the White House*](https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2024-election/union-households-favor-biden-closer-margin-2020-poll-finds-rcna140569) last month demanding that President Biden end military aid to Israel until it lifted restrictions on humanitarian aid to Gaza.

Ms. Harris did not address the protesters. It was not clear if she could see or hear them from the stage.

The S.E.I.U. represents about two million health-care, service and government workers and is a close ally of the Biden administration. S.E.I.U. leaders have [*said they will spend $200 million*](https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2024-election/union-households-favor-biden-closer-margin-2020-poll-finds-rcna140569) to mobilize ***working-class*** voters for Mr. Biden and other Democrats this election cycle. Union support is vital to Democrats, who rely on their financial backing and on-the-ground organizing muscle. Mr. Biden’s [*strength*](https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2024-election/union-households-favor-biden-closer-margin-2020-poll-finds-rcna140569) with union workers [*relative*](https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2024-election/union-households-favor-biden-closer-margin-2020-poll-finds-rcna140569) to Hillary Clinton, the Democratic nominee in 2016, helped him secure victory four years ago.

The Biden campaign has tried to counter the more recent dip in union enthusiasm. Last year, Mr. Biden joined striking autoworkers in Michigan, becoming [*the first sitting president*](https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2024-election/union-households-favor-biden-closer-margin-2020-poll-finds-rcna140569) to appear in a picket line. For Mr. Biden, who grabbed a bullhorn to address the crowd, it was an extraordinary embrace of organized labor. He has since received the endorsement of several powerful unions, including the United Automobile Workers and [*the United Steelworkers*](https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2024-election/union-households-favor-biden-closer-margin-2020-poll-finds-rcna140569).

Ms. Harris’s trip to Philadelphia was a return to familiar territory. She and Mr. Biden visit the city frequently, seeing it as the linchpin to victory in Pennsylvania, a state they most likely need to win to retain the White House.

But Mr. Biden has work to do even in this Democratic stronghold. Black voters in Philadelphia, a key part of the Democratic base here and in other major cities, have [*shown far fewer signs of excitement about Mr. Biden’s candidacy*](https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2024-election/union-households-favor-biden-closer-margin-2020-poll-finds-rcna140569) than they did four years ago.

In an interview, April Verrett, who was elected on Monday as the first Black president in the S.E.I.U.’s history, said the outreach efforts of her union, which is majority nonwhite, would focus on people of color, as well as younger voters.

“It’s not just our money,” Ms. Verrett said. “Our members get out on the weekends. They go to phone banks, they send text messages. They go to their workplaces, they talk to their co-workers, to their family members and neighbors.”

During her speech, Ms. Harris also highlighted the threat of “extremists” who she said were encouraging “xenophobia and hate.” She assailed Mr. Trump for [*posting a video*](https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/2024-election/union-households-favor-biden-closer-margin-2020-poll-finds-rcna140569) on social media that contained a reference to the “Reich,” a term often associated with Adolf Hitler’s Nazi government in Germany.

“This kind of rhetoric is unsurprising coming from the former president and it is appalling,” the vice president said, adding: “Once again, it shows that our freedom and our very democracy are at stake.”

Ruth Igielnik contributed reporting from Washington.

Ruth Igielnik contributed reporting from Washington.

This article appeared in print on page A16.

**Load-Date:** May 21, 2024

**End of Document**



[***In J.D. Vance, Donald Trump Selects an Inheritor; news Analysis***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CGT-5SG1-DXY4-X0N5-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 15, 2024 Monday 10:55 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1329 words

**Byline:** Shane Goldmacher Shane Goldmacher is a national political correspondent, covering the 2024 campaign and the major developments, trends and forces shaping American politics. He can be reached at , [*shane.goldmacher@nytimes.com*](mailto:shane.goldmacher@nytimes.com)

**Highlight:** Mr. Trump’s decision to pick Mr. Vance as his running mate signals his concern for the future of his MAGA movement.

**Body**

For nearly nine years, Donald J. Trump has been the singular face of Republican politics and the undisputed leader of the Make America Great Again movement. On Monday, the former president came as close as he may ever come to anointing a successor.

The choice of J.D. Vance as Mr. Trump’s running mate, a politician nearly 40 years his junior, immediately vaults the first-term senator to the forefront of a G.O.P. future that is not so far away.

If elected in November, Mr. Trump, 78, can serve only a single term — the 22nd Amendment states that no person shall be elected president more than twice — a rarity for a candidate naming a potential vice president. That short tenure has added extra urgency to the question of what comes next for Trumpism, a movement inextricably tethered to one man who has so thoroughly transformed the Republican Party.

Mr. Vance, 39, is the first millennial to make a major presidential ticket, a Marine veteran and a politician who has thoroughly remade himself as a full-throated MAGA enthusiast. In recent months, it was Mr. Vance’s aggressive defense of Trumpism and Mr. Trump, even on mainstream news outlets, that helped him stand out for the former president as a worthy inheritor.

“Trump is going to hold on to the MAGA baton for as long as he can,” said Chip Saltsman, a longtime Republican strategist. But Mr. Vance, he added, is “somebody that’s going to have an inside track, a head start on getting the MAGA baton in four years.”

The changing of the ideological guard was clearly, and at times uncomfortably, apparent on the convention floor on Monday. Mentions of Mr. Vance’s name earned roars of approval. The face of Senator Mitch McConnell, an avatar of the pre-Trump G.O.P., inspired boos when he appeared on the big screens above delegates.

Mr. Trump, whose fame soared from hosting the television show “The Apprentice” for more than a decade, has long been leery of anointing anyone a successor. He made his choice of Mr. Vance after months of deliberations and less than 48 hours after an assassination attempt at a rally in Pennsylvania that has rattled the nation.

“President Trump and I have talked about this a great deal and I feel certain J.D. feels the same way,” said Senator Bill Hagerty of Tennessee, a close Republican ally of the former president. “What they’re focused on right now is not some sort of long-term vision, it’s about November.”

Still, as Alex Conant, a veteran Republican strategist who has worked on presidential campaigns, put it, “The next presidential race starts in January 2025.”

Jeff Kaufmann, the chairman of the Republican Party in Iowa, where the nominating contest will begin yet again in 2028, hailed Mr. Vance as representing “a new generation of Donald Trump policies.”

Representative Ashley Hinson of Iowa called the choice “inspired.”

“I’m 41 and J.D.’s 39, right? So I think about that next generation of Republican leader — I’m inspired by this pick,” Ms. Hinson said. “I’m sure he’ll be back in Iowa a lot.”

Any succession plan is far from secured.

As Mike Pence, Mr. Trump’s vice president, can attest, the balancing act of serving as the No. 2 to Mr. Trump is uniquely perilous. Mr. Pence spent almost the entirety of his four years as a loyal lieutenant. Yet his decision to certify the 2020 election on Jan. 6, 2021 — as Trump supporters constructed gallows for the vice president outside the Capitol — forever tarnished the Trump-Pence relationship.

Mr. Vance, notably, has said he would not have certified the election.

Mr. Vance is not viewed as the politically safe pick. He has been serving in public office for just 18 months. He has never been through a presidential run, unlike the other top contenders, Senator Marco Rubio of Florida and Gov. Doug Burgum of North Dakota.

Mr. Vance has also embraced some more radical and far-reaching ideas aligned with Mr. Trump, including once calling for the firing of “every civil servant in the administrative state” to replace them with “our people.” More recently, in a [*post on X*](mailto:shane.goldmacher@nytimes.com), he blamed President Biden and the Democrats for rhetoric that “led directly to President Trump’s attempted assassination.”

Not so long ago, Mr. Vance’s acid pen was trained on Mr. Trump.

Back in 2016, Mr. Vance called him [*“cultural heroin”*](mailto:shane.goldmacher@nytimes.com) and even compared him to Hitler. After the election, Mr. Vance’s best-selling book, “Hillbilly Elegy,” was almost required reading for liberals seeking to understand how Democrats had fumbled away an election in which ***working-class*** white voters turned out in record numbers to elect Mr. Trump.

Now Mr. Trump is betting there is no one more devoted than a convert.

Republicans hope Mr. Vance’s elevation to the ticket will cement the new demographic appeals of the Republican Party to the ***working class***. In his book, Mr. Vance recounted his own hardscrabble upbringing in poor corners of Ohio and Kentucky.

“We’ve seen a movement in the Republican Party to appeal to more blue-collar workers — it’s a continuation of that,” said Gov. Mike DeWine, Republican of Ohio, who has disagreed sharply with both Mr. Trump and Mr. Vance on some issues, including aid to Ukraine. Mr. DeWine said the pick showed that the former president “wants someone who is closely aligned to him on policy.”

Mr. Biden’s first remarks about Mr. Vance on Monday were to tag him as “a clone of Trump on the issues.”

The choice of Mr. Vance was also a victory for the more isolationist forces pressing for an America First ideology. Tucker Carlson, the former Fox News host who is slated to speak at the convention later in the week, was among those who said they were thrilled.

[*At an event on Monday,*](mailto:shane.goldmacher@nytimes.com) Mr. Carlson said the strongest case for the first-term senator was in the enemies he had amassed. “Every bad person I’ve ever met in a lifetime in Washington was aligned against J.D. Vance,” said Mr. Carlson, an outspoken opponent of American military entanglements abroad.

At least in the immediate term, Mr. Vance is expected to amplify rather than reshape Mr. Trump’s vision. But he arrives on the ticket aligned, on both foreign and domestic matters, focused less on slashing spending and more on curbing the administrative state, and with a skepticism of intervening abroad.

“He is somebody who represents what we need more of in politics, which is someone who is smart, independent-minded, energetic,” Vivek Ramaswamy, the Trump-aligned former presidential candidate, said on Monday. “The one negative is that leaves one fewer of those people in the Senate who are already scarce enough to push our America First agenda.”

Mr. Ramaswamy was born and raised in Ohio and signaled his interest in the Senate seat. If Mr. Vance is elected vice president, Mr. DeWine will then appoint an interim senator.

Mr. Vance also has had some key Silicon Valley financiers in his corner, including David Sacks, who spoke at the Republican convention on Monday, the multibillionaire Elon Musk and Peter Thiel, who contributed $10 million to a pro-Vance super PAC in 2022.

Blake Masters, who ran for Senate from Arizona in 2022, also with $10 million in Thiel support, praised Mr. Vance’s “unique vision.”

“It’s not just about what conservatism has been in the past, which is obviously an important part of conservatism, but it’s about where do we go in the future,” Mr. Masters said. “I think that is what made Trump so different in 2016. He was actually talking about things in a different way than Republican politicians who had come before.”

Mr. Masters lost his 2022 race. He is running for a House seat this year with Mr. Vance’s backing, while Mr. Trump has endorsed his rival. Mr. Masters mockingly appropriated one of Vice President Kamala Harris’s favorite sayings to sum up the Vance pick.

“J.D. is what can be, unburdened by what has been,” he said.

PHOTO: Republicans said J.D. Vance’s elevation to the ticket cemented the new demographic appeals of the Republican Party to the ***working class***. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Doug Mills/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 16, 2024

**End of Document**



[***For One of the ‘Bad Sisters,’ Things Have Gotten Even Worse***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DDP-0GD1-JBG3-60B0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 14, 2024 Thursday 22:57 EST

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**Section:** ARTS; television

**Length:** 1297 words

**Byline:** Christopher Kuo

**Highlight:** Anne-Marie Duff, who won a BAFTA for her performance in this black comedy last season, discusses her character’s darker turn in Season 2.

**Body**

Anne-Marie Duff, who won a BAFTA for her performance in this black comedy last season, discusses her character’s darker turn in Season 2.

This article includes spoilers for the first two episodes of the new season of “Bad Sisters.”

The first time Anne-Marie Duff applied to drama school in London, it turned her away. When she applied a second time, she received a spot on the wait-list, and she called the school every day until it admitted her.

“I think they just gave me a place to shut me up,” said Duff, the 54-year-old actress who describes herself as “London Irish.”

Tenacity and grit characterize many of the women Duff has portrayed throughout her decades-long career, including the indomitable Fiona Gallagher in the British version of “Shameless” and the headstrong Queen Elizabeth I in the BBC mini-series “The Virgin Queen.”

But those qualities are particularly evident in Duff’s depiction of Grace Williams, the troubled housewife at the center of an elaborate whodunit in the Apple TV+ black comedy “Bad Sisters.”

For much of the first season, Grace trembles under the heavy hand of her husband, John Paul (Claes Bang), a jerk known by an unprintable nickname to her sisters. But beneath her timid exterior and obsequious demeanor, frustration builds and boils as her husband belittles and badgers her — until she finally erupts in a climactic scene that ends with her strangling him.

Duff’s performance won her best supporting actress at the EE British Academy Film Awards and helped secure a second season of the show, which had a two-episode premiere on Wednesday.

Duff extends that same mix of outward docility and inward steeliness to Season 2, which opens as Grace waltzes into a new, joyous marriage that swiftly devolves into tragedy.

“She brings a fragility and a strength,” Dearbhla Walsh, a director of the series, said of Duff. “Anne-Marie presents like a delicate flower, like a delicate bird. But she has the strength of an eagle.”

In a recent video call, Duff, in a black shirt and gold hoop earrings, was still chipper after a packed day of rehearsals. She has been preparing for her lead role in a new production of “The Little Foxes,” the Lillian Hellman play about a scheming Southern family, that will be staged at the Young Vic in London.

“It’s been heavenly to be back in the rehearsal room,” Duff said.

Anyone who has seen the first two episodes of the new season of “Bad Sisters” knows why Duff is able to take on a new play: In a shocking twist, Grace is killed off in a freak car crash at the end of Episode 2. When Sharon Horgan, who developed the series with Dave Finkel and Brett Baer, came up with the idea for Grace to die early this season, Duff quickly embraced the idea.

“It had a sort of classic inevitability about it,” Duff said. “Her shame around what she did — she murdered him, and she’s covered in his blood. So it feels sort of like a Greek play, doesn’t it?”

Walsh said Duff’s “motivation is not to be in a long-running successful series.”

“She is prepared as an actress to sacrifice the paycheck for what’s the most interesting and truthful thing for the character,” Walsh continued.

Theater has always been Duff’s first love. Raised in west London by two ***working-class***, Irish immigrants — her father was a house painter, and her mother worked at a shoe shop — she was a voracious reader and extremely shy.

Her parents signed her up for youth theater to try to push her out of her shell. There, in the midst of performing silly renditions of “Dracula,” she became bewitched. Acting became her refuge, her shyness swallowed up by larger-than-life personas.

When Duff applied eventually for drama school, she looked extremely young for her age and was rejected. Two years later, she secured admission to the Drama Center in London, a school some former students call “the trauma center” because of its extreme environment. Although Duff struggled at first, landing only small roles and receiving frequent criticism from instructors, quitting never crossed her mind.

“I had that kernel of self-belief that young people have when they’re standing on the diving board,” Duff said. “I was like, I will, I will, I will. I was the little train that could. And so despite the battering that I was getting, I still held on to that little faith in myself.”

She sent dozens of letters to people across the industry, imploring them for work. One casting director gave her a tiny role in a stage adaptation of the French film “Les Enfants du Paradis,” directed by Mike Alfreds. She had about five lines, but the part helped her land a lead role in Alfreds’s next play, “Uncle Silas,” an adaptation of the novel by Sheridan Le Fanu.

Her breakthrough came with an appearance in the 2002 film “The Magdalene Sisters” and then later with “Shameless,” which earned her two BAFTA nominations for best actress and led to a marriage to her co-star James McAvoy. (They divorced in 2016 and co-parent their teenage son.)

Duff’s performance in “Garage,” a 2007 Irish film about a lonely gas station attendant, caught Horgan’s eye years later. She knew Duff would be the right choice to portray Grace.

“She has this dance with the main character, and she goes through like five different emotions during the course of this dance,” Horgan said. “That was why I wanted her. I knew that she had depths of emotion that we were going to need.”

When Duff received her first scripts for “Bad Sisters,” she relished the gallows humor of the series — the opening scene shows Grace peering into her husband’s coffin and trying to cover up his erection — and the fact that it featured five leading women, each distinct and colorful. Having grown up as the only girl in her family, she felt drawn to the idea of temporarily embracing sisterhood.

“A lot of my best friends have sisters, and I’ve always been jealous,” she said. “Because I thought while at times it can be a bit toxic or a bit messy, you have this blood-tied best friend.”

Through her work with Women’s Aid, an organization that works to prevent domestic abuse, Duff had met many women like Grace, who came from middle-class households and had suffered from emotional manipulation. She saw the character as a way to amplify those women’s stories.

“It’s very difficult for a lot of women to speak up, right?” she said. “The television is a very political medium. You’re inside people’s homes. You get to whisper in the ears of people.”

Grace spends most of Season 1 constricted and cut off by John Paul; many of Duff’s scenes were filmed separately from those with the rest of the cast, and she sometimes felt isolated from the other lead actresses.

That changes in Season 2 as Grace embarks on a new, expansive life — with laughter in her eyes, a fresh swing in her step — until her recovery is snuffed out by the car crash.

“There was no escape for her,” Duff said, referring to Grace’s tragic end. “It was only one way out.”

Having exited “Bad Sisters,” Duff has relished the chance to return to theater after a two-year hiatus. Since her first foray into theater as a shy, unassuming girl, the stage has remained her safe place.

“I feel so comfortable in a rehearsal room, in a way that I wouldn’t feel if I were in another professional environment,” she said. “We get to hide more than anyone because we get to go onstage and be somebody else — someone else has created our life and our story and our words and our costume.”

PHOTOS: Anne-Marie Duff, who is a troubled housewife in “Bad Sisters,” often plays tenacious women. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ALICE ZOO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (C1); Top, Anne-Marie Duff in London, and, above left, with Sharon Horgan in the Season 2 premiere of “Bad Sisters” on Apple TV+. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ALICE ZOO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; NATALIE SEERY/APPLE TV+) (C7) This article appeared in print on page C1, C7.

**Load-Date:** November 18, 2024

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[***Did Trump Just Lose His Crucial Latino Support?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D9W-3FR1-JBG3-64DX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 1, 2024 Friday 14:10 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 2521 words

**Byline:** Isvett Verde and Sophia Alvarez Boyd

**Highlight:** Latino voters could determine who will be the next president. Donald Trump might have jeopardized his chances with them.

**Body**

Republicans’ growing support among Latinos is no longer guaranteed after a comedian made a racist joke at Donald Trump’s Madison Square Garden rally. But could it cost Trump the election? Isvett Verde, a Times Opinion editor, speaks with Mike Madrid, a Republican and an expert on Latino voting trends and behaviors, about why the election may hinge on each candidate’s ability to sway Latino voters.

Below is a transcript of their conversation for this episode of “The Opinions,” edited for length and clarity. We recommend listening to it in its original form for the full effect. You can do so using the player above or on the [*NYT Audio App*](https://apps.apple.com/us/app/nyt-audio/id1549293936), [*Apple*](https://apps.apple.com/us/app/nyt-audio/id1549293936), [*Spotify*](https://apps.apple.com/us/app/nyt-audio/id1549293936), [*Amazon Music*](https://apps.apple.com/us/app/nyt-audio/id1549293936), [*YouTube*](https://apps.apple.com/us/app/nyt-audio/id1549293936), [*iHeartRadio*](https://apps.apple.com/us/app/nyt-audio/id1549293936) or wherever you get your podcasts.

Isvett Verde: I’m Isvett Verde, and I’m an editor for New York Times Opinion. And my work here focuses on immigration, the border and Latino power in America. Every four years, there’s a bunch of hand-wringing by both parties over the so-called Latino vote. This year is no different.

Since 2012, no Democratic candidate has been able to secure the level of support that Barack Obama won, 71 percent. And one of the things I’ve been thinking a lot about in this election is how Kamala Harris and Democrats have or have not been appealing to Latinos. But then this happened.

Clip of Tony Hinchcliffe: I don’t know if you guys know this, but there’s literally a floating island of garbage in the middle of the ocean right now. Yeah, I think it’s called Puerto Rico.

Verde: And I wanted to talk to Mike Madrid, who is someone I often turn to in moments like these, because, as he writes, Donald Trump may have “finally crossed a bridge too far with Latino voters.” Mike is a co-founder of the Lincoln Project and a Republican who consults on Latino voting trends and behavior. So I’m curious to hear why he thinks this could be a tipping point.

Hi, Mike.

Mike Madrid: Hi, Isvett. Great to be with you.

Verde: Mike, were you watching the Madison Square rally live?

Madrid: I was watching it on Twitter.

Verde: And what was your initial reaction to the comments that the comedian Tony Hinchcliffe made?

Madrid: You know, I kind of lost my breath a little bit, which is odd in the Trump era, because I think I was so taken aback. Not just by the Puerto Rico comment, although that was the one that really hit me in the gut. But what was different about this time was that it wasn’t coming from Trump’s voice. It was coming from other voices, and that’s why it’s impacting everybody very differently, because we have become so inured by Donald Trump’s open racist vitriol that if he had said these things, we would just have rolled our eyes.

When he platformed different voices, there seems to be this shaking of our sensibilities again, that this is clearly not acceptable behavior. Perhaps most important, it wasn’t anti-immigrant sentiment, because, of course, Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens by birth. So this argument that Republicans have been using, which is, “We’re not talking about legal immigrants; we’re just talking about the illegal immigrants,” doesn’t apply here.

Verde: Let’s take a step back. I want to do a little bit of table setting about how we’ve seen trends shift since 2012. How has the Latino electorate changed since Obama?

Madrid: Well, there has been this measurable rightward shift, and the reason for it, I argue, is that there’s a demographic explanation for all of this. See, during the Obama administration, the idea that demographics is destiny, or, as the more common vernacular, the Obama coalition, was kind of cemented into the orthodoxy of the Democratic Party, suggesting that all nonwhite people, essentially, will be voting overwhelmingly Democratic — 70 percent or more, Blacks and Latinos, specifically — and that through natural demography, through births and deaths, the emerging Democratic majority would see, essentially, Democrats build a permanent majority by just population change.

And at the time, I was kind of raising some alarm bells, saying: That’s not the way this work. This is not a group that is motivated primarily through racial or ethnic issues.

This is overwhelmingly an economic, pocketbook-issue voter. Something very different happens in 2021, and that is we start to see dramatic spikes in border crossings, literally to the month of when Joe Biden and Kamala Harris take office. And it continues for three years. And we see the American public starts to move significantly to the right on the immigration issue not just for all Americans but for Latinos — measurably, significantly, considerably — and the emphasis then becomes on border security, not on immigration reform.

And this is a dramatic challenge to the orthodoxy of the Democratic Party. It had spent 15 years doubling down on the idea that the primary issue and concern for Latino voters was immigration reform, and this begins to prove untrue, especially during the Biden-Harris years.

Verde: And given the hurdles Harris is up against, I’m curious how you think she’s done, her campaign has done.

Madrid: I think she’s done remarkably well. And the reason is on the two issues of primary concern, both the spiking levels of undocumented immigrants coming across the border as well as the need to do something on housing specifically.

Those have really been the cornerstone, the anchor, if you will, of what she has predicated her whole campaign argument on. In fact, days after Joe Biden announces he’s not going to be running, she releases an ad called “Tougher.”

Political advertisement: As vice president, she backed the toughest border control bill in decades, and as president, she will hire thousands more border agents and crack down on fentanyl and human trafficking. Fixing the border is tough. So is Kamala Harris.

Madrid: And that “Tougher” ad essentially talks about her strength on the border, the fact that she’s prosecuted transnational gangs, and it includes footage of her literally on the border.

In many ways, this is 180 degrees different than the way that she and President Biden campaigned for the office in 2020, and in fact, it’s 180 degrees different than what the Democrats have been messaging on this issue since the Obama years — I would argue going back to perhaps the Clinton years in the mid-1990s. It’s a dramatic sea change in border security policy, and it’s exactly the position that she’s got to take for political reasons to move away from her party’s position over the past 15 years and re-cement in the minds of American voters, and Latino voters, that this is going to be a priority and she can be taken seriously on this issue.

The second is this brilliant plan on Latino housing. And I say Latino housing because she offers an unprecedented opportunity for down payment assistance to first-time home buyers who have generationally never had homeownership in their families. That really narrows the universe of those that are able to take advantage of that program to Latino families. And just as important, because of the number of Latinos employed in the construction industry and the average age of Latinos being 30 years, she gets kind of this double whammy of the economy and jobs but also homeownership, which is critical to middle-class ascendancy and an aspirational, upwardly mobile, ethnic middle class.

Verde: So then I’m curious: Why are those differences and appeals in her campaigning not showing up in the polls? Does she have a problem with Latino voters?

Madrid: I don’t think that she has a problem with Latino voters. I think the Democratic Party has a problem with Latino voters. And again, this is not a new phenomenon. This is something that the Democratic Party is really struggling with as it moves away from being a ***working-class*** party. And it’s happening very rapidly as this dynamic that we call the diploma divide continues to separate us politically.

The diploma divide is a phenomenon where those with a college degree are moving pretty dramatically toward the Democratic Party. Those without a college degree are moving equally quickly toward the Republican Party. And that means the coalitions of both parties are changing. It means the Democratic Party is becoming a wealthier, whiter, more college-educated, home-owning party. And the Republican Party, perhaps ironically, is becoming a poorer, more ***working-class***, more non-college-educated and, critically, a more ethnically diverse party.

Verde: Let’s return to the backlash to the Trump rally comments now.

Madrid: Yeah.

Verde: How likely do you think this could make Trump lose with Latino voters?

Madrid: I think it’s very likely. And it’s ironic because for the past couple of years, I have been saying that it is not ethnic appeals that are going to bring these voters back toward the Democratic Party.

So why is this different? Again, the first thing, as I mentioned earlier, is that it wasn’t Donald Trump saying this. Remember also, we’re about a week out from the election, and Latinos, because they’re lower-information voters and less civically engaged, are much more late-deciding voters. So the last seven to 10 days are really prime time to be communicating with Latino voters.

And just as they’re tuning in, they’re seeing these culturally offensive messages that aren’t just being said from the stage of Donald Trump supporters, but it’s picked up immediately by very significant social media influencers, cultural leaders — Bad Bunny, Jennifer Lopez, Residente, Ricky Martin, Geraldo Rivera, Puerto Ricans with literally, combined, over a hundred million followers on their social media handles. It begins to start penetrating into the culture.

Clip of Trump: Latin music superstar Nicky Jam. Do you know Nicky? She’s hot.

Clip of Nicky Jam: It’s an honor to meet you, Mr. President. People that come from where I come from, they don’t meet the president. So I’m really — I’m lucky. I’m going to say this, but we need you to be the president.

And when you have a musician or an artist as prominent as somebody like Nicky Jam, who just retracted his endorsement, which tells you this is not just a political discussion anymore. It’s a cultural discussion.

Clip of Nicky Jam: Renuncio a cualquier apoyo a Donald Trump y me echo a los lados a cualquier situación política. Puerto Rico se respeta. Nicky Jam.

And this injects itself into the discussions at restaurants, at soccer fields, on radio stations in a way that nothing else could break through. So it’s really hard to suggest this isn’t going to have some impact. We can debate how much, but it’s going to have some impact on the outcome of the election.

Verde: What difference could a shift in the Puerto Rican electorate in the U.S. mean come Election Day?

Madrid: Well, I mean, look, the most significant place that could have a direct impact is Pennsylvania, which is, of course, the most important state. In fact, Pennsylvania is the only one of the swing states that has a Puerto Rican plurality [among Latinos].

And so just a two-to-three-point shift in Puerto Rican public opinion, voter public opinion on these issues could have a tectonic impact. Beyond that, the diaspora does shrink considerably because most of the other Puerto Rican community lives in Florida, New York and New Jersey, which are essentially already decided. These aren’t really competitive states.

In some ways, the Puerto Rican diaspora suffers from what Mexican Americans have always been challenged with, which is even though Mexican Americans are the largest plurality of Latinos in the state, by a wide measure, they disproportionately live in states that are already either very red or very blue. And so the Latino vote won’t have a decisive impact in most of these states — Arizona and Nevada being excepted, of course, at the moment.

But there’s a very real possibility that Puerto Rican voters will begin to replace Cuban voters as the key essential bloc because Cuban Americans have had a disproportionate impact on the narrative politically of who Latinos are because they’ve been largely concentrated in one of the most important swing states over the past 50 years, which is Florida. And as Florida is no longer a swing state and Pennsylvania becomes into contention, replacing it, it’s the Puerto Rican diaspora that, curiously, could actually be the most important of the Latino subgroups in determining the next president and perhaps presidents of the United States, going forward.

Verde: You know, despite whatever happens next, something I think a lot about is this idea of Latino. And I wonder, do you think the label or even the idea of a Latino vote could become irrelevant?

Madrid: In time and probably not in the too far future, yes, the idea of the Latino voter and the Latino ethnicity will fall by the wayside. And the reason is Latinos, by definition, are a multiracial people.

And so the more we become a multiracial society, the more we blend — Latinos, by the way, have the highest interracial marriage rates of any race or ethnicity — generationally, as we become less racially and ethnically and culturally distinct, yes, we will see the end of Latinidad, or Latino identity, because it will be too complicated to measure, too complicated to figure out, and we will find other ways to kind of identify who we will be as Americans, going forward.

Verde: You know, going into Tuesday, Election Day, what do you think is going to be the headline of the role that Latino voters played?

Madrid: I think, especially with the development of what happened in Madison Square Garden, if Kamala Harris is elected president, she will be elected because she carried Pennsylvania, and she will do so by increasing her share from Joe Biden’s number with Latino voters in that state.

If, on the other hand, Donald Trump is elected, the headline will be the exact opposite, which is: Donald Trump increased his share of the Latino vote, and that is why he became the next president of the United States. This is the first time in 30 years of being involved in presidential campaigns I have said that the Latino vote will be decisive in determining who the next president of the United States is, because in all likelihood, we will.

Verde: Thank you so much, Mike. This has been such a wonderful conversation.

Madrid: Isvett, thank you so much for having me. Look forward to future conversations.

Thoughts? Email us at [*theopinions@nytimes.com*](https://apps.apple.com/us/app/nyt-audio/id1549293936).

This episode of “The Opinions” was produced by Sophia Alvarez Boyd. It was edited by Kaari Pitkin, Alison Bruzek and Annie-Rose Strasser. Mixing by Sonia Herrero. Original music by Pat McCusker and Carole Sabouraud. Fact-checking by Mary Marge Locker. Audience strategy by Shannon Busta and Kristina Samulewski. Our executive producer is Annie-Rose Strasser.

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Illustration by The New York Times; photograph by DAVID MCNEW/Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 1, 2024

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[***History Shows How Autoworkers Could Be Crucial for Harris***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CSF-XMG1-DXY4-X00W-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 20, 2024 Tuesday 10:10 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 486 words

**Byline:** Jonathan Alter

**Highlight:** Especially given Trump’s admiration for breaking strikes.

**Body**

On Monday night at the Democratic convention, the United Auto Workers president Shawn Fain, opened his jacket to reveal a T-shirt reading “Trump is a scab.” Suddenly the entire convention was chanting it.

“Scab” — which also means “contemptible person”— has more bite than “weird,” and the Trump campaign may have a harder time scraping it off its candidate.

Especially after Donald Trump’s notorious Aug. 12 online conversation with Elon Musk. “You’re the greatest cutter,” Trump said, referring to Musk’s ability to cut costs by using nonunion labor. “You walk in, you just say, ‘You want to quit?’ They go on strike — I won’t mention the name of the company — but they go on strike. And you say, ‘That’s OK, you’re all gone.’”

This is the true Trump, stripped of his pose as the guy who has the back of blue-collar workers. Most union members get it. Exit polls in 2020 showed Joe Biden won 57 percent of union households, compared with Trump’s 40 percent. By most calculations, Kamala Harris must at least match Biden’s number to win in November.

She’ll have important backing from Fain, who quotes a Nelly song (“It’s getting [*hot in herre*](https://genius.com/Nelly-hot-in-herre-lyrics)”) and avoids the mealy-mouthed “middle class” in favor of fiery appeals to “the ***working class***.” With organized labor enjoying a modest rebound, especially among younger workers, Fain is now the most compelling American labor leader since Walter Reuther, who built the U.A.W., co-founded the A.F.L.-C.I.O. and was instrumental in the passage of most of Lyndon Johnson’s historic legislation in the 1960s.

Fain could play a similar role in a Harris presidency, but first he has to help pull her over the finish line in Pennsylvania and Michigan, where union members make up about 12 percent of the electorate. (Wisconsin is less of a labor state these days.)

Trump lagged among the one million active and retired U.A.W. members in 2020 but had hopes of increasing his numbers this year because many autoworkers fear they will make less money building E.V.s, which Biden has pushed hard. But to win Musk’s endorsement, Trump flip-flopped from opposing E.V.s to supporting them. That crude transaction — vintage Trump — will do nothing to restart his sputtering campaign engine in critical states.

Of course, even when organized labor was much stronger, union members often voted Republican. In 1972, the support of pro-Vietnam War “hard hats” (members of construction unions) helped power Richard Nixon’s landslide. And in 1980, so-called Reagan Democrats — millions of them union members — rejected Jimmy Carter because of the poor economy and a false perception that he was weak.

This year, Trump continues to have a strong advantage among non-college-educated white men, many of whom would like union protections but can’t get them. If Fain can help Harris cut into those margins, the “blue wall” will hold.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Damon Winter/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 21, 2024

**End of Document**



[***How Democrats Treat Trumpites; letters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CYN-5061-JBG3-633G-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 14, 2024 Saturday 21:41 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1503 words

**Highlight:** Readers discuss Nicholas Kristof’s column urging Democrats not to demean Trump supporters.

**Body**

Readers discuss Nicholas Kristof’s column urging Democrats not to demean Trump supporters.

To the Editor:

Re “[*Here’s Why Democrats Shouldn’t Demean Trump Voters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/31/opinion/trump-voters-liberal-civil.html),” by Nicholas Kristof (column, Sept. 1):

I take exception to Mr. Kristof patronizing Democrats and instructing them how to address Donald Trump’s supporters. Yes, there are those supporters who have suffered addiction and hardship, but that this might logically lead them to support a criminal and potential dictator who gives no reason for a rational person to believe he would serve their interests is simply a bridge too far.

Besides, many Trump supporters can’t even plead hardship as an excuse. They include the wealthy, the angry and the just plain ignorant.

Robert Millsap

Woodland, Calif.

To the Editor:

I appreciated Nicholas Kristof’s measured view in this column, though I know many people did not.

It is far easier to diminish Trump supporters, to view them as morally degraded and backward, than it is to focus on the very real issues that animate them. Like those on the political left, they are troubled by the state of our country, by the widening gulf between the haves and the have-nots, and by the growing sense that most of us are getting shafted for the benefit of a few. They see the American system as wildly off course and in desperate need of fixing.

These views are familiar to Democrats. Indeed, I suspect that there is quite a lot more common ground than we realize.

These are not fundamentally bad people. Most are not bigots. Most are not xenophobes. So why on earth do we call them these things? All it does is ensure that they remain in the arms of a man who has already shown his greatest concern is power — and holding onto it.

Brendan McNeal

Shawnee, Kan.

To the Editor:

I strongly disagree with Nicholas Kristof’s argument that we shouldn’t demean Trump voters.

Donald Trump has referred to Mexicans as “rapists” and “drug dealers”; mocked a disabled journalist; referred to Haiti and African nations as “shithole countries”; told his supporters to “knock the crap” out of hecklers at a rally and that “I will pay for the legal fees”; and recently used the hallowed ground of Arlington National Cemetery as a political prop.

Surely Trump voters are aware of all this and more, yet the cult of Trump remains more devoted to him than ever. Furthermore it is impossible — and I’ve tried — to get Trump voters to change their minds, as they live in a world of alternative reality where the 2020 election was stolen, Mr. Trump’s indictments — and subsequent convictions — were orchestrated by the Biden administration, and human activities are not responsible for climate change.

Mr. Trump’s cultists are his political oxygen. He would be nothing without them. They are beneath contempt and deserve to be demeaned.

Richard Kavesh

Nyack, N.Y.

The writer is a former mayor of Nyack.

To the Editor:

Nicholas Kristof correctly notes that demeaning Trump supporters is not only bad politics, but also “morally offensive.” However, I doubt that he realized that the tone of his article subtly reflects the same elitist attitude that he is trying to discourage.

Focusing on Trump supporters as “disadvantaged” and deserving our “empathy, not insults” reads as: “Yes, we are better than you, and we understand why you have misguided beliefs and political positions.”

Missing is the fact that millions and millions of college-educated, financially successful Black, white and brown Americans who are not fans of Donald Trump will vote Republican based on the issues.

The notion that Mr. Trump is a threat to democracy is pure election politics. Our democracy is more at risk by undermining faith in the Supreme Court and weaponizing the judicial system against your political opponent (both recent tactics by the Democratic Party) than by a nasty, narcissistic President Trump.

The Democratic Party has swung so far left that millions of well-educated Americans will “hold their noses” and vote for Mr. Trump.

J.R. Clay

Edwards, Colo.

To the Editor:

After reading Nicholas Kristof’s excellent column, I would like to add my rationale for not demeaning the Trumpists — the news source dichotomy.

The friends I grew up and live with are mostly Trump voters; I am liberal. We have learned not to talk about politics, but there is still an inevitable loss of respect on either side (“How can any intelligent person believe that?”).

My workaround is to realize that my friends, exclusively consuming conservative social media, are getting a completely different set of facts about the world. Indeed, if we assume a set of facts, either mine or theirs, we often can come close to agreeing on many things.

I’ve given up asking them to broaden their news sources, but at least we can now respect one another as equally intelligent people living on different news planets.

Drew Sattee

Fort Lauderdale, Fla.

To the Editor:

Thank you to Nicholas Kristof for once again reminding us that if democracy is to survive we cannot automatically demean those with whom we disagree. He is absolutely right that “***working-class*** Americans have a right to feel betrayed,” and the stories he cites should pull us up short in our condemnation.

However, it seems to this self-professed progressive that it is not at all morally offensive to demonize those Trump supporters who have reaped the benefits of what Franklin D. Roosevelt started and are thriving — those, many from ***working-class*** families, who got a good education; who have safe comfortable homes and good, often union, jobs with health care; or who have even become wealthy bosses.

These are the Trump supporters who assert that “I’ve got mine and you’re not getting a piece of it, especially if you are Black or brown or come from another nation.” They are too many of my suburban neighbors who, though comfortable and cared for, oppose efforts to build affordable housing or rail at paying taxes that benefit those less fortunate than they.

I assert that we must clearly call these people out for what they are: selfish, racist bigots like the man they support.

David S. Schwartz

Ardsley-on-Hudson, N.Y.

To the Editor:

Nicholas Kristof writes, “By all means denounce Trump, but don’t stereotype and belittle the nearly half of Americans who have sided with him.”

It seems that I read articles about “the educated and the elites” looking down on Trump supporters more than I actually hear such belittlement. Nevertheless, perhaps the reason is that many of these supporters appear to know little about the issues that concern them.

Did Mr. Kristof point out to his woman friend that while Mr. Trump failed to bring factory jobs back, President Biden has created 800,000 such jobs, with the promise of many more with bills like his CHIPS Act?

Did he explain to his haircutter the complex reasons for high food prices, and that inflation is now down to more expected levels?

Did he ask how they felt when Mr. Trump watched TV for three hours while dozens of law enforcement officers were injured as a mob he encouraged attacked the Capitol? Or when innocent poll workers’ lives were ruined when he falsely accused them of election fraud?

To the extent that it is still possible, it behooves Mr. Kristof and the rest of us to try to educate voters whose understanding of the issues may be minimal or incorrect. The stakes are too high not to.

Joseph R. Ades

Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.

To the Editor:

Mr. Kristof, thank you for identifying the source of the divisions among us: a lack of respect for Americans whose lives have taken different paths than our own.

Scorn is a powerful weapon — one that Donald Trump excels at wielding. But it’s one of the most painful and divisive rhetorical tools that, like sarcasm, cuts to the emotional quick and then builds scars that don’t heal.

As a divided nation, we’ve been using scorn, sarcasm and bullying to belittle one another since Donald Trump rode down his golden escalator. It’s past time to stop. Divided we will not survive, and the basest parts of human nature will be the thing that destroys our two-and-a-half-century experiment in governance.

Janet Spaulding

Stratham, N.H.

To the Editor:

This liberal doesn’t look down on those who don’t share my values, but I am puzzled by people who don’t realize that Donald Trump possesses no values at all. You need only a heart, a mind, a soul or a conscience to know this. No advanced degree or high income or elevated social status is required when basic intelligence, reason and empathy are more than enough.

I’d like to think that most Americans are capable of possessing these attributes, so it’s striking that so many people support a man who is a bigot and a sex offender, who takes pleasure in cruelty, who is utterly corrupt and a compulsive liar, and who is selfish and totally self-absorbed.

Nicholas Kristof correctly notes that some Americans (and not just Democrats) look down on others they perceive as inferior, and that is indefensible. It is not, however, a reason to empower a monster.

Jim Anderson

Santa Clarita, Calif.

This article appeared in print on page SR11.

**Load-Date:** September 14, 2024

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[***Karl Marx, Weirder Than Ever***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D4B-C9N1-DXY4-X2RG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 6, 2024 Sunday

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 17; ESSAY

**Length:** 1335 words

**Byline:** By James Miller

**Body**

Indifference was the world's first reaction to Karl Marx's magnum opus. In 1867, when the first volume of ''Capital'' was published in German, it was greeted with such silence that the author's best friend and patron, Friedrich Engels, submitted pseudonymous reviews, most of them combative, to the leading German newspapers, in a futile effort to drum up publicity.

''Capital'' had been decades in the making, with Marx producing countless notes, drafts and mathematical equations he couldn't make work to clinch an argument that capitalism would self-destruct, after creating the basis for something better. As the biographer Francis Wheen relates, Marx's long-suffering wife, Jenny, was embittered by the public's mute response to the book's publication. ''If the workers had an inkling of the sacrifices that were necessary for this work, which was written only for them and for their sakes,'' she complained to a friend, ''they would perhaps show a little more interest.''

Frustrated, Marx asked Engels, in one of the German reviews he wrote, to summarize ''Capital'' simply, using language that Marx helpfully supplied: It showed how ''present society, economically considered, is pregnant with a new, higher form,'' and it revealed in human civilization ''the same gradual process of evolution that Darwin has demonstrated in natural history,'' thus confirming the ''doctrine of progress.''

It's a sign of our times that the editors and translator of an eagerly anticipated new English edition of the book -- the first major translation in half a century -- largely ignore both Darwin and the idea of progress in their copious notes.

Still, no previous English version of ''Capital'' has featured such an erudite critical apparatus or such an exacting translation. It's a remarkable achievement that forces readers to attend to the philosophical subtleties of Marx's argument.

'''Capital' is weird,'' the co-editor Paul North writes in his introduction to the new edition (Princeton University Press, 857 pp., $39.95). The book's translator and other co-editor, Paul Reitter, concurs, explaining how he has chosen to highlight what he calls every ''programmatically weird moment in the text.'' In ''Capital,'' Marx deploys neologisms that sound strange even in German, Reitter argues, with the goal of reflecting the way ''capitalism makes the relations between people and things, and the relations among people, extremely unnatural and incompatible with human flourishing.''

For example, the novel German term Werthding -- literally ''value-thing'' -- suggests how useful physical objects have nonphysical aspects: They represent (in Marx's words) ''gelatinous blobs of undifferentiated human labor'' that help define their worth and enable them to be exchanged. Emphasizing the weirdness of the language underlines the idea that capitalism inevitably produces alienation between factory workers and the thing they've helped make, as Marx writes elsewhere, ''like the sorcerer, who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells.''

Born in 1818 in what is now southwestern Germany, Marx was trained as a philosopher and employed as a journalist before striking up a friendship with Engels in the 1840s and joining a roiling bohemian underground of unruly writers and professional insurrectionists. Together Marx and Engels wrote ''The Communist Manifesto'' and lived through the European revolutions of 1848, only to see their hopes for radical change deferred if not dashed. By then, Marx, in part under the influence of Engels, had already begun what became a lifelong study of political economy and the shameful conditions created for workers by the rise of industrial capitalism.

Marx had exacting standards: He was too scrupulous to finish ''Capital'' -- Engels published subsequent volumes based on Marx's notebooks -- and he wanted the difficult opening pages of the first volume to force readers to think for themselves. ''There is no royal road to science, and only those who do not dread the fatiguing climb of its steep paths have a chance of gaining its luminous summits,'' he wrote in the preface to the first French translation. Fortunately, the body of the text, which makes judicious use of British government reports detailing the wretched lives of its working classes, is easier to follow, and more literary in its ambitions. It's partly a simple horror story of unjustifiable human suffering at the hands of a faceless monster more fearsome than Hobbes's Leviathan -- the shadowy system of capital, in Marx's view, was more soul-sucking than any of the laws imposed by sovereign rulers.

The first English translation of ''Capital'' was supervised by Engels and appeared in 1887, four years after Marx's death. By then, ''Capital'' had belatedly reached a large and rapidly growing audience, thanks to Marx's notoriety as an activist and a leader in the International Workingmen's Association; his pitiless defense of the bloody Paris Commune of 1871 as one model of what a proletariat revolt against capital might look like; and the subsequent rise of socialist political parties and militant trade unions. ''The bible of the ***working class***,'' Engels proudly called it.

Once consecrated, ''Capital'' was easy to treat as an evidence-based lodestar for ongoing direct action. This was certainly how the translator Ben Fowkes and the Belgian economist Ernest Mandel approached the second major English edition, a Penguin paperback published in 1976 after the Russian Revolution of 1917; the Chinese Communist Revolution of 1949; the student uprisings of 1968; and in the wake of pitched struggles for radical self-determination in former colonies like Algeria, Vietnam and Nicaragua.

''It is most unlikely,'' Mandel wrote, ''that capitalism will survive another half-century of the crises (military, political, social, monetary, cultural) which have occurred uninterruptedly since 1914. It is most probable, moreover, that 'Capital' and what it stands for -- namely a scientific analysis of bourgeois society which represents the proletariat's class consciousness at its highest level -- will in the end prove to have made a decisive contribution to capitalism's replacement by a classless society of associated producers.''

Five decades later, with capitalism still firmly intact, the American political theorist Wendy Brown briskly lays aside such hopes in the preface of the new Princeton translation, calling them a ''fantasy.'' She also worries that if the workers of the world were ever to use freely what Marx called ''the free gift of nature'' in order to create more abundance for human beings, they might trigger an ''ecological catastrophe,'' something that she says the author of ''Capital'' only considers in passing. Brown suggests that the main contemporary value of Marx's text is as a ''critical theory'' that reveals the system of capital as ''a philosophical object.'' In other words, it might not be the best guide for political practice.

Certainly, ''Capital'' is a cerebral read and the dangers of the world Marx lived in are not all the same as ours. Still, it's a bit weird (if that's the right word) that the scholars working on this new English edition of Marx's most revered text should downplay Marx's own deepest hopes, not just for a future classless society, but also for an ongoing process of upheaval that results, yes, in suffering, but also in ongoing technological and moral progress.

For if capital is just ''extremely unnatural and incompatible with human flourishing,'' and inexorably leading toward the destruction of the planet, what's the point? Marx couldn't predict the future, and neither can we. But, as he once put it, ''the philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point is to change it.''James Miller needs a bio. tkt tkt kt kt tkt kt kt tkt kt tkt kt tkt kt tkt kt tkt ktkt tkt tkt kt kt tkt kt tk tkt kt tkt kt tk tkt kt tk tkt tk tkt kt tkt kt kt kt.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/19/books/review/capital-volume-one-karl-marx.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/19/books/review/capital-volume-one-karl-marx.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page BR17.

**Load-Date:** October 6, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Democrats Maintain Narrow Path For Keeping Control of the Senate***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D2V-K351-DXY4-X3MV-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 29, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 16

**Length:** 1763 words

**Byline:** By Jonathan Weisman

**Body**

Strong showings in new Times/Siena College polls leave a narrow path open for Democrats to keep hold of the chamber, but Republicans maintain an advantage with the map.

Democratic Senate candidates in the Upper Midwest states of Michigan, Ohio and Wisconsin hold leads over their Republican competitors, keeping a narrow path open to maintaining Democratic control of Congress's upper chamber next year, according to new New York Times/Siena College polls.

And, in a surprise that could shake up the Senate battlefield, Dan Osborn, a union organizer and industrial mechanic running as an independent, has jumped to a strong lead in Nebraska's Second Congressional District, in and around Omaha, over the incumbent Republican, Senator Deb Fischer, reaching a level of support that could keep him competitive in the heavily Republican state.

The showing in the Midwest is a testament to the ability of Democrats, as well as Mr. Osborn, to separate the Senate contests from the presidential race, and keep control of the chamber in play. Senators Tammy Baldwin of Wisconsin and Sherrod Brown of Ohio, veteran incumbents, have created political brands that appear to be independent of their national party, while in Michigan, Representative Elissa Slotkin may be drafting on the strength of Democratic women in her state who occupy the posts of governor, attorney general and secretary of state.

In Ohio, Mr. Brown leads his Republican challenger, Bernie Moreno, 47 percent to 43 percent, drawing in 10 percent of voters that support former President Donald J. Trump and 13 percent of those self-identified as Republicans. Ms. Baldwin leads her Republican challenger, the banker Eric Hovde, 50 to 43, in Wisconsin, while Ms. Slotkin leads the former congressman Mike Rogers, 47 percent to 42 percent, in the race to succeed Michigan's retiring Democratic senator, Debbie Stabenow.

The strong showing by Democratic Senate candidates does not necessarily mean the party will maintain control of the chamber next year. Their current one-seat majority is almost certainly lost, with the retirement of Senator Joe Manchin III of West Virginia and the near certainty that the state's Republican governor, Jim Justice, will succeed him.

Democrats, lead by Vice President Kamala Harris, would need to hold the White House and win every other endangered Democratic Senate seat -- including Senator Jon Tester's, in deep red Montana, potentially the deciding race -- to preserve a 50-50 split, with a Vice President Tim Walz breaking the tie. Or, Democratic candidates need to pull off an upset against an incumbent Republican, such as Ted Cruz in Texas or Rick Scott in Florida.

On that front, the New York Times/Siena College polls offered another tantalizing data point regarding Senate control: In Eastern Nebraska, Mr. Osborn, a political newcomer, is leading Ms. Fischer, 49 percent to 38 percent. That might be enough to keep his long-shot bid competitive in a suddenly important statewide campaign.

Republicans had high hopes for the Senate race in Michigan, where they got the mainstream candidate they had wanted. Mr. Rogers is an Army veteran, former special agent in the F.B.I. and former chairman of the House Intelligence Committee.

But Ms. Slotkin, who like Mr. Rogers comes from the mid-Michigan region around Lansing, made her career appealing to centrist voters in that swing House district, and she continues to draw 6 percent of likely voters in Michigan who say they will vote for Mr. Trump and 7 percent who say they voted for Mr. Trump in 2020.

Reginald Gooden, 66, who identified himself as a semiretired health care professional, in Commerce Township, Mich., said he was backing Mr. Trump reluctantly, because he is ''singularly'' worried about how Ms. Harris would handle autocrats abroad. But, he said, he is a moderate, and likes Ms. Slotkin's politics.

''There's a sense of balance with her,'' he said.

In Ohio, where Mr. Trump holds a comfortable lead over Ms. Harris, Mr. Brown is in need of even more ticket splitters to beat Mr. Moreno, a wealthy, Colombian-born businessman who prevailed in a brutal Republican primary in March on the strength of Mr. Trump's endorsement. Republicans knew that Mr. Brown would draw some Republican support, but figured there just would not be enough Trump-Brown voters in 2024 to secure his re-election.

So far, they appear to be wrong.

In addition to the 10 percent of Trump voters who say they plan to vote for Mr. Brown, the senator is showing strong support in Ohio's suburbs and enjoys a 21-percentage point lead among women, in a state where 57 percent voted last December to enshrine abortion rights in the Ohio constitution.

''There's a lot of work that's been done before, you know for the local people,'' said Victoria Williams, 42, a Trump supporter and quality manager at a steel manufacturer in Centerville, Ohio, explaining her support for Mr. Brown. ''He's done a lot for, I don't want to say this badly, but for the poor, the ***working class***.''

Mr. Moreno's 16-point lead among men -- 54 percent to 38 percent -- is not enough to close the gender gap.

The polls were taken just as a recording came to light of Mr. Moreno suggesting that abortion rights shouldn't concern women over the age of 50 -- ''I don't think that's an issue for you,'' he said on tape, in Warren County, Ohio, last weekend.

In Wisconsin, the gender gap is even more stark. Mr. Hovde made mistakes early in the campaign, suggesting, for instance, that ''almost nobody in a nursing home is at a point to vote.'' Ms. Baldwin's campaign used that quote, plus a comment that overweight people should pay more for health insurance and another that ''the old physical toil'' of farming had given way to ''largely driving around on a tractor,'' to paint her opponent as a rich, out-of-touch Republican from Southern California.

According to the polls, Ms. Baldwin leads Mr. Hovde among women by 29 percentage points, holds a lead among white voters -- a rarity for Democrats in their campaigns this year -- and is taking about 5 percent of voters who say they cast their ballots in 2020 for Mr. Trump. Her lead among independents is 51 percent to 39 percent.

It isn't just women who say they feel insulted by Mr. Hovde.

''Some of the stuff that I've seen from Tammy Baldwin I like,'' said Paul Markunas, 55, of Harris, Wis., who owns a post-construction cleaning company, ''and some of the things he has said I really don't like.''

Mr. Markunas said he will be voting for Mr. Trump and Ms. Baldwin.

In Nebraska, Democrats should not get too excited yet about the prospect of the unexpected defeat of Ms. Fischer. Mr. Osborn has guarded his independence in a state that is hostile to Democrats, refusing to say which party he would caucus with if elected. And even his 11-point lead in the state's second district may not be enough unless he can make inroads in the heavily Republican first and third districts. The Times/Siena poll did not canvas the entire state.

But for an underfunded candidate whose main political experience was leading a strike against Kellogg's in 2021, Mr. Osborn is showing remarkable strength. Running as a blue-collar mechanic, he is leading in Nebraska's purple second district among women and men and among voters without a college degree. He is also taking 12 percent of the Republican vote.

''He's gaining strength in Nebraska,'' said Linda Lough, 74, a retired human resources manager in Omaha who supports Mr. Osborn as well as the Republican senator, Pete Ricketts, who is running in a special election for the state's other Senate seat. ''I think he's just very straightforward, he's really a working man and he understands problems that working people have.''

Mr. Osborn's campaign manager, Dustin Wahl, said the candidate has made inroads into the more heavily Republican districts. That has been enough this week to prompt the first surge of attack ads of the race from Ms. Fischer.

Without a political party behind him, Mr. Osborn has been able to raise only about $1.6 million compared to Ms. Fischer's $6.3 million. He also rejected the endorsement of the state's Democratic Party, depriving himself of institutional support.

But for an incumbent Ms. Fischer has kept a low profile. With Mr. Osborn's pitch claiming that the Senate needs a true ***working-class*** voice, he has been able to hang close enough in the few statewide polls that prognosticators have begun hedging their bets on an easy re-election for Ms. Fischer.

Here are the key things to know about these polls

Interviewers spoke with 688 likely voters in Michigan, 687 likely voters in Ohio, 680 likely voters in Wisconsin and 680 likely voters in Nebraska's Second Congressional District from Sept. 21 to 26, 2024.

Times/Siena polls are conducted by telephone, using live interviewers, in both English and Spanish. Overall, about 97 percent of respondents were contacted on a cellphone for these polls. You can see the exact questions that were asked and the order in which they were asked here.

Voters are selected for the survey from a list of registered voters. The list contains information on the demographic characteristics of every registered voter, allowing us to make sure we reach the right number of voters of each party, race and region. For these polls, interviewers placed nearly 260,000 calls to just over 140,000 voters.

To further ensure that the results reflect the entire voting population, not just those willing to take a poll, we give more weight to respondents from demographic groups that are underrepresented among survey respondents, like people without a college degree. You can see more information about the characteristics of respondents and the weighted sample at the bottom of the results and methodology page, under ''Composition of the Sample.''

The margin of sampling error among likely voters is about plus or minus four percentage points for each poll, and about plus or minus 2.5 percentage points when the three state polls are joined together. In theory, this means that the results should reflect the views of the overall population most of the time, though many other challenges create additional sources of error. When the difference between two values is computed -- such as a candidate's lead in a race -- the margin of error is twice as large.

You can see full results and a detailed methodology here. If you want to read more about how and why the Times/Siena Poll is conducted, you can see answers to frequently asked questions and submit your own questions here.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/28/us/politics/senate-polls-ohio-michigan-wisconsin.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/28/us/politics/senate-polls-ohio-michigan-wisconsin.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A16.

**Load-Date:** September 29, 2024

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[***The Small Communities That May Decide Who The Next President Is***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D79-YV61-DXY4-X0W1-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 20, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2024 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section SR; Column 0; Sunday Review Desk; Pg. 8

**Length:** 1013 words

**Body**

I N ALMOST every presidential battleground state, polling suggests something close to a dead heat between Kamala Harris and Donald Trump. In these states, there are key geographic voting blocs that could determine the outcome. The best way to tell how a state will vote is to build from the precinct level up, to dig into neighborhood data and to look at the differences in demographics and voting patterns across those precincts. Using this approach, I assembled more than 100 political microcommunities in the battleground states. Think of them as pieces of a puzzle representing distinct political and social trends that can help us understand the 2024 election. For Ms. Harris and Mr. Trump, each could be a crucial building block in a winning swing-state coalition. I selected four states that offer a regional and demographic variety of the precinct-cluster puzzle pieces. Within each, there are opportunities for both candidates.

Pennsylvania The Keystone State is a cornerstone of the Democrats' so-called blue wall. According to Nate Silver's 2024 forecast, the candidate who wins here wins the election 90 percent of the time. Pennsylvania is a state of contrasts, from the Philadelphia megalopolis to old industrial cities and large swaths of Appalachia. Of all the battlegrounds, urban-rural polarization is starkest in Pennsylvania.The polarization calculus favored Mr. Trump in 2016, as mostly rural blue-collar white voters moved right faster than suburban professionals moved left and minority Democratic turnout in Philadelphia proper dropped. But the math flipped to favor Joe Biden in 2020, as he made substantial gains in Philadelphia's suburbs and did better even in blue-collar areas in the eastern half of the state.

Wisconsin Since 2000, four of the six presidential elections in Wisconsin have been decided by one percentage point or less. In 2020 it was the country's tipping-point state -- and there is no reason to believe it won't be just as pivotal this November. Of all the battleground states, Wisconsin has had the most idiosyncratic political geography: Rural areas have voted Democratic well into the 21st century, and the deep-red WOW suburbs of Milwaukee -- Waukesha, Ozaukee and Washington Counties -- contribute to Republican margins. In 2016, with Mr. Trump in the race, these areas began to march to national trends: Rural areas trended Republican, while Milwaukee's well-off, close-in suburbs zoomed left. Still, loyalties remain potent in Wisconsin, from Democratic-leaning, ancestrally Scandinavian voters in the state's rural west to middle-class suburban Republicans outside Milwaukee. Whichever candidate can realign these remaining holdouts faster will have the edge in the Badger State.

Arizona Battlegrounds to the east feature a mostly urban-rural divide, but in Arizona the divides are mostly in the dominant Phoenix metro region, which casts six in 10 of the state's votes. For decades, the state was a Republican stronghold. But in recent years, as urban and suburban areas trended away from the G.O.P. under Mr. Trump, Democrats have had some success in the state. In 2020, for example, Mark Kelly won a Senate seat, and Mr. Biden carried the state by 0.3 percent. On top of that, Mr. Trump made scant progress with the state's Latino vote, in contrast to his larger gains in Florida and Texas. Across a large suburban Phoenix landscape, fully half the state's vote is cast in majority-white and middle-class precincts that are politically closely divided, my analysis shows. Win these areas, and you probably win the state.

North Carolina When Ms. Harris became the Democratic nominee, North Carolina rose once again to top-tier battleground status. Robust Black turnout and support is a necessary condition for any Democratic win in a Southern state like North Carolina but must be combined with strong support in majority-white suburbs. That is what happened in 2008, but it has not been repeated in the past three presidential elections.

On Election Night We will need time to parse precinct data to know which candidate won each of the puzzle pieces identified here. For election night, county-level numbers will be most helpful. Of the four states here, North Carolina will be the first to close its polls, at 7:30 p.m. Eastern time. Watch for Nash County, containing part of Rocky Mount, and next-door Wilson County, with the city of Wilson at the center. Mr. Trump lost Nash County by just 0.2 points in 2020 and Wilson County by three points. Both counties are politically split between rural white and Black voters, making them a test for Mr. Trump's populist coalition. A victory for him in Nash County and a tightening of the margin in Wilson County would most likely put him on track to win the state. Pennsylvania polls close at 8 p.m. Eastern time. Two key counties encompassing smaller industrial cities, Northampton and Erie, are must-wins for either candidate. Mr. Trump lost both by around a point in 2020, mirroring the statewide margin. Northampton features a mix of Latinos in Bethlehem and a growing number of suburbanites, while Erie combines the smaller-city ***working class*** with rural white residents. If Pennsylvania goes to Ms. Harris, Mr. Trump's last stand may come in Wisconsin (assuming he wins in North Carolina and Georgia), where polls close at 9 p.m. Eastern time. Look at three northeastern counties: Brown County, home of Green Bay, where Mr. Trump needs to win by at least nine points; Outagamie County, home of Appleton, by 11 points; and Winnebago County, home of Oshkosh, by five points. In Arizona, there is no understating the importance of Maricopa County, home of the Phoenix metro area, which casts six in 10 of the state's votes. Mr. Biden won here by two points, a threshold Ms. Harris needs to clear to have the upper hand statewide. Each of these pivotal counties combines two or more of the distinct voting blocs -- rural or urban or by race and ethnicity. In a polarized country, it's the combination of these in proximity that makes a place a battleground.

ReplyForward

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/18/business/20SmallCommunities.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/18/business/20SmallCommunities.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY SEBASTIAN SIADECKI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

1. Suburban Philadelphia

2. Scranton and Wilkes-Barre (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SAHAR COSTON-HARDY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

1. Southwest Wisconsin

2. Middle-class WOW suburbs (PHOTOGRAPHS BY THALASSA RAASCH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (SR8)

1. College-educated Phoenix suburbs (PHOTOGRAPH BY JESSE RIESER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

2. Latino areas (PHOTOGRAPH BY JESSE RIESER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

1. Charlotte suburban professionals (PHOTOGRAPH BY SEBASTIAN SIADECKI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

2. Rural Black belt (PHOTOGRAPH BY SAHAR COSTON-HARDY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) (SR9) This article appeared in print on page SR8, SR9.

**Load-Date:** October 20, 2024

**End of Document**



[***The Young Frenchman Striving to Give Voice to a Troubled Area***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CTC-KP11-DXY4-X2DT-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 25, 2024 Sunday

The New York Times on the Web

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**Section:** Section ; Column 0; None

**Length:** 1300 words

**Byline:** By Aida Alami

**Body**

As a teenager, Amine Kessaci confronted Emmanuel Macron, founded an environmental group and lost a brother to drug violence. At 20, he almost won a National Assembly seat.

At 17, Amine Kessaci found himself seated close to the president of France, Emmanuel Macron, who had come to Marseille to kick off his second presidential campaign in 2021.

Well-known for his top-down approach to policymaking, Mr. Macron described his plan to inject large amounts of state money into Marseille, France's second-most populous city, with the goal of stimulating its economy and ending its rampant violence.

With the leader of France squeezed on a seat almost next to him, Mr. Kessaci, the son of Algerian immigrants, did not miss his chance for an impromptu audience. In a voice that was simultaneously calm and combative, he urged Mr. Macron to be more inclusive in his decision-making.

''There is no point to come with a plan from Paris drafted on a plane, or I don't know where. You have to build it with us,'' he told Mr. Macron, who did not respond to the substance of Mr. Kessaci's comment, simply asking him his age and then slightly applauding.

Less than three years later, Mr. Kessaci (pronounced keh-ssah-see) ran for a National Assembly seat as a candidate of the Green Party, part of the left-wing New Popular Front coalition. He narrowly lost -- by 835 votes -- in the snap legislative elections in July to Gisèle Lelouis, 72, a member of the far-right National Rally party. The election resulted in a deadlock that has yet to be broken to form a government.

Mr. Kessaci's ambition speaks to a changing France. Elected or not, he is representative of citizens from immigrant backgrounds who are agitating to be heard and included, and who aspire to corridors of power long dominated by elites.

The legislative campaigns defined the competing visions for France's future. The National Rally, even as it has softened some of its most incendiary language, has taken a hard line on immigration. It often argues that immigration is linked to crime and threats to French identity, though France does not keep statistics based on ethnicity.

In Mr. Kessaci's constituency, the vote is typically split between villages outside Marseille that tend to support the far right and multicultural urban areas like Mr. Kessaci's, where disillusionment has suppressed voter turnout.

His campaign message was simple: He understood the daily experiences of lower-income voters, especially younger ones, and he was committed to pushing for change, especially for those living in the ***working-class*** neighborhoods, or ''quartiers populaires,'' of northern Marseille, where he grew up.

''Life experience is what matters most to be a representative of the nation,'' Mr. Kessaci said shortly after the election.

France has some politicians of ethnically diverse backgrounds in its top ranks of leadership. But in 2022, they made up only about 32 members of the 577-seat National Assembly, according to the news outlet France24, and few have a second-generation immigrant background like Mr. Kessaci's.

In the years after World War II, immigrants from Africa -- including former colonies and protectorates in the north and west -- settled in the quartiers populaires in response to France's growing need for labor. These were usually areas on the outskirts of major cities that lacked many public services, and came to embody social exclusion and economic disparity.

Mr. Kessaci grew up in one of them, in a dilapidated high-rise apartment building in Frais-Vallon, a 15-minute metro ride from Marseille's center. It remains one of the most crime-afflicted neighborhoods in all of France.

Close to the building, where his father still lives, young men in black ski masks can be seen on any given day at checkpoints monitoring who comes and goes, and who might represent a threat to their drug trade.

''We are the ones who live among real insecurity and yet we are the ones who complain the least,'' Mr. Kessaci said about concerns over crime that have fueled support for the far right.

Rachid Zerrouki, a teacher in Marseille who works with students who are disengaged academically, said he was happy to see someone with Mr. Kessaci's background get involved in politics.

''Representation is important,'' Mr. Zerrouki said.

The desperate economic and social situations these teenagers face, Mr. Zerrouki added, results in many of them being lured away from an education and into drug trafficking.

''We are struggling to even find internships so that they can imagine a career,'' he said about his students.

Mr. Kessaci has a personal connection to these kinds of problems. In December 2020, Brahim Kessaci, an older sibling, was killed, his burned body found in the trunk of a car. The police could not identify him for days, until the family confirmed that a jewelry chain found with the body was his.

Karim Bentahar, who works for a government program intended to prevent youth delinquency and extremism and ran Mr. Kessaci's campaign, said this experience was formative for Mr. Kessaci.

''I saw in him a young person who grew up too fast,'' he said of their first encounter three years ago. ''The brutal death of his brother nourished a positive drive, allowing him to take charge of his own destiny and to represent young people in the same situation as him with dignity.''

Mr. Kessaci's politics are also informed by environmental and economic concerns shared by other Green Party candidates. He supports a climate tax on companies that pollute and an increase in the minimum wage.

At 16, Mr. Kessaci founded Conscience Ecologique, a nonprofit organization with the goal of bringing ***working-class*** citizens into the national conversation on sustainability issues.

''We can fix our problems ourselves,'' he said. ''We can clean our neighborhoods. We are capable of doing it. We are young people who read, who have ideas, who do something other than drugs.''

The organization, now called Conscience, is run by his mother, Ouassila Benhamdi. Inside its offices, in what used to be a school, there are containers with donated clothes and food and a kitchen for cooking workshops. Conscience also helps people with the paperwork they must fill out to get housing, and offers camping excursions and yoga retreats for grieving parents and others who recently lost a loved one.

''I am an example for others,'' Ms. Benhamdi said of her work. ''Tragedy touched me. I didn't die, and life goes on.''

More than three years after the death of Mr. Kessaci's brother, Marseille still struggles with drug-related violence. In 2023, 49 people were killed in violence related to the drug trade, including killings that the police call ''settling scores'' among gangs. Last month, a teenager was shot to death in a neighborhood near Frais Vallon, according to local news media.

Mr. Kessaci supports legalizing cannabis as a way to weaken drug gangs and is in favor of restoring Police de Proximité, a local policing program that was eliminated in 2003. Since then, instead of the police being stationed in the community, they mostly arrive only in raids.

While the program ended before Mr. Kessaci was born, he still hears stories of good community-police relations that now almost seem like a fantasy.

''People used to call the police 'big brothers,''' he said of that calmer period. ''I even remember seeing a photo of a police officer playing soccer with young people. The police have lost their deterrent force.''

Despite his electoral defeat, Mr. Kessaci said he remained optimistic about his political prospects and was focusing on increasing voter registration while he studied law at Aix-Marseille University, in Marseille.

''I am only 20 years old,'' he said, ''and the next time will be the right one.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/25/world/europe/marseille-france-amine-kessaci.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/25/world/europe/marseille-france-amine-kessaci.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: The ambition of Amine Kessaci, the son of Algerian immigrants, speaks to a changing France. He is representative of citizens from immigrant backgrounds who are agitating to be heard and included. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Andrea Mantovani for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 25, 2024

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[***The Second Pandemic Election***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DC3-JPJ1-JBG3-652M-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 6, 2024 Wednesday 16:13 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1213 words

**Byline:** Jess BidgoodJess Bidgood is a managing correspondent for The Times and writes the newsletter, a guide to the 2024 election and beyond.

**Highlight:** Covid cost Trump the presidency in 2020, and it may have cleared the path for his return.

**Body**

Covid cost Trump the presidency in 2020, and it may have cleared the path for his return.

The day after an election can bring an uncanny quiet.

After months — even years — of frenzied campaign activity, nonstop ads and raucous campaign rallies, comes a day when the nation looks into the mirror and into its future.

My colleagues on the Politics desk and across The Times worked through the night and on into the morning to bring you coverage of President-elect Donald Trump’s decisive victory, a return to power that [*has already plunged this country into a new era of uncertainty*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html). In picking Trump, voters have elevated a once-banished political figure who has [*promised to govern as a strongman*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html) and upend the nation’s handling of the [*economy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html), [*public health*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html) and foreign affairs — and they probably helped to [*keep him out of*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html) prison.

There is a lot to process, no matter which outcome you wanted.

If there is one image that sticks in my mind as I sift through all of it — one image that is most important to understanding how and why Trump is returning to power — it’s not a picture of the president-elect. [*Rather, it’s this graphic, which shows how much better he did*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html) across much of the country last night, compared with his failed presidential bid in 2020.

This is a country going through a big change.

It will be a long time before we can say exactly why a country that decisively rejected Trump four years ago welcomed him back last night — and the answer is going to be complicated. But it is possible, I think, that the same thing that cost Trump the presidency in 2020 played at lease some role in clearing a path for his return in 2024: the pandemic.

In 2020, Covid-19 upended American life, killing 385,000 people in a year and sending the American economy into a recession. Trump’s chaotic and dismissive handling of a public health crisis that had made life almost unrecognizable is part of why voters rejected him that year.

When President Biden came into office and vaccines made Covid less lethal, much of public was eager to forget what had happened. But whether people talked about it, the pandemic had already set into motion some of the forces that would make President Biden’s term in office rocky. It spurred global supply chain shocks that sent inflation soaring. In the years that followed, the public’s faith in institutions eroded, and Trump and his allies sought to weaponize that distrust.

Communities had fierce battles over school closures and curriculums. People worried about political violence and their economic future. There was also a political backlash against the racial justice protests that had unfolded during the pandemic’s first year.

“Covid, in many ways, walked into this country’s tribal politics, and really put it on steroids,” said Doug Sosnik, a longtime Democratic strategist who believes the election results portend the country’s biggest shift to the right since Ronald Reagan’s victory in 1980.

When I called Sosnik, he reminded me of the period in 2021 when Biden’s approval ratings tanked and never quite recovered. On July 4, once vaccines had been widely distributed, he declared [*“independence” from the virus*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html), even though cases would continue to surge and disrupt American life. That August, the U.S. withdrawal from Afghanistan became the first foreign policy calamity of his presidency. And in September, the [*Consumer Price Index climbed 5.4 percent*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html) from the prior year.

That moment created political problems for Biden. But it was a sign of a bigger and more fundamental reshaping of American life, as people chafed at rising prices, a sharp rise in housing costs put a [*basic element of the American dream out of reach*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html), and people’s distrust of the government and one another only hardened. Voters on both sides began to ask big questions about whether the government — and democracy itself — [*was really working for them*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html).

This is not the only country where the long tail of the pandemic [*has hurt incumbent parties*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html). Slow growth and rising prices have dealt political blows to leaders in Britain, France, Germany and Japan. The American recovery was stronger than those nations’ — but, my colleague Jim Tankersley wrote today, [*it still wasn’t enough*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html).

In 2020, as voters put on masks and cast ballots by mail, the effects of the pandemic were obvious, and Biden promised to offer change.

But maybe 2024 unfolded in a country just as upended by the pandemic, even if it was less obvious to the naked eye. This time, though, Biden — and then Harris — represented the status quo, offering little in the way of transformative ideas that would fix what four years of malaise had wrought.

This time, Trump was able to run as the candidate of change.

Meanwhile, in House races …

Republicans won the White House. They won the Senate. The only remaining question is whether they’ll have unified government — and [*that depends on what’s happening in House races that could take days or weeks to call*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html). I asked my colleague Catie Edmondson, who covers Congress for The Times, to explain where things stand.

JB: If Democrats take back the House, they would be able to stymie President-elect Trump’s legislative priorities right out of the gate. How likely is that to happen?

CE: There are a number of districts where the Democratic incumbents have held on despite the red wave sweeping the country in general, and House Minority Leader Hakeem Jeffries said this afternoon that he believes his party has a path to reclaim the House.

But to do that, they would need to sweep a number of close races — and that has left Democrats I have been talking to increasingly pessimistic about their ability to ward off a Republican trifecta.

How far are we from a call?

It’s really hard to tell, because there are at least a couple of races that strategists have indicated will go to a recount. I think it’s also an open question as to how long it takes officials in California to count races that Democrats are hoping to win.

Tell us about a district that sums up the Democrats’ problems.

In Pennsylvania, Democratic incumbents like Representative Susan Wild and Representative Matt Cartwright have conceded to Republican opponents, although The Associated Press hasn’t yet called those races. Those contests, in the Allentown and Scranton areas, are emblematic of the party’s struggles with ***working-class*** voters.

Democrat Eugene Vindman won Virginia’s Seventh District — but it was a close race. That’s a district that shows how Democrats just didn’t excel with suburban voters as much as they needed to offset losses elsewhere.

Are there any districts that have surprised you?

In Maine’s largely rural Second District, Representative Jared Golden, a Democrat, has declared victory. His race hasn’t been called, but a win would mean he found a way to outperform Vice President Kamala Harris, who lost in his district.

Another bright spot for Democrats came in New York. The party was set back on its heels in 2022, when they took a lot of blame nationally for losing races that effectively cost Democrats the House. Last night, they flipped at least two seats, even though Trump improved his performance in the state overall since 2020.

PHOTO: President-elect Donald J. Trump at his election night party. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Haiyun Jiang for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 19, 2024

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[***My Manifesto for Despairing Democrats; Nicholas Kristof***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DC0-XM31-DXY4-X45F-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 6, 2024 Wednesday 19:35 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 1293 words

**Byline:** Nicholas KristofNicholas Kristof became a columnist for The Times Opinion desk in 2001 and has won two Pulitzer Prizes. His new memoir is &amp;#8220;.&amp;#8221;

**Highlight:** Here’s how to be a watchdog, not a lap dog, for the next four tumultuous years, while holding on to your sanity.

**Body**

So what do we do now?

For those who think as I do, the election feels devastating. My country has elected a felon whose former top aides have described him as a fascist and “the most dangerous person to this country.” Yet in an election that wasn’t even close, voters not only chose him but also picked a Republican Senate to empower him further.

This will be a test of our country and of each of us, so let me offer a manifesto for how ordinary Americans of my ilk can respond.

1. I accept Donald Trump’s victory. If we are to stand up to Trump, we must first resist the impulse to be like Trump. We lost. We were outvoted. In a democracy, the majority rules, and that was not us. Yes, there is a contradiction when a democratic election elevates someone working to undermine democracy, but our first obligation is still to respect the voters’ choice.

2. I will be a watchdog, not a lap dog. Accepting Trump as president-elect does not mean surrendering to authoritarianism. In particular, I will be extra vigilant about attempts to abuse the legal system to go after Trump’s critics, and I will support institutions that are the backbone of democracy, such as the legal system, journalism and the civil service. I may hug a lawyer.

3. I will back organizations fighting to uphold human values. During Trump’s first term, the A.C.L.U. did [*heroic work*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/02/magazine/inside-the-aclus-war-on-trump.html) battling family separation at the border. Planned Parenthood [*fought to preserve access*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/02/magazine/inside-the-aclus-war-on-trump.html) to reproductive health. So many other organizations stepped up to assist the vulnerable. Let’s support them.

4. I will subscribe to a news organization. This is self-serving, and God knows that we in journalism make mistakes all the time, but it remains true that journalism is critical to hold officials accountable. Oversight from news organizations will be particularly crucial if Republicans end up controlling both houses of Congress. A corollary for that subscription: Hold us in the news business accountable for holding Trump accountable. We journalists shouldn’t dispassionately observe a journey to authoritarianism; we shouldn’t be neutral about upholding democracy.

5. I will try to understand why so many Americans disagree with me. Too many Democrats [*reflexively assume*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/02/magazine/inside-the-aclus-war-on-trump.html) that any person backing Trump must be a bigot or an idiot. But let’s beware of invidious stereotypes, for finger-wagging condescension alienates centrist voters; it’s difficult to win support from people you’re calling idiots and racists. Many ***working-class*** Americans have been left behind economically and have reason to feel angry. And Democrats aren’t going to win elections as long as they seethe at a majority of voters.

6. I will keep my cool. Conservatives regularly accused liberals like me of suffering from Trump derangement syndrome, and perhaps they had a point. When he was president, Trump pushed us liberals leftward on issues like immigration and policing, with some Democrats calling to abolish the police or to eliminate U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement. That might have felt noble, but the outcome was more support for Trump.

7. I will care for my mental health. There’ll be many, many times in the next four years when we’ll be irritated, anxious and alarmed, probably with good reason, so we need to find a way to relax and mellow out. For me, [*that’s backpacking*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/02/magazine/inside-the-aclus-war-on-trump.html) and [*making wine and cider*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/02/magazine/inside-the-aclus-war-on-trump.html). In my day job, I shout at the world, and it pays no attention, so it’s a relief to raise grapes and apples and have them listen to me. And remember that sometimes the best therapist has four legs. A few years ago, many families got a pandemic dog, and for some this may be time to get a Trump dog.

8. I will be alert to gender nastiness. This campaign saw Trump gleefully engaging in vulgarity and misogyny, and one result was [*a widening gender divide*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/02/magazine/inside-the-aclus-war-on-trump.html). I suspect we may see more such nastiness targeting feminists, and it will be important — particularly for men — to uphold norms and push back at this tide of degradation.

9. I will help Ukrainians. One of the big winners of this election is Vladimir Putin, and one of the big losers is Ukraine. This will be a brutal winter for Ukrainians not just because of the cold and the North Korean troops joining Russian forces but also because America may soon abandon Ukraine. So consider supporting [*an organization that helps Ukraine*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/02/magazine/inside-the-aclus-war-on-trump.html), such as [*Razom*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/02/magazine/inside-the-aclus-war-on-trump.html).

10. I will back humanitarians around the world. Trump is likely to cut funds for the U.N. Population Fund and [*other reproductive health organizations*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/02/magazine/inside-the-aclus-war-on-trump.html), as he did before. The Trump administration may cut support for the U.N. agency providing education and assistance to Palestinians, [*UNRWA*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/02/magazine/inside-the-aclus-war-on-trump.html), and it is much less likely to speak out about Israeli abuses in Gaza and the West Bank. It will be less likely to work for peace in [*Sudan*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/02/magazine/inside-the-aclus-war-on-trump.html), now probably the world’s worst humanitarian crisis. One way to fight back against isolationism and indifference is to support organizations with a global humanitarian mission.

11. I will push for blue places to govern themselves better. Trump isn’t the only one we should hold accountable; we must also hold ourselves accountable. The truth is that some blue cities out West have fumbled issues like homelessness and public order: San Francisco and Portland are now Republican talking points. And even if liberal policies are stymied at the national level, federalism still allows Democratic cities and states to experiment and devise new approaches to improve education, chip away at poverty and increase the housing supply. Let’s take that opportunity seriously.

12. I will temper my strong views with humility. The challenge is to unflinchingly proclaim our values even as we appreciate that we are fallible and may eventually be proved wrong. Accepting that contradiction curbs the tendency toward arrogance and self-righteousness, which in any case are utterly unhelpful in promoting those values.

13. I will share Thanksgiving with relatives, even if I think they’re nuts. There’s too much division in America, and we hang out too much with people who think just as we do. So if you’re debating whether to break bread with family members whose politics you can’t stand, go for it. Don’t let Trump get between you and your family or friendships.

14. I will start planning for recovery. It’s time to start working for the 2026 congressional elections. That will mean more focus on winning elections nationwide. Too often, Democrats in safe districts in New York or California stake out far-left positions that hurt Democrats in Ohio or Georgia, damaging the causes we believe in. America is a centrist nation, and just because Trump takes extreme stances does not mean we should.

15. Instead of despairing, I will find purpose. For four decades, I’ve reported on pro-democracy activists struggling against dictatorships. I saw them [*massacred in 1989*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/02/magazine/inside-the-aclus-war-on-trump.html) at Tiananmen Square in China, and I’ve had too many friends tortured and imprisoned in other countries, but I also saw democracy come to Eastern Europe, [*South Korea*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/02/magazine/inside-the-aclus-war-on-trump.html) and South Africa. What I’ve learned from people like Archbishop Desmond Tutu is that despair — even a quite reasonable despair — is self-fulfilling, while democratic activists with a sense of purpose can sometimes, unpredictably and imperfectly, make [*unexpected progress*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/02/magazine/inside-the-aclus-war-on-trump.html). To avoid being crushed over the next four years, that sense of purpose must be our North Star guiding us forward.

The Times is committed to publishing [*a diversity of letters*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/02/magazine/inside-the-aclus-war-on-trump.html) to the editor. We’d like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some [*tips*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/02/magazine/inside-the-aclus-war-on-trump.html). And here’s our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/02/magazine/inside-the-aclus-war-on-trump.html).

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PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY JENNA GARRETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A23.

**Load-Date:** November 7, 2024

**End of Document**



[***What Happened to the Bus Lanes New Yorkers Were Promised?; Street Wars***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CS2-XNK1-DXY4-X0M0-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 19, 2024 Monday 06:57 EST

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1925 words

**Byline:** Dana Rubinstein Dana Rubinstein covers New York City politics and government for The Times.

**Highlight:** Buses are often unreliable and slow (thanks to clogged streets), but even projects to ease these problems are getting delayed. Is Mayor Eric Adams to blame?

**Body**

Buses are often unreliable and slow (thanks to clogged streets), but even projects to ease these problems are getting delayed. Is Mayor Eric Adams to blame?

This is [*Street Wars*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/street-wars), a weekly series on the battle for space on New York’s streets and sidewalks.

Buses have little of the subway’s sex appeal. In New York City, their riders lean [***working class***](https://www.nytimes.com/series/street-wars) and [*older*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/street-wars). A transit advocacy group gives out decidedly unglamorous “Schleppie” and “Pokey” [*awards*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/street-wars) to the city’s slowest and most unreliable buses. It has many to choose from.

But in the age of [*bloated subway construction costs*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/street-wars), subway extensions are almost never built here. And transit experts consider improving bus speeds low-hanging fruit in the effort to make New York City, which has the nation’s largest bus system, a more navigable (and tolerable) place to live.

And yet, in the jurisdictional tangle that is the city, building better bus routes requires the cooperation of the mayor, whose Transportation Department controls its streets, and the state-run Metropolitan Transportation Authority, which oversees its buses.

In an indication that all is not well between the two, the departing president of New York City Transit, which operates the subway and buses for the M.T.A., delivered a broadside against the administration of Mayor Eric Adams.

The president, Richard Davey, in his final week on the job in June, sent a letter to Mr. Adams’s transportation commissioner, declaring that his agency was “very disappointed” with the administration’s decision last year to [*water down a proposal to speed up buses in a busy section of the Bronx*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/street-wars). The weakened version, he wrote, has instead done next to nothing. The New York Times acquired the letter through a Freedom of Information Law request, and it was [*first reported by Streetsblog*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/street-wars).

Mr. Davey pressed Ydanis Rodriguez, the transportation commissioner, to adopt one of the more robust proposals for the route, which would have given more space to the buses that provide 85,000 rides along Fordham Road every day. Mr. Davey’s interim successor at New York City Transit, Demetrius Crichlow, signed the letter, too.

“We both want to reiterate that the Fordham Road bus priority project remains of critical importance,” they wrote.

City buses provide nearly three million rides each weekday along streets packed with double-parked cars and delivery trucks — streets controlled by the mayor. They often operate in areas poorly served by subways. They are the nimble workhorses of an aging system.

Fordham Road has the [*busiest bus route*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/street-wars) in the Bronx, the city’s poorest borough. About half of Bronxites [*travel by public transportation*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/street-wars) to work.

When he was running for mayor, Mr. Adams highlighted his ***working-class*** origins and promised to build 150 miles of bus lanes [*in four years*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/street-wars).

But the numbers suggest a different story: New York City is on track to build just seven miles of bus lanes by the end of this year, according to an analysis by [*Streetsblog*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/street-wars). Three Transportation Department officials, who requested anonymity to discuss internal projections, told The Times that the Streetsblog estimate is in the right ballpark, with one saying the mileage might actually be lower.

The city built 14.7 miles of new bus lanes last year and 5.4 miles the year before, according to the Transportation Department. That means that the administration is on track to have built fewer than 30 miles in its first three years, which suggests that it will fall well short of the mayor’s initial goal of 150 miles in four. His administration’s bus lane construction also falls well short of the 30 miles of protected bus lanes required to be built each year by a law known as the Streets Master Plan.

Liz Garcia, a spokeswoman for Mr. Adams, said the mayor had made it “easier, safer and more affordable to get around New York City — especially for young people and ***working-class*** New Yorkers.”

She noted that last week the city and the M.T.A. [*announced*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/street-wars) an expansion of bus-mounted camera enforcement against cars blocking or double-parking near bus stops. She also touted the city’s efforts to drive down subway crime, its investment in subsidized fares for low-income New Yorkers, and its [*commitment*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/street-wars) to building more than 40 miles of new protected paths for cyclists and pedestrians known as greenways.

“We are reviewing the data on Fordham Road, and continue to consider upgrades for the corridor as we build a New York City that works for everyone — straphangers, cyclists, pedestrians and drivers alike,” Ms. Garcia said.

Three men trying to unseat Mr. Adams in next year’s Democratic primary for mayor are saying they could do better.

In interviews last week, [*Brad Lander*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/street-wars), the New York City comptroller; [*Zellnor Myrie*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/street-wars), a New York state senator, and [*Scott Stringer*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/street-wars), a former comptroller and Manhattan borough president, all said that if elected, they would better abide by the law and bring more dedicated bus lanes to city streets.

Mr. Stringer said the mayor “has shown an aversion to creating a transportation network that would meet the needs of all communities, especially beyond Manhattan.”

Mr. Lander said, “The only thing moving slower than the buses in New York City are Mayor Adams’s projects to do anything about it.”

Mr. Myrie, a graduate of Fordham University, knows the Fordham Road bus ecosystem better than most. When he was in college, he would generally avoid taking the bus along Fordham Road, since walking or running was faster.

The state of New York City’s bus system “should be a source of embarrassment,” Mr. Myrie said.

Initially, the M.T.A. and the city’s Transportation Department considered building a true busway along Fordham Road, like the one they built along 14th Street in Manhattan. Access for private vehicles would be severely limited. Buses would have primacy. Then they proposed a bus lane that was offset from the curb, which could have averted conflicts between buses and other vehicles trying to access the curb.

Business leaders in the area rose up in protest, complaining that their patrons would lose valuable parking spots. The Bronx Zoo and New York Botanical Garden [*opposed*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/street-wars) the more aggressive proposals, too.

“Buses are important, but so are cars,” said Peter Madonia, another Fordham graduate and the chairman of the Belmont Business Improvement District, which encompasses the Bronx’s Little Italy. He was a key opponent of the more aggressive bus lane proposals.

“In Belmont, 85 percent of our clientele comes from 10 to 40 miles away, and they come by car. And they bring dollars and jobs from the tristate area to New York City,” he said.

So planners merely repainted the existing bus lane instead, promising more enforcement against vehicles that infringed on it.

The Transportation Department wants to increase bus speeds by 15 percent on Fordham Road. Instead, according to the letter from Mr. Davey and Mr. Crichlow, bus speeds have improved by just 2 to 4 percent.

“Improvements have been marginal at best, so additional measures are warranted to speed up bus service for our customers,” Mr. Davey and Mr. Crichlow wrote.

Mr. Davey, who now runs the Massachusetts Port Authority, declined to comment further.

At a recent media availability, Janno Lieber, the M.T.A.’s chief executive, expressed frustration with the pace of bus lane construction in New York.

“I’ll tell you this: We need more bus lanes,” [*he said*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/street-wars), noting that building more was required by law. “I stood with the mayor a couple years ago and said that we want to really make buses faster, and bus lanes are a part of that. And I want to renew my offer to do everything possible to enable the city to make good on their commitments.”

Enjoying our Street Wars series? Tell us what you like or how we could improve: [*streetwars@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/street-wars)

Tackling ‘a public health issue that needs to be taken seriously’: street noise

During the height of the coronavirus pandemic, Washington Heights and Inwood, two neighborhoods in Upper Manhattan, were “inundated with noise,” said Tanya Bonner, a longtime resident of the area. Fireworks, dirt bikes, street parties, boomboxes and outdoor dining all contributed to the cacophony.

“It was insane,” said Ms. Bonner, who has lived in Washington Heights since 2005. “I was staying in hotels because I could not sleep.”

New York City is [*known for being loud*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/street-wars). More than 50,000 noise complaints were filed last year with the city’s Department of Environmental Protection, which is just one of the agencies that receives and handles such complaints. Nearly 20,000 of those complaints were filed in Manhattan, according to the department.

Washington Heights and Inwood are among the neighborhoods where a significant number of complaints have been filed over the years. In 2020, when more and more people started gathering outside, the problem came to a head, Ms. Bonner said.

She and some of her neighbors formed a group known as the Washington Heights-Inwood Task Force on Noise, which brought together elected officials, police and fire officers, and others in hopes of addressing the problem.

The situation has improved, but the noise is still an issue, said Ms. Bonner, who chairs the task force.

“You have some people try to stereotype the people who are complaining as just a bunch of gentrifiers, colonizers or whatever,” Ms. Bonner said. “This is not true. Noise is a public health issue that needs to be taken seriously.”

She added: “I’m a Black woman and I live here, and I’m complaining. I’m surely not a gentrifier.”

The task force is working with Columbia University’s Mailman School of Public Health on a noise study and is currently recruiting people to take part. The goal is to ensure that participants reflect the community, which is largely Spanish-speaking.

Once the pilot study gets underway, sound level meters will be placed in the homes of 30 participants, said [*Arline Bronzaft*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/street-wars), an environmental psychologist and longtime New York City noise activist who is also a member of the task force.

The meters will monitor the noise outside each apartment. Cameras will also be installed to determine where the noise is coming from. And participants will wear wrist devices that measure their sleep health by looking at how long they sleep and whether their sleep gets disrupted.

“You can look at the sleep and look at the time to see whether a sound was coming into the apartment at the same time,” Ms. Bronzaft said.

The goal of the study is to get public officials to take meaningful action to reduce noise.

“While we may have research worldwide on the effects of noise on sleep, public officials tend to be moved more readily when it is their constituents that are being affected,” Ms. Bronzaft said.

The task force’s recommendations include updating the city’s noise code, reviving noise education programs that were once taught in schools and for police officers to more frequently carry noise decibel readers.

What we’re reading

* Another highway in the Bronx? [[*Streetsblog*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/street-wars)]

1. Efforts to protect the Brooklyn Botanic Garden from a new building that would cast shadows over it. [[*Brownstoner*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/street-wars)]
2. After a yearslong battle, the Elizabeth Street Garden in Manhattan could soon be replaced with affordable housing. [[*Patch*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/street-wars)]

* A dispute over a makeshift goldfish pond in Brooklyn. [[*The New York Times*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/street-wars)]

1. Residents are complaining that music performances under the Kosciuszko Bridge are too loud. [[*New York Post*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/street-wars)]

PHOTO: Many New Yorkers rely on buses in areas of the city without much subway access, but buses are often slowed down by clogged streets. (PHOTOGRAPH BY THALIA JUAREZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page MB7.

**Load-Date:** September 5, 2024

**End of Document**



[***An Exquisite Queer Odyssey by a Literary Master; Fiction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D4S-FF51-JBG3-61FR-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 899 words

**Byline:** Hamilton Cain

**Highlight:** In Alan Hollinghurst’s new novel, “Our Evenings,” a Burmese English actor grapples with race and ambition, sexuality and love in a bigoted world.

**Body**

In Alan Hollinghurst’s new novel, “Our Evenings,” a Burmese English actor grapples with race and ambition, sexuality and love in a bigoted world.

Near the conclusion of Alan Hollinghurst’s languorous, elegant novel “Our Evenings,” the seventh from the Booker laureate, the elderly biracial narrator, Dave Win, a London actor famous for East Asian roles, bumps into Giles Hadlow, a Tory politician and dyed-in-the-wool nativist, at a literary festival held in a manor house. Both have just published books, but only one draws crowds. As a teenager Dave had benefited from the Hadlow Exhibition: a scholarship funded by Giles’s parents to attend Bampton, an eminent Berkshire public school (what we Yanks would call a prep school). Though Giles’s parents are Dave’s benefactors, Giles is not. Dave once spent a holiday at the Hadlow farm, where Giles, brawny and cruel, tormented him with slurs and half nelsons.

Now Giles is leading the charge for Brexit, braying, jowl-faced, about immigrants in the manner of Boris Johnson or Donald Trump. “I always had to remember that for others, millions of them, Giles had the heft of a senior politician, a man who could be looked to to change things, with all the glamour and gravity of government,” Dave notes. “Maybe it was a limitation in me to see him only, or in essence, as an adolescent sadist, a spoilt hand-biting brat, who could never, surely, be taken seriously by anyone.”

Giles in his two guises — mean boy and dogmatic politician — bookends “Our Evenings,” although for most of the story he’s glimpsed in the distance, less a presence than Dave’s patrons, Mark and Cara Hadlow. Grounded in the bedrock of affluence but kindhearted, they nurture a connection long after Dave leaves Bampton. It’s Mark’s death that prompts Dave to peer back on his colorful life, with the support of his husband, Richard.

Structured like a memoir, “Our Evenings” is no page-turner; it moves with the heavy tread of a royal procession. It insists on patience as it doles out its pleasures. Yet Dave is a captivating protagonist, threading narrative lines as Hollinghurst skewers the hidden and not-so-hidden bigotries that define Britain.

Raised in ***working-class*** austerity, Dave, the dark-skinned child of an English mother (a dressmaker named Avril) and a Burmese father (who, as Dave’s mother explains, was killed in a coup before her son was born), dodges his neighbors’ baleful stares, armed with “a watchful desire to please.” The Wins’ fortunes shift when his mother’s client Esme Croft, a well-heeled divorcée, discreetly woos Avril and adopts them as her family. A vacation at the Devon shore clinches the union while Dave falls under the spell of a handsome waiter. His longings are so hushed they almost don’t seem like attractions. Dave’s a top-tier student but his real passion is the theater, which he later pursues at Oxford. Offstage Dave makes himself small, struggling with his sexuality, prone to doubt about status. He learns to perform to the expectations of others — acting as survival strategy.

“Our Evenings” is veddy English, brimming with teas in the garden, Vaughan Williams symphonies, even mentions of the iconic valet Jeeves. Hollinghurst writes with a painter’s eye, attuned to composition and palette, a nod to the British landscape tradition. (A minor character is named John Constable.) “It seemed like one long trundle of fields running all the way down to Oxford, two miles off. The heart of the city was probed and exposed by the sunset, fine-etched rooftops and spires, chapel windows blazing. In the sky to the east above Headington, over London soon, high elements of cloud, white Alps in the blue, took colour as we watched, burned with the fierce pink and orange and cavernous grey of a vast log fire, richer and richer.”

As the ’60s rebellions burn, Dave crashes in his final exams, a nightmare come to life, triggered by twin stressors: lack of preparation and an unrequited fixation on a hunky classmate. Denied a degree, he plunges into London’s experimental “thesp” scene, with occasional visits to his mother and Esme, their sitting room a safe harbor.

As in his earlier books, the author perfumes his tale with eroticism, an emphasis on same-sex seduction, yet his reach is broader here, surveying a constellation of male relationships. Lovers vanish; friendships wither on the vine; mentors rarely falter; husbands hang on during tough times. Always Dave, a modern Telemachus, searches for scraps of information about his absent father.

Hollinghurst wears his influences like a greatcoat: Jacobin dramatists, Henry James and E.M. Forster in particular. But the clothes suit him as he finds Dave’s voice — and the novel’s — amid the layers. With each decade Dave tightens his grip on us, linking the bloom of queer equality and social acceptance with the canker of xenophobia. The book’s final section feels both shocking and inevitable, as Hollinghurst homes in on the values sacrificed when grievances dictate why we give and withhold compassion

“Our Evenings” is that rare bird: a muscular work of ideas and an engrossing tale of one man’s personal odyssey as he grows up, framed in exquisite language, surrounding us like a Wall of Sound.

OUR EVENINGS | By Alan Hollinghurst | Random House | 487 pp. | $30

Hamilton Cain author bio here please thanks we appreciate it and thanks.

This article appeared in print on page BR15.

**Load-Date:** November 26, 2024

**End of Document**



[***A More Freewheeling Book Lives Inside Al Pacino’s Memoir; Nonfiction***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D73-G3W1-DXY4-X0CH-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 19, 2024 Saturday 01:00 EST

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**Section:** BOOKS; review

**Length:** 1066 words

**Byline:** Caryn James

**Highlight:** From Shakespeare to Strindberg to “Scarface”: The actor remembers all of it and talks about some of it in “Sonny Boy.”

**Body**

From Shakespeare to Strindberg to “Scarface”: The actor remembers all of it and talks about some of it in “Sonny Boy.”

SONNY BOY: A Memoir, by Al Pacino

Al Pacino was a young actor in 1968, rehearsing for a now-forgotten play called “Huui, Huui” at the Public Theater. One day the Public’s impresario, Joseph Papp, took him aside, told him, “You will be a great star one day,” and fired him. Just a few years later, while making “The Godfather,” his director, Francis Ford Coppola, summoned him to a restaurant where he was having dinner with his family. Without inviting Pacino to sit down, Coppola warned him, “You’re not cutting it.” Soon after, under threat of being fired by the studio, Pacino shot one of the classic scenes in film history, when Michael Corleone enters a restaurant bathroom, retrieves a hidden gun and becomes a killer. The intensity and fear on Michael’s face are still chilling.

Pacino tells anecdotes like those with modesty and a bit of a shrug — “In this business, you’re up, you’re down, and you’re up again,” he says — and they are among the most endearing parts of “Sonny Boy.” They pop up sporadically in an uneven memoir that is sometimes a heartfelt consideration of art, and often a perfunctory cradle-to-age-84 overview of his life and career. Pacino doesn’t dish gossip or give much detail about his personal life, but he is passionate about acting. You can almost hear a collaborator or editor leaning over his shoulder here, saying, “Al, at least mention the affair with Tuesday Weld,” nudging the book toward its cookie-cutter, uninspired form. (In the acknowledgments, Pacino thanks both his collaborator, Dave Itzkoff, and editor, Scott Moyers.)

“Sonny Boy,” titled after his mother’s boyhood nickname for him, begins in the most conventional way, in childhood. Pacino’s parents divorced when he was 2, and he lived in a ***working-class*** neighborhood in the South Bronx with his loving but emotionally fragile mother and grandparents. With obvious affection, he remembers running around the neighborhood with his pals Cliffy, Bruce and Petey. All three of those friends later died of drug overdoses, a fate Pacino was spared thanks to his family’s vigilance. This stretch of the memoir is earnest, but not especially revealing. Plenty of boys survive rough childhoods and don’t become one of the greatest actors of their time.

More of Pacino’s voice comes through when he talks about acting, and his goal of instinctively embodying a character. He dropped out of the High School of Performing Arts at 16, worked odd jobs and performed in tiny, way-off-Broadway spaces. Onstage in Strindberg’s “Creditors,” he had a life-altering epiphany. “Words are coming out, and they’re the words of Strindberg, but I’m saying them as though they’re mine,” he says. “I’m lifting off the ground.” From then on, “I eat, I don’t eat. I make money, I don’t make money. I’m famous, I’m not famous.” Careerism was beside the point. That sounds like Pacino because the idea fits with his lifelong pursuit of art at its most sincere, as in several small films he directed, including “Looking for Richard” (1996), about Shakespeare’s “Richard III,” right through to his role as King Lear in a film he has been shooting.

He won a Tony early, but movies changed everything. In the 1970s alone he starred as a drug addict in “The Panic in Needle Park,” a breakthrough followed quickly by enduring performances in “Godfather I” and “II,” “Serpico” and “Dog Day Afternoon,” films largely shaped by his singular conviction and kinetic presence in the lead roles.

He tells a few behind-the-scenes stories from movies through the decades. He was rushed to an E.R. while making “Scarface” because a machine gun fused to his hand when he grabbed the hot barrel. But he is better at analyzing his performances. The drug-fueled crime boss Tony Montana in “Scarface” is deliberately two-dimensional. “The way I played him, the character never has any inner conflict until the moment he kills his best friend.” And Pacino is well aware of his reputation for scenery chewing, never more deserved than in his often parodied performance yelling “Hoooooo-ah!” in “Scent of a Woman.” With great understatement he says, “I did go overboard sometimes in that part.”

Midcareer, he had a string of 1980s flops, like “Cruising,” in which he plays an undercover detective investigating murders of gay men, a film he now flat out calls “exploitative.” He ended up, as he puts it, broke. He says he would have been fine quitting movies, just reading books and doing theater, but Diane Keaton, with whom he was living at the time, knew that was impossible. She gave him one of the memoir’s best, most bracing lines. “There’s no going back,” she told him. “You’ve been rich too long.”

He has glowing but vague things to say about Keaton and other romantic partners. Jill Clayburgh, his partner in the early days, was one of the great loves of his life. But the memoir barely mentions many of the most significant personal moments. He refers to becoming a father in 1989 but doesn’t mention his daughter’s mother, and does the same when he talks about his youngest child, a son born just last year. In between, he had twins with the actress Beverly D’Angelo, and writes mostly about adjusting to life in Los Angeles to be near them. He is more comfortable talking about himself, acknowledging that he drank heavily in the early part of his career.

You can respect his choice not to reveal more, but all those flyby references make the memoir feel forced, constantly straining against his immense imagination — there is a brief fantasy conversation between him and the long-dead Bertolt Brecht — and his impulse to ponder subjects like fame. He starts to talk about the cost of being a public figure but pulls back because he says going on might be self-centered. That’s too bad, because he is fascinating when he recalls that his sudden fame in the ’70s meant dealing with “a changed life, one that leads to desperate solitude and a strange way of being set apart from the world.” In those instances, the memoir sounds as if there’s a different, more freewheeling book he wanted to write, and I would read that book in a second.

SONNY BOY: A Memoir | By Al Pacino | Penguin Press | 370 pp. | $35

PHOTO: Al Pacino in 2019. (PHOTOGRAPH BY PHILIP MONTGOMERY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page BR48.

**Load-Date:** December 5, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Democratic Senate Candidates Lead in Ohio, Michigan and Wisconsin, Polls Find***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D2M-38P1-DXY4-X33Y-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 28, 2024 Saturday 13:11 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1758 words

**Highlight:** Strong showings in new Times/Siena College polls leave a narrow path open for Democrats to keep hold of the chamber, but Republicans maintain an advantage with the map.

**Body**

Strong showings in new Times/Siena College polls leave a narrow path open for Democrats to keep hold of the chamber, but Republicans maintain an advantage with the map.

Democratic Senate candidates in the Upper Midwest states of Michigan, Ohio and Wisconsin hold leads over their Republican competitors, keeping a narrow path open to maintaining Democratic control of Congress’s upper chamber next year, according to [*new New York Times/Siena College polls*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/09/28/us/elections/times-siena-rust-belt-crosstabs.html).

And, in a surprise that could shake up the Senate battlefield, Dan Osborn, [*a union organizer and industrial mechanic running as an independent*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/09/28/us/elections/times-siena-rust-belt-crosstabs.html), has jumped to a strong lead in [*Nebraska’s Second Congressional District*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/09/28/us/elections/times-siena-rust-belt-crosstabs.html), in and around Omaha, over the incumbent Republican, Senator Deb Fischer, reaching a level of support that could keep him competitive in the heavily Republican state.

The showing in the Midwest is a testament to the ability of Democrats, as well as Mr. Osborn, to separate the Senate contests from the presidential race, and keep control of the chamber in play. Senators Tammy Baldwin of Wisconsin and Sherrod Brown of Ohio, veteran incumbents, have created political brands that appear to be independent of their national party, while in Michigan, Representative Elissa Slotkin may be drafting on the strength of Democratic women in her state who occupy the posts of governor, attorney general and secretary of state.

In Ohio, Mr. Brown leads his Republican challenger, Bernie Moreno, 47 percent to 43 percent, drawing in 10 percent of voters that support former President Donald J. Trump and 13 percent of those self-identified as Republicans. Ms. Baldwin leads her Republican challenger, the banker Eric Hovde, 50 to 43, in Wisconsin, while Ms. Slotkin leads the former congressman Mike Rogers, 47 percent to 42 percent, in the race to succeed Michigan’s retiring Democratic senator, Debbie Stabenow.

The strong showing by Democratic Senate candidates does not necessarily mean the party will maintain control of the chamber next year. Their current one-seat majority is almost certainly lost, with the retirement of Senator Joe Manchin III of West Virginia and the near certainty that the state’s Republican governor, Jim Justice, will succeed him.

Democrats, lead by Vice President Kamala Harris, would need to hold the White House and win every other endangered Democratic Senate seat — including Senator Jon Tester’s, in deep red Montana, potentially the deciding race — to preserve a 50-50 split, with a Vice President Tim Walz breaking the tie. Or, Democratic candidates need to pull off an upset against an incumbent Republican, such as Ted Cruz in Texas or Rick Scott in Florida.

On that front, the New York Times/Siena College polls offered another tantalizing data point regarding Senate control: In Eastern Nebraska, [*Mr. Osborn, a political newcomer,*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/09/28/us/elections/times-siena-rust-belt-crosstabs.html) is leading Ms. Fischer, 49 percent to 38 percent. That might be enough to keep his long-shot bid competitive in a suddenly important statewide campaign.

Republicans had high hopes for the Senate race in Michigan, where they got the mainstream candidate they had wanted. Mr. Rogers is an Army veteran, former special agent in the F.B.I. and former chairman of the House Intelligence Committee.

But Ms. Slotkin, who like Mr. Rogers comes from the mid-Michigan region around Lansing, made her career appealing to centrist voters in that swing House district, and she continues to draw 6 percent of likely voters in Michigan who say they will vote for Mr. Trump and 7 percent who say they voted for Mr. Trump in 2020.

Reginald Gooden, 66, who identified himself as a semiretired health care professional, in Commerce Township, Mich., said he was backing Mr. Trump reluctantly, because he is “singularly” worried about how Ms. Harris would handle autocrats abroad. But, he said, he is a moderate, and likes Ms. Slotkin’s politics.

“There’s a sense of balance with her,” he said.

In Ohio, where Mr. Trump holds a comfortable lead over Ms. Harris, Mr. Brown is in need of even more ticket splitters to beat Mr. Moreno, [*a wealthy, Colombian-born businessman*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/09/28/us/elections/times-siena-rust-belt-crosstabs.html) who [*prevailed in a brutal Republican primary*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/09/28/us/elections/times-siena-rust-belt-crosstabs.html) in March on the strength of Mr. Trump’s endorsement. Republicans knew that Mr. Brown would draw some Republican support, but figured there just would not be enough Trump-Brown voters in 2024 to secure his re-election.

So far, they appear to be wrong.

In addition to the 10 percent of Trump voters who say they plan to vote for Mr. Brown, the senator is showing strong support in Ohio’s suburbs and enjoys a 21-percentage point lead among women, in a state where 57 percent voted last December to enshrine abortion rights in the Ohio constitution.

“There’s a lot of work that’s been done before, you know for the local people,” said Victoria Williams, 42, a Trump supporter and quality manager at a steel manufacturer in Centerville, Ohio, explaining her support for Mr. Brown. “He’s done a lot for, I don’t want to say this badly, but for the poor, the ***working class***.”

Mr. Moreno’s 16-point lead among men — 54 percent to 38 percent — is not enough to close the gender gap.

The polls were taken just as a recording came to light of [*Mr. Moreno suggesting that abortion*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/09/28/us/elections/times-siena-rust-belt-crosstabs.html) rights shouldn’t concern women over the age of 50 — “I don’t think that’s an issue for you,” [*he said on tape*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/09/28/us/elections/times-siena-rust-belt-crosstabs.html), in Warren County, Ohio, last weekend.

In Wisconsin, the gender gap is even more stark. Mr. Hovde made mistakes early in the campaign, [*suggesting, for instance, that “almost nobody in a nursing home*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/09/28/us/elections/times-siena-rust-belt-crosstabs.html) is at a point to vote.” Ms. Baldwin’s campaign used that quote, plus a comment that [*overweight people should pay more*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/09/28/us/elections/times-siena-rust-belt-crosstabs.html) for health insurance and another that “the old physical toil” of farming had given way to [*“largely driving around on a tractor,”*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/09/28/us/elections/times-siena-rust-belt-crosstabs.html) to paint her opponent as a rich, out-of-touch Republican from Southern California.

According to the polls, Ms. Baldwin leads Mr. Hovde among women by 29 percentage points, holds a lead among white voters — a rarity for Democrats in their campaigns this year — and is taking about 5 percent of voters who say they cast their ballots in 2020 for Mr. Trump. Her lead among independents is 51 percent to 39 percent.

It isn’t just women who say they feel insulted by Mr. Hovde.

“Some of the stuff that I’ve seen from Tammy Baldwin I like,” said Paul Markunas, 55, of Harris, Wis., who owns a post-construction cleaning company, “and some of the things he has said I really don’t like.”

Mr. Markunas said he will be voting for Mr. Trump and Ms. Baldwin.

In Nebraska, Democrats should not get too excited yet about the prospect of the unexpected defeat of Ms. Fischer. Mr. Osborn has guarded his independence in a state that is hostile to Democrats, refusing to say which party he would caucus with if elected. And even his 11-point lead in the state’s second district may not be enough unless he can make inroads in the heavily Republican first and third districts. The Times/Siena poll did not canvas the entire state.

But for an underfunded candidate whose main political experience was leading a strike against Kellogg’s in 2021, Mr. Osborn is showing remarkable strength. Running as a blue-collar mechanic, he is leading in Nebraska’s purple second district among women and men and among voters without a college degree. He is also taking 12 percent of the Republican vote.

“He’s gaining strength in Nebraska,” said Linda Lough, 74, a retired human resources manager in Omaha who supports Mr. Osborn as well as the Republican senator, Pete Ricketts, who is running in a special election for the state’s other Senate seat. “I think he’s just very straightforward, he’s really a working man and he understands problems that working people have.”

Mr. Osborn’s campaign manager, Dustin Wahl, said the candidate has made inroads into the more heavily Republican districts. That has been enough this week to prompt the [*first surge of attack ads*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/09/28/us/elections/times-siena-rust-belt-crosstabs.html) of the race from Ms. Fischer.

Without a political party behind him, Mr. Osborn has been able to raise only about $1.6 million compared to Ms. Fischer’s $6.3 million. He also rejected the endorsement of the state’s Democratic Party, depriving himself of institutional support.

But for an incumbent Ms. Fischer has kept a low profile. With [*Mr. Osborn’s pitch claiming that the Senate needs a true* ***working-class*** *voice*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/09/28/us/elections/times-siena-rust-belt-crosstabs.html), he has been able to hang close enough in the few statewide polls that prognosticators have begun hedging their bets on an easy re-election for Ms. Fischer.

Here are the key things to know about these polls

* Interviewers spoke with 688 likely voters in Michigan, 687 likely voters in Ohio, 680 likely voters in Wisconsin and 680 likely voters in Nebraska’s Second Congressional District from Sept. 21 to 26, 2024.
* Times/Siena polls are conducted by telephone, using live interviewers, in both English and Spanish. Overall, about 97 percent of respondents were contacted on a cellphone for these polls. You can see the exact questions that were asked and the order in which they were asked [*here*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/09/28/us/elections/times-siena-rust-belt-crosstabs.html).
* Voters are selected for the survey from a list of registered voters. The list contains information on the demographic characteristics of every registered voter, allowing us to make sure we reach the right number of voters of each party, race and region. For these polls, interviewers placed nearly 260,000 calls to just over 140,000 voters.
* To further ensure that the results reflect the entire voting population, not just those willing to take a poll, we give more weight to respondents from demographic groups that are underrepresented among survey respondents, like people without a college degree. You can see more information about the characteristics of respondents and the weighted sample at the bottom of the [*results and methodology page*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/09/28/us/elections/times-siena-rust-belt-crosstabs.html), under “Composition of the Sample.”
* The margin of sampling error among likely voters is about plus or minus four percentage points for each poll, and about plus or minus 2.5 percentage points when the three state polls are joined together. In theory, this means that the results should reflect the views of the overall population most of the time, though many other challenges create additional sources of error. When the difference between two values is computed — such as a candidate’s lead in a race — the margin of error is twice as large.

You can see full results and a detailed methodology [*here*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/09/28/us/elections/times-siena-rust-belt-crosstabs.html). If you want to read more about how and why the Times/Siena Poll is conducted, you can see answers to [*frequently asked questions and submit your own questions here*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/09/28/us/elections/times-siena-rust-belt-crosstabs.html).

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 28, 2024

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[***Harris Outdoes Biden in 2 State Polls but Has Her Own Weaknesses***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CGN-B9B1-JBG3-60SJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 15, 2024 Monday 12:18 EST

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**Section:** UPSHOT

**Length:** 819 words

**Byline:** Nate Cohn Nate Cohn is The Times&amp;#8217;s chief political analyst. He covers elections, public opinion, demographics and polling.

**Highlight:** The polls in Pennsylvania and Virginia were conducted before the Trump rally shooting.

**Body**

The polls in Pennsylvania and Virginia were conducted before the Trump rally shooting.

Just before a gunman fired at Donald J. Trump at a Pennsylvania rally Saturday, we concluded a new set of New York Times/Siena College polls of Pennsylvania and Virginia. While the polls were completed before the shooting, they still offer context about the state of the race.

Five years ago, Joe Biden was the “electability” candidate — the well-liked, moderate Democrat who promised to beat Donald J. Trump and had the poll numbers to back it up.

[*The polls*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/us/elections/polls-president.html) don’t back up President Biden’s electability case anymore. In the latest [*New York Times/Siena College polls*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/us/elections/polls-president.html) on Monday, he trails by three percentage points among likely voters in must-win Pennsylvania, while he leads by a mere three points in Virginia — a state he carried by 10 points four years ago.

Not only does Mr. Biden trail Mr. Trump in Pennsylvania, but he also fares worse than Vice President Kamala Harris, the only other Democrat tested in the poll. She ran about two points ahead of Mr. Biden, trailing by one point in Pennsylvania while leading by five points in Virginia.

(Mr. Trump was [*shot by a gunman*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/us/elections/polls-president.html) at a Pennsylvania rally on Saturday after the polls were completed, adding uncertainty to the race.)

A two-point edge for Ms. Harris over Mr. Biden isn’t much, but she’s polled ahead of him in Times/Siena polling before. She outran Mr. Biden in Times/Siena polling of six [*battleground states*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/us/elections/polls-president.html) last November, as a [*sliver*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/us/elections/polls-president.html) of young and nonwhite voters backed the vice president but not Mr. Biden. That’s the source of her relative advantage yet again.

Before going further, there’s one big caveat: Ms. Harris is not currently a candidate for president. While she may be a well-known figure, voters haven’t heard her message or agenda as a hypothetical presidential candidate in 2024. They haven’t seen her on a debate stage. And they haven’t heard the attacks against her, either. If she became a candidate, her standing could easily change — whether for better or worse.

But for now, Ms. Harris’s polling edge is plausible. For one, it’s mostly a reflection of Mr. Biden’s weakness. Far from a political juggernaut, Ms. Harris has a favorability rating of just 42 percent in Pennsylvania and 48 percent in Virginia, the poll finds. She may fare better among young voters (age 18 to 29) than Mr. Biden, but most of them say they have a negative view of her. And her ratings among Black and Hispanic voters are tepid for a Democrat, even if they’re better than Mr. Biden’s.

Like Mr. Biden, Ms. Harris polls worse than the result of the 2020 presidential election; she polls worse than the Democratic advantage on party identification in the two states; and she’s far behind the Democratic senators running for re-election (Bob Casey leads by eight points in Pennsylvania, and Tim Kaine by 17 points in Virginia). She even runs behind traditional Democratic benchmarks among young, Black and Hispanic voters. She runs only ahead of the president.

Ms. Harris’s edge probably isn’t attributable to the fallout from the debate. She fared better than Mr. Biden in our polling in November, long before the debate, and neither the Virginia nor Pennsylvania results are quite as bad for Mr. Biden as some might have expected after the debate or in light of our last national poll. In fact, his three-point deficit in Pennsylvania is the same shown in our last poll in the state, taken in May.

And despite Mr. Biden’s weakness, the data contains a few faint echoes of his old electability pitch. He fares better than Ms. Harris among voters over 65 and among white voters without a college degree, two Republican-leaning constituencies that gave Mr. Biden just enough strength to put him over the top four years ago. He does better among self-identified conservatives as well.

These relative strengths for Mr. Biden can just as easily be interpreted as signs of weakness for Ms. Harris. Either way, there’s an argument that Mr. Biden’s enduring (if only relative) appeal among older and white ***working-class*** voters puts him in a better position than the top-line figures suggest. After all, winning young and nonwhite voters is supposed to be the “easy” task for a Democrat. Winning white ***working-class*** voters and seniors, on the other, is what’s supposed to be “hard.” If Mr. Biden has already done the hard part, perhaps his path to additional gains is relatively straightforward.

Of course, just because it’s supposed to be easy for a Democrat to fare well among young and nonwhite voters doesn’t mean it will be easy for Mr. Biden. The polling shows it certainly hasn’t been easy for him this cycle. It doesn’t figure to be any easier after the debate.

PHOTO: Vice President Kamala Harris, shown last week in Dallas. She fared better than President Biden in polling in November, too. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A10.

**Load-Date:** July 16, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Best Sellers: Combined Print & E-Book Nonfiction: Sunday, August 18th 2024***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CS2-RTC1-JBG3-600W-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 18, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 533 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the August 18, 2024 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending August 3, 2024. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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|  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Combined Print & E-Book Nonfiction |
| This | Last | On |  |
| Week | Week | List |  |
| 1 | 1 | 92 | HILLBILLY ELEGY, by J.D. Vance. (Harper) The Yale Law School graduate and 2024 Republican vice presidential nominee looks at the struggles of the white ***working class*** through the story of his own childhood. |
| 2 |  | 1 | ALL IN THE FAMILY, by Fred C. Trump III. (Gallery) The nephew of Donald Trump explains how he came to terms with his family?s complex legacy and worked to protect his wife and children. |
| 3 | 3 | 19 | THE ANXIOUS GENERATION, by Jonathan Haidt. (Penguin Press) A co-author of ?The Coddling of the American Mind? looks at the mental health impacts that a phone-based life has on children. |
| 4 | 4 | 14 | THE DEMON OF UNREST, by Erik Larson. (Crown) The author of ?The Splendid and the Vile? portrays the months between the election of Abraham Lincoln and the beginning of the Civil War. |
| 5 | 5 | 205 | THE BODY KEEPS THE SCORE, by Bessel van der Kolk. (Penguin) How trauma affects the body and mind, and innovative treatments for recovery. |
| 6 | 2 | 2 | AUTOCRACY, INC., by Anne Applebaum. (Doubleday) The Pulitzer Prize-winning author elucidates the structures and technologies that bolster autocracies in the 21st century. |
| 7 | 9 | 9 | THE TRUTHS WE HOLD, by Kamala Harris. (Penguin) A memoir by the daughter of immigrants who is currently serving as the 49th vice president and is the Democratic Party's 2024 presidential nominee. |
| 8 | 10 | 68 | OUTLIVE, by Peter Attia with Bill Gifford. (Harmony) A look at recent scientific research on aging and longevity. |
| 9 |  | 4 | THE BACKYARD BIRD CHRONICLES, by Amy Tan. (Knopf) Essays and drawings by the author of ?The Joy Luck Club? and ?The Bonesetter's Daughter,? which depict a search for peace through birding. |
| 10 | 7 | 9 | THE ART THIEF, by Michael Finkel. (Knopf) The author of ?The Stranger in the Woods? tells the story of Stéphane Breitwieser, who stole art more than 200 times for the sake of admiring it. |
| 11 | 12 | 10 | NUCLEAR WAR, by Annie Jacobsen. (Dutton) The author of ?Operation Paperclip? portrays possible outcomes in the minutes following a nuclear missile launch. |
| 12 |  | 1 | SHEPHERDS FOR SALE, by Megan Basham. (Broadside) A culture reporter for The Daily Wire describes evangelical leaders who are influenced by liberal politics. ? |
| 13 |  | 33 | FRIENDS, LOVERS, AND THE BIG TERRIBLE THING, by Matthew Perry. (Flatiron) The late actor, known for playing Chandler Bing on ?Friends,? shares stories from his childhood and his struggles with sobriety. |
| 14 | 8 | 3 | CHAOS, by Tom O'Neill with Dan Piepenbring. (Back Bay) A reassessment of events surrounding the murders committed by Charles Manson?s followers. |
| 15 |  | 2 | TRUE GRETCH, by Gretchen Whitmer with Lisa Dickey. (Simon & Schuster) The governor of Michigan recounts defining moments from her life and time in office. |

**Load-Date:** August 19, 2024

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[***Best Sellers: Hardcover Nonfiction: Sunday, August 18th 2024***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CS2-RTC1-JBG3-600T-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 18, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 533 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the August 18, 2024 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending August 3, 2024. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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|  |  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Hardcover Nonfiction |
| This | Last | On |  |
| Week | Week | List |  |
| 1 | 1 | 76 | HILLBILLY ELEGY, by J.D. Vance. (Harper) The Yale Law School graduate and 2024 Republican vice presidential nominee looks at the struggles of the white ***working class*** through the story of his own childhood. |
| 2 |  | 1 | ALL IN THE FAMILY, by Fred C. Trump III. (Gallery) The nephew of Donald Trump explains how he came to terms with his family?s complex legacy and worked to protect his wife and children. |
| 3 | 2 | 19 | THE ANXIOUS GENERATION, by Jonathan Haidt. (Penguin Press) A co-author of ?The Coddling of the American Mind? looks at the mental health impacts that a phone-based life has on children. |
| 4 | 4 | 14 | THE DEMON OF UNREST, by Erik Larson. (Crown) The author of ?The Splendid and the Vile? portrays the months between the election of Abraham Lincoln and the beginning of the Civil War. |
| 5 | 3 | 2 | AUTOCRACY, INC., by Anne Applebaum. (Doubleday) The Pulitzer Prize-winning author elucidates the structures and technologies that bolster autocracies in the 21st century. |
| 6 | 6 | 71 | OUTLIVE, by Peter Attia with Bill Gifford. (Harmony) A look at recent scientific research on aging and longevity. |
| 7 | 9 | 3 | TRUE GRETCH, by Gretchen Whitmer with Lisa Dickey. (Simon & Schuster) The governor of Michigan recounts defining moments from her life and time in office. |
| 8 | 7 | 7 | ON CALL, by Anthony S. Fauci. (Viking) The physician-scientist and immunologist chronicles his six decades of public service, including his work during the AIDS crisis and the Covid-19 pandemic. |
| 9 | 5 | 9 | THE WAR ON WARRIORS, by Pete Hegseth. (Broadside) The "Fox & Friends Weekend" host shares his experiences serving in the Army and his views on the current state of the American military. ? |
| 10 | 10 | 10 | NUCLEAR WAR, by Annie Jacobsen. (Dutton) The author of ?Operation Paperclip? portrays possible outcomes in the minutes following a nuclear missile launch. |
| 11 |  | 4 | LOVE & WHISKEY, by Fawn Weaver. (Melcher Media) A portrayal of the bond between Jack Daniel and the African American distiller Nearest Green. ? |
| 12 | 13 | 15 | AN UNFINISHED LOVE STORY, by Doris Kearns Goodwin. (Simon & Schuster) A trove of items collected by the Pulitzer Prize-winning historian?s late husband inspired an appraisal of central figures and pivotal moments of the 1960s. |
| 13 | 8 | 5 | ASK NOT, by Maureen Callahan. (Little, Brown) The author of ?American Predator? puts forward a history of the Kennedy family that describes the abuse of women in its orbit. |
| 14 |  | 65 | THE WAGER, by David Grann. (Doubleday) The survivors of a shipwrecked British vessel on a secret mission during an imperial war with Spain have different accounts of events. |
| 15 | 15 | 3 | JFK JR., by RoseMarie Terenzio and Liz McNeil. (Gallery) Twenty-five years after his death, an oral biography of John F. Kennedy Jr. |

**Load-Date:** August 19, 2024

**End of Document**



[***The Nafta Effect***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CXC-6471-DXY4-X1W6-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 5794 words

**Byline:** By Dan Kaufman

**Body**

In May of last year, Marcus Carli, the plant manager of the Master Lock factory in Milwaukee, Wis., called a surprise meeting with the board of United Auto Workers Local 469. Several officers of the union, which represents the workers at the plant, joined Carli and an executive from Master Lock's parent company in a tiny conference room. Carli brought along a security guard. ''He's here for my protection,'' Carli told the union representatives. As the guard sat down, Yolanda Nathan, the local's incoming president, noticed his gun. ''That's when I thought, Oh, we're losing our jobs,'' she says. Carli immediately confirmed her worst fears. ''The plant's closing,'' he announced. ''It took my breath away,'' Nathan says. ''It took all our breaths away.''

Half an hour later, the plant's first-shift workers were called to assemble in the old cafeteria. A row of tables spanned the room, separating company officials from the workers. ''The plant's closing,'' Carli said again. He refused to take questions. ''They just dropped the bomb on us,'' Jeremiah Hayes, who worked in the plant's wastewater-treatment facility, says. He particularly resented the makeshift barrier: ''It was insulting. We felt like a bunch of animals.''

Mike Bink, who started at Master Lock in 1979, was devastated but not surprised. Months earlier, a co-worker whose job entailed making steel plates that were fed into a machine to make a lock body told Bink that the plates were now being shipped to Master Lock's plant in Nogales, Mexico. That factory was built in the 1990s, not long after President Bill Clinton signed the North American Free Trade Agreement into law, and the company eliminated more than 1,000 of nearly 1,300 union positions in Milwaukee. ''People ran for the gate,'' Bink, who was then the president of Local 469, says. ''They thought the plant was finished.'' Bink managed to hang on, but NAFTA fundamentally changed the balance of power between Master Lock and its workers. ''A shop floor supervisor would say things like, 'Get to work, or the company will take all the jobs,''' Bink recalls. ''After the downsizing, the union lost its leverage.''

The closure of its factory in March, where it made iconic locks for generations, represents the final stage in Milwaukee's long unraveling as an industrial powerhouse, part of a larger phenomenon, fueled by NAFTA, that has taken place across the country, particularly in the Rust Belt states. NAFTA eliminated tariffs on trade among the treaty's signatories -- Canada, Mexico and the United States -- allowing for the unfettered movement of capital and foreign investment. It ushered in an era of free-trade agreements that brought cheap goods to consumers and generated great wealth for investors and the financial sector, but it also increased income inequality, weakened labor unions and accelerated the hollowing out of America's industrial base.

Milwaukee was once known as the ''machine shop of the world.'' In the 1950s, nearly 60 percent of the city's adult population worked in manufacturing, a vast majority of whom held well-paying union jobs. In 1969, Milwaukee had the second-highest median income in the country. By 2021, Milwaukee had lost more than 80 percent of its manufacturing jobs (barely 5 percent of those that remained were unionized), and it had the second-highest poverty rate of any large American city, just one example of NAFTA's profound impact on American industry and labor.

Deindustrialization has diminished the wealth, power and health of ***working-class*** Americans arguably more than any other single culprit. While deindustrialization has many causes -- in a recessionary four-year period that ended in the early 1980s, a quarter of Milwaukee's manufacturing jobs were wiped out -- a central driver has been free-trade agreements with developing countries, of which NAFTA was the first. According to a study by the Economic Policy Institute, Americans without college degrees have lost nearly $2,000 a year in wages owing to trade with low-wage countries, even after accounting for cheaper consumer goods. The economists Angus Deaton and Anne Case have documented how the loss of jobs has led to falling life expectancy for ***working-class*** people: College-educated Americans can now expect to live eight years longer than those without a college degree. ''I would put that down to deindustrialization combined with the lack of any political voice,'' Deaton told me.

The passage of NAFTA remains one of the most consequential events in recent American political and economic history. Between 1997 and 2020, more than 90,000 factories closed, partly as a result of NAFTA and similar agreements. The coming presidential election, like the previous two, is likely to be determined by three of the ''blue wall'' states -- Wisconsin, Michigan and Pennsylvania -- which have all been ravaged by deindustrialization. In 2016, Donald Trump won those states, and the presidency, in part by railing against NAFTA (''the worst trade deal ever,'' he called it). Exit polls showed that Trump won nearly two-thirds of voters who believe that free trade takes away American jobs. Ohio, meanwhile, which twice voted for Barack Obama, has increasingly become a Republican stronghold.

Trump's right-wing populism -- an economic-nationalist blend of opposition to free trade, support for programs like Social Security, at least rhetorically, and anti-immigrant sentiment (''virtually 100 percent of the net job creation in the last year has gone to migrants,'' he falsely asserted) -- helped pave the way for a new generation of self-proclaimed ''pro-worker'' Republicans, including Trump's vice-presidential pick, Senator JD Vance of Ohio. Both Vance and Trump denounced NAFTA in their speeches at the Republican National Convention in Milwaukee in July. ''When I was in the fourth grade,'' Vance said, ''a career politician by the name of Joe Biden supported NAFTA, a bad trade deal that sent countless good jobs to Mexico.''

Biden has since changed his stance on such free-trade policy. He defeated Trump in 2020 by narrowly winning back the three pivotal blue-wall states with a campaign centered on his jobs-focused Build Back Better plan, which proposed investments in clean energy, social welfare programs and manufacturing. Though the plan was ultimately defeated in the Senate, elements of it were incorporated into Biden's core domestic legislation, including the Inflation Reduction Act. This May, the Biden-Harris administration announced that it would extend Trump-administration tariffs on certain Chinese products and significantly increase duties on others, such as electric vehicles, to protect American workers and industries. Vice President Kamala Harris, as the Democratic nominee, has also come out in favor of targeted tariffs to support American workers.

In July, Biden told the executive council of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. that he had delivered on his promise to be the ''most pro-union president in history.'' Whether that is true -- private-sector union membership is at an all-time low -- he has appointed several policymakers who prioritize labor to powerful positions, including Katherine Tai, the United States trade representative, a cabinet-level position.

''Master Lock's story is one that we know only too well from the last several decades,'' Tai told me. ''It fits a pattern of deindustrialization that we've been trying to figure out how to remedy.'' Tai has been advocating a ''worker-centered'' approach to trade to give labor representatives more input in shaping policy. She points to the 2020 United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement -- which renegotiated NAFTA in part to discourage the outsourcing of jobs to Mexico -- as an improvement. The agreement was passed under Trump, and Tai served as the lead negotiator for congressional Democrats. She secured several labor-friendly provisions, like expanding protections for Mexican workers who wish to form a union and engage in collective bargaining, with fines for companies that violate these rights. But there is little evidence that these reforms are sufficient to stop the outward flow of jobs and capital. Stellantis moved production of the Jeep Cherokee from a plant in Illinois to Toluca, Mexico, in 2023, and CNH, an agricultural machinery manufacturer, is laying off hundreds of workers in Wisconsin and moving operations to Mexico.

In his speech accepting the Republican nomination, Trump boasted that the U.S.M.C.A. was ''the best trade deal ever made.'' But to Hayes, the wastewater-treatment worker, it is merely an extension of the long shadow of NAFTA, which ultimately cost him and hundreds of other Master Lock workers their jobs. ''NAFTA was the beginning of the end,'' Hayes says. ''The position of most ***working-class*** people now is disenfranchised and cynical. They saw in real time the results, the way it stuffed them to the wayside, stripping them of the potential they believed in.''

NAFTA has roots in a long-running battle between two visions of trade policy: one that emphasizes the unfettered movement of capital and goods, often at the expense of jobs and wages; another that prioritizes labor and environmental concerns over growth and profits. After World War II, policymakers from around the world, including the United States, proposed creating the International Trade Organization to promote and regulate trade. Its charter was never ratified, however, in no small part because Senator Robert Taft of Ohio, the Republican chairman of the committee on labor and pensions, did not approve of its labor standards and antimonopoly provisions. Instead, in 1947, the United States signed on to another international agreement: the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which eliminated many trade restrictions but included no enforceable labor standards. This vision of free trade became a cornerstone of neoliberal economics. In 1962, Milton Friedman, the Nobel Prize-winning economist, wrote that free trade abroad was a means of ''linking the nations of the world together, peacefully and democratically.'' It was a ''fallacy,'' he added, to believe that it would undermine domestic wages.

By the 1960s, the maquiladora, or factory, system of U.S.-owned plants' employing Mexican workers was being established in a largely tariff-free strip along the U.S.-Mexico border. ''NAFTA legitimized, institutionalized and encouraged what was already taking place,'' Michael Rosen, an emeritus professor of economics at Milwaukee Area Technical College, says. ''It put the government's seal of approval on it.''

NAFTA, which was heavily influenced by hundreds of corporate lobbyists, was negotiated and signed by George H.W. Bush, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada and President Carlos Salinas of Mexico in 1992. It needed to be approved by Congress, however. The issue dominated the 1992 presidential campaign, during which Bill Clinton took a position between President Bush and the independent candidate Ross Perot, whose opposition to NAFTA was the centerpiece of his campaign. (In a debate, Perot predicted a ''giant sucking sound'' of American jobs going to Mexico if NAFTA passed; he won 19 percent of the vote, the highest share by a third-party candidate since 1912.) Clinton said he would support NAFTA only if it included separate agreements protecting labor rights and the environment. (The agreements Clinton secured were widely considered hollow; no country has ever been fined for violating them.) Organized labor and a majority of congressional Democrats were opposed to NAFTA. Polling showed nearly two-thirds of the American public were, too.

Clinton said he believed the agreement would foster an export boom and create a million jobs in the first five years. The legislation received strong support in the media. ''It wasn't whether NAFTA was good or bad for the economy,'' Rahm Emanuel, a Clinton-administration lobbyist for NAFTA, says in John R. MacArthur's ''The Selling of 'Free Trade,''' published in 2000. ''The media were very clear about what they thought of NAFTA: NAFTA was good; it produced jobs; it's the future.'' In December 1993, Clinton signed NAFTA into law, after a bitterly contentious vote in the House of Representatives. (The Senate approved the agreement handily.) A kind of triumphalist inevitability took hold. ''We cannot stop global change,'' Clinton said at the signing. ''We cannot repeal the international economic competition that is everywhere. We can only harness the energy to our benefit.''

Mickey Kantor, the U.S. trade representative under Clinton, told MacArthur: ''George Bush could have never passed NAFTA. No Republican President could have because he couldn't have brought enough Democrats.'' But the agreement quickly began to cost the Democratic Party. In the 1994 midterm elections, it lost 54 seats and control of the House of Representatives for the first time in 40 years. While many factors contributed, NAFTA was clearly one of them. A 2021 study published in The American Economic Review found that counties dependent on the industries most affected by NAFTA experienced decreases in total employment of about 6 percent compared with those with little exposure. By 2000, the same study found, those counties had shifted significantly from Democratic to Republican.

The passage of NAFTA -- along with other Clinton-era measures like the repeal of Glass-Steagall, a Depression-era law that regulated banks, and the granting of permanent most-favored-nation status for China, which allowed China to enter the World Trade Organization and ultimately cost the United States nearly four million jobs -- signaled the Democratic Party's move away from its ***working-class***, New Deal roots. This decoupling was worsened by the damage to unions from NAFTA. In 1996, Kate Bronfenbrenner, the director of labor education research at Cornell University, conducted a study for the North American Commission for Labor Cooperation, which found that after the passage of NAFTA, nearly 50 percent of unionization drives were met with threats to relocate abroad, and that the rate at which factories shut down after a union was successfully certified tripled.

''The greatest impact of NAFTA is the threat of moving,'' Bronfenbrenner says. ''The threat effect is even greater than the actual moves. It keeps workers from demanding a fair wage; it pushes local governments to waive zoning laws and environmental regulations to get companies to stay.'' After NAFTA, more than 70 percent of industries that were able to move their operations threatened to close. Companies sometimes circulated fliers showing locked gates or maps with arrows to Mexico. ''The penalty from the National Labor Relations Board was a posting saying, Don't do that again,'' she says. ''Of course that didn't stop them. It kept escalating.''

Since the passage of NAFTA, the percentage of private-sector workers who belong to a union has fallen by nearly 50 percent, to 6 percent today. Recent studies have shown that union members are more likely to vote and less prone to racial resentment. Yet some members of the Democratic establishment came to embrace the party's realignment. ''For every blue-collar Democrat we lose in western Pennsylvania, we will pick up two moderate Republicans in the suburbs in Philadelphia,'' Senator Chuck Schumer, the majority leader, said before the 2016 election. ''And you can repeat that in Ohio and Illinois and Wisconsin.''

In July, the day before the start of the Republican National Convention in downtown Milwaukee, I met Mike Bink outside the desolate plant, whose facade was adorned with a giant padlock. A machinist, Bink is missing a finger on his left hand, a legacy of 44 years as a factory worker. Now 64, he started at Master Lock soon after graduating from high school, 20 years after his father, a foreman, did.

The company was founded in 1921 by a Russian immigrant, Harry Soref, who built his plant 18 years later and was known for generosity toward his workers. Soref died in 1957; his family sold the plant 13 years later. By the time Bink joined Master Lock, relations between management and the union had become fraught. In June 1980, the workers went out on a strike that lasted for 13 weeks. The company brought in replacements, and picket lines were tense, marked by periodic arrests. The strike, which ended with wage increases and better benefits, prompted Bink to get more involved in the union.

In 1981, he traveled on a U.A.W. bus caravan to Washington to protest President Ronald Reagan's firing of 11,000 striking air traffic controllers, which effectively broke their union. In retrospect, he sees the demonstration as too tepid. ''We should have been tipping over monuments,'' Bink said. ''We didn't, in today's words, occupy the Senate and House office buildings and close 'em down. I'm not saying we should have done anything violent. Just insisted they address this.''

Labor relations got better at Master Lock after the strike, with the appointment of a new, sympathetic chief executive and a plant manager who had worked his way up from the floor. They gave the union an office at the plant, and the union, in turn, made concessions to improve productivity and efficiency. ''It was as if you flipped a switch,'' Bink said. ''Their attitude was more, 'How would this be different if we worked with the union?''' Master Lock was always on the lower end of the pay scale for unionized industrial jobs. ''But those years we had our best contracts because of the cooperation and the working environment.''

By the early 1990s, the plant was employing some 1,300 union workers; the company's share of the market had reached 70 percent. But Master Lock was already beginning to outsource some of its work to China. After NAFTA was signed, Bink traveled to a U.A.W. conference in Washington, which was headlined by President Clinton. ''There was a lot of anger about NAFTA in that room,'' he recalled. ''How could any Democrat who relies on labor to get elected sign anything that looked like that?''

Then came the big downsizing. ''They lied to us,'' Bink told me. ''First, they said we're going to keep 700 people. Then 400 people. It just got fewer and fewer.'' By the end, roughly 200 workers remained. Moving production to China, meanwhile, had sometimes disastrous results. In 2000, Master Lock was forced to recall approximately 750,000 gun locks made in China because the two halves of the locks could be easily separated without a key.

In the years that followed, the company, citing rising labor costs in China, brought production of a few parts back. Slowly, the number of workers at the plant crept back up to 325, though the pay, particularly for unskilled workers, did not even keep pace with inflation. In 2012, during the presidential campaign, President Barack Obama came to Master Lock to celebrate this ''insourcing''; he had highlighted the company in his State of the Union address as running at full capacity for the first time in 15 years, even though the plant had lost 1,000 workers. Obama's re-election campaign centered on reviving American manufacturing, saving the auto industry from bankruptcy and attacking Mitt Romney for his tenure as chief executive of Bain Capital, a private equity firm that had bought and closed plants across the Midwest. ''Milwaukee, we are not going back to an economy that's weakened by outsourcing and bad debt and phony financial profits,'' Obama told a crowd of a thousand. Bink showed Obama around the cylinder machines, which could cut to a ten-thousandth of an inch and were built by Master Lock workers. I asked Bink what the outcome of the visit was. ''Nothing,'' he said. ''No additional jobs came back.''

At the same time, the union's contracts kept getting worse. ''Our leverage was our work -- until they could do the work somewhere else,'' Bink said. In 2015, the Wisconsin State Legislature was debating a so-called right-to-work law, which prohibits unions from requiring workers to pay dues, undermining the union's finances and bargaining power. Bink went to a committee hearing hoping to testify, but the hearing was abruptly cut short by a Republican legislator. A week later, Gov. Scott Walker signed the law. Bink recalls a foreman saying, ''I hope this place does crash -- we can do this work in Mexico.''

As we spoke, Bink hobbled over to the fence of the shuttered plant. He has had a knee replacement and will get his other knee replaced soon. ''The old guys used to spend their last two years at work getting repaired,'' he said. He pointed to a spot a few feet from the factory door. ''There was a tavern there when I started -- a Milwaukee tradition,'' he said, smiling. ''These were decent, good jobs. A good place to work. We can't -- and should not have to -- compete with people making two dollars an hour.''

Bink is volunteering for the Democrats in this presidential election, as he has in every presidential election since 1984. ''If my knees are up to it, I'll knock on doors,'' he said. He hopes that the next Democratic president focuses on helping labor grow. ''President Clinton -- he ruled the world,'' Bink said. ''He had all three branches of government. He wanted social change. NAFTA was not the social change we needed. President Obama -- he had all three branches of government. He wanted social change. They relied on us, on labor, to get elected, and they wouldn't pull the trigger to make it easy for us to organize.''

Bink stared into the empty parking lot. He noted that roughly 70 percent of the population now supports labor unions, the highest figure since the 1960s. ''When did social change happen? When labor was strong,'' he said. ''Maybe this is arrogant, but if any president truly wants social change, then hand power back to us.''

Since her first term in Congress, in the late 1990s, Senator Tammy Baldwin of Wisconsin has been one of the more consistent opponents of free-trade deals, often battling other Democrats. She was not in Congress during the vote on NAFTA, but her view of it shaped her vote against granting China permanent most-favored-nation status. ''I thought NAFTA represented a race to the bottom,'' she told me. In 2016, she was one of 12 senators to urge President Obama to stop pursuing the Trans-Pacific Partnership, a proposed free-trade deal among 12 countries that together accounted for 40 percent of the global economy. (Trump formally withdrew from the deal on his first day in office.) Under both the Trump and Biden administrations, Baldwin has successfully pushed to require certain federally funded infrastructure projects to use American-made products. ''I represent a state that makes things, whether that's cheese, beer and brats or motorcycles and locks,'' she says. Like other Democratic Rust Belt politicians who are outspoken critics of free trade -- Senator Sherrod Brown of Ohio and Representative Marcy Kaptur, whose district includes Toledo -- Baldwin has outperformed the Democratic Party in elections.

Last spring, as Local 469 fought to save the Master Lock plant, the union's president, Yolanda Nathan, reached out to Baldwin and other elected officials. Baldwin sent a letter to Attorney General Merrick Garland and Commissioner Lina Khan of the Federal Trade Commission, urging them to look at potential antitrust issues arising from Master Lock's recent acquisition of a competitor. She met with David Youn, then the president of Master Lock's parent company, Fortune Brands, asking him to reconsider. ''I don't think I got straight answers on why they felt the necessity to do this,'' she told me. ''I certainly wasn't able to change his mind.'' (A spokeswoman for Fortune Brands called the closing ''a difficult decision'' that was ''in the best interests of our broader business'' and said jobs would go both to factories within the United States and to its ''North American manufacturing operations.'')

Several days after the closing was announced, Local 469 held a protest at the plant. More than 100 workers and their supporters, including Mayor Cavalier Johnson of Milwaukee, picketed. Members highlighted that Fink earned $10 million in 2022. Nathan stood in the bed of a red pickup truck, next to Johnson. ''I'm sorry this is happening to us,'' Nathan said through a bullhorn. ''It's not fair to be told that your hard work isn't good enough anymore.'' Nathan told me that around this time she heard a fellow worker sitting in his car crying. ''I don't know what I'm going to do,'' he told her. ''I'm the sole breadwinner of my family. My wife doesn't work. I have two kids.''

For the plant's Black employees, who made up more than 80 percent of the work force, the closing of the factory followed a particularly painful pattern. Milwaukee has been either the first- or second-most racially segregated large metropolitan area in the country for decades -- but it was also once a place of ***working-class*** Black prosperity. In 1970, the city's Black median income was the second-highest in the country, behind Detroit's; its Black poverty rate was 22 percent lower than the national average. Nearly 85 percent of Black men between 25 and 54 were employed. Now it has the lowest Black median household income, the highest Black poverty rate and the widest racial disparities in prime working-age male employment of the country's 50 largest metro areas, according to a recent study by Marc Levine, an emeritus professor of urban studies at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

Nathan, who is 44 and wears her hair in dreadlocks tied back in a ponytail, lives with her wife, a real estate agent, and has two children. She moved to Milwaukee from Lambert, Miss., when she was 22 and soon got a job at Master Lock through a temp agency. At the time, with the weakening of the union, wages at Master Lock had declined significantly. Nathan started at $9 an hour. ''Some people working in fast food were making more than we were,'' she said. ''But I loved the job. It was like family.''

Like most workers, Nathan began in unskilled production. She moved to different assignments, which came with raises of seven cents an hour. Eventually, a union officer helped her get into an apprenticeship program, where she learned to be a screw machine operator. When the plant's closing was announced, she was earning $33.46 an hour.

Nathan got a job at the Miller brewery, now owned by Molson Coors and one of only two large union plants in Milwaukee. She loads boxes onto a machine that fills them with cases of beer. She makes $22 an hour. In the mornings, she takes classes at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, where she is studying to be a cardiovascular technician. ''I'm putting myself through school so that I can leave manufacturing,'' she said. ''I don't have hope in it anymore.''

Before becoming president of Local 469, Nathan worked on the union's political education committee, where she registered roughly half the membership to vote. Recently, she started her own voter-registration effort at Miller. ''I do it so that they can see that there is a dire need to vote,'' she said. Though she has voted Republican in the past, she is passionate about defeating Trump. ''Trump doesn't understand ***working-class*** people,'' she said. ''He can't relate to us, because he never had to work a day in his life. He never had to wake up looking for his next meal.''

Other former employees, like Chancie Adams, who had a skilled production job at Master Lock, have become bitter about politics. Adams is now working at a nonunion metal fabrication plant, making $10 an hour less than he used to. ''You can vote for whoever and be having all these beliefs, but look at what happened,'' he told me outside the plant. ''Look what's happening. I was here 14 years, and I'm 44 years old, and I'm starting over.'' In 2012, he went door to door gathering signatures to recall Governor Walker, who had virtually eliminated collective bargaining rights for public employees, but the plant's closing has left him skeptical about political involvement. ''I heard the mayor was out here at the protest and gave a statement about how disgusted he was,'' he said. ''Well, I ain't never heard nothing else from him. It was just to show face. There was no fight for us.'' Though Adams usually votes, this year he won't. ''What for?''

Three miles away, at the Republican National Convention, a double-perimeter security zone patrolled by heavily armed officers left the nearby streets almost empty. Jeremiah Hayes met me at a park nearby. Hayes is one of three former Master Lock employees still working at the plant. A month after it closed, he was hired by a company that got a contract to decommission Master Lock's wastewater facility, which is filled with hazardous materials. ''It's surreal being back there,'' Hayes told me. ''It's so quiet.'' We found a small restaurant across the street from the highest-security zone and went inside to watch Trump's speech.

Trump returned to a long-running theme: the terrifying specter of deindustrialization. ''Right now, as we speak, large factories just started, are being built across the border in Mexico.'' Trump blamed the U.A.W. for ''allowing this to happen'' and said the union's president, Shawn Fain, who endorsed Biden and Kamala Harris, ''should be fired immediately.'' He concluded by saying: ''To all of the forgotten men and women who have been neglected, abandoned and left behind, you will be forgotten no longer.''

Hayes, who typically votes Democratic, said: ''They're using things like NAFTA as leverage. But they've always done that.''

Oren Cass, the head of American Compass, a conservative think tank, who is also a former adviser to Mitt Romney, is the intellectual leader of the ''pro-worker'' faction in the Republican Party, which includes JD Vance. He recently wrote a mea culpa in The Times for ignoring ***working-class*** suffering and denounced the long stagnation of American wages. Yet Cass contributed to the chapter on labor in the Project 2025 initiative, a set of conservative policy proposals for the next Republican administration. It encourages Congress to consider banning public-employee unions, roll back child-labor protections and restrict overtime pay. Trump and Vance each oppose the Protecting the Right to Organize Act, which has languished in Congress and would make it easier to form a union. The Trump administration threatened to veto the bill and said it would ''kill jobs and destroy the gig economy.''

While Trump has made gestures toward labor -- the convention gave a prime-time slot to Sean O'Brien, president of the Teamsters, who denounced ''greedy employers'' and praised Trump for listening to critical voices, though he didn't endorse him -- his record as president tells another story. In 2017, at a rally in Youngstown, Ohio, which lost some 50,000 well-paying steelworker jobs over the previous 40 years, Trump promised that all the empty factories would be ''coming back.'' Two years later, the last large plant in the area, a G.M. factory that had recently employed nearly 5,000 people, closed. During Trump's presidency, the trade deficit grew to its highest level since 2008, and his 2017 tax cuts incentivized corporations to offshore jobs by lowering the tax rates on foreign profits. According to Public Citizen's Global Trade Watch, more than 300,000 jobs were lost to offshoring and trade during his presidency.

Perhaps nothing is more symbolic of Trump's failed promise to bring back manufacturing jobs than the deal he made in 2018 with Foxconn, a Taiwanese manufacturer of iPhones and other Apple products, to build a campus near Milwaukee. Trump said the factory would be the ''eighth wonder of the world,'' and he broke ground for its construction using a gold-plated shovel alongside Representative Paul Ryan, the speaker of the House, and Scott Walker. The deal was predicated on $4.5 billion in taxpayer subsidies. Foxconn, which promised to create 13,000 jobs, has so far created only 1,000.

The day after I watched Trump's speech with Hayes, I drove out to see the Foxconn campus. The centerpiece of the development, a futuristic 100-foot-high glass-and-steel globe, was surrounded by vast, empty fields. In May, President Biden, who has created 765,000 manufacturing jobs during his presidency, traveled to the area to highlight a $3.3 billion investment by Microsoft to build A.I. infrastructure there.

At the Master Lock plant, about 20 miles away, a U.A.W. flag was still flying, but it was at half-mast and badly frayed. The abandoned factory now looked as foreboding as the surrounding area, known as the 30th Street Industrial Corridor. It once held more than 20,000 well-paying jobs. Scattered throughout were signs marking infrastructure projects funded by the Biden administration. In the midst of half a century's worth of deindustrialization, these efforts seemed small.

In 2019, during her presidential campaign, Kamala Harris, then a senator, said she would have opposed NAFTA. The following year, Harris was one of 10 senators to vote against the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement. When her running mate, Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, was in Congress, he voted against giving President Obama fast-track authority for the Trans-Pacific Partnership. In August, Harris and Walz received an enthusiastic endorsement from the U.A.W. president, Shawn Fain. At a U.A.W. local event in Michigan, Harris spoke passionately about the importance of unions -- ''Even if you're not a member of a union, you better thank unions for that five-day workweek'' -- and by late last month, she held a slender lead in Wisconsin, Michigan and Pennsylvania.

I reached Bink during the Democratic National Convention, which he had been watching intently, with one notable exception. ''This is rude of me,'' he said, ''but when Bill Clinton spoke, I stopped watching.'' He still felt betrayed by NAFTA. Bink was thrilled by Harris's U.A.W. event and hopes that she continues in the union-friendly direction Biden established. ''I think about three-quarters of the country would like to hear her speak out against NAFTA,'' he said. ''What's it done? The movement of wealth from the middle class to the already wealthy hasn't done anything for our society.'' He thinks a future president might learn something from what happened at Master Lock. ''The people that have been elected -- and I'll say that generically -- haven't taken care of the working people in the country.''

Lyndon French is a photographer based in Chicago. Rooted in documentary, his work focuses on Americana with subjects that include American industry and people with unique obsessions to obscure conventions.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/03/magazine/nafta-tarriffs-economy-trump-kamala-harris.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/03/magazine/nafta-tarriffs-economy-trump-kamala-harris.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: PHOTO (MM18-MM19)

MIKE BINK, FORMER PRESIDENT OF LOCAL 469, WHICH REPRESENTED MASTER LOCK'S UNIONIZED WORKERS, WORKED AT THE PLANT FOR 44 YEARS. OPENING PAGES: MASTER LOCK'S ORIGINAL PLANT OPENED IN 1939. AFTER YEARS OF OFFSHORING JOBS, IT FINALLY CLOSED IN MARCH.(MM20-MM21)

IN THE 30TH STREET INDUSTRIAL CORRIDOR OF MILWAUKEE, BUSINESSES ONCE PROVIDED 20,000 JOBS.(MM22)

YOLANDA NATHAN WAS THE NEWLY ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE UNION AT MILWAUKEE'S MASTER LOCK PLANT WHEN MANAGEMENT DECIDED TO SHIFT SOME OPERATIONS TO MEXICO. (MM23)

JEREMIAH HAYES, THE FORMER MASTER LOCK WORKER NOW HELPING TO DECOMMISSION THE WASTEWATER FACILITY, BELIEVES THAT NAFTA WAS THE BEGINNING OF THE END FOR THE AMERICAN WORKER. (MM24)

IN 2018, PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP MADE A DEAL WITH FOXCONN, A TAIWANESE MANUFACTURER OF APPLE PRODUCTS, TO BUILD A CAMPUS OUTSIDE MILWAUKEE. THE DEAL WAS SUPPOSED TO BRING IN 13,000 JOBS BUT HAS BROUGHT IN ONLY 1,000. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY LYNDON FRENCH) (MM25) This article appeared in print on page MM18, MM19, MM20, MM21, MM22, MM23, MM24, MM25.

**Load-Date:** September 8, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction: Sunday, August 18th 2024***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CS2-RTC1-JBG3-600X-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 18, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 531 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the August 18, 2024 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending August 3, 2024. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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|  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction |
| This | On |  |
| Week | List |  |
| 1 | 69 | HILLBILLY ELEGY, by J.D. Vance. (Harper) The Yale Law School graduate and 2024 Republican vice presidential nominee looks at the struggles of the white ***working class*** through the story of his own childhood. |
| 2 | 302 | THE BODY KEEPS THE SCORE, by Bessel van der Kolk. (Penguin) How trauma affects the body and mind, and innovative treatments for recovery. |
| 3 | 21 | THE TRUTHS WE HOLD, by Kamala Harris. (Penguin) A memoir by the daughter of immigrants who is currently serving as the 49th vice president and is the Democratic Party's 2024 presidential nominee. |
| 4 | 9 | THE BACKYARD BIRD CHRONICLES, by Amy Tan. (Knopf) Essays and drawings by the author of ?The Joy Luck Club? and ?The Bonesetter's Daughter,? which depict a search for peace through birding. |
| 5 | 6 | THE ART THIEF, by Michael Finkel. (Vintage) The author of ?The Stranger in the Woods? tells the story of Stéphane Breitwieser, who stole art more than 200 times for the sake of admiring it. |
| 6 | 6 | FRIENDS, LOVERS, AND THE BIG TERRIBLE THING, by Matthew Perry. (Flatiron) The late actor, known for playing Chandler Bing on ?Friends,? shares stories from his childhood and his struggles with sobriety. |
| 7 | 8 | CHAOS, by Tom O'Neill with Dan Piepenbring. (Back Bay) A reassessment of events surrounding the murders committed by Charles Manson?s followers. |
| 8 | 225 | BRAIDING SWEETGRASS, by Robin Wall Kimmerer. (Milkweed Editions) A botanist and member of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation espouses having an understanding and appreciation of plants and animals. |
| 9 | 32 | THINK AGAIN, by Adam Grant. (Penguin) An examination of the cognitive skills of rethinking and unlearning that could be used to adapt to a rapidly changing world. |
| 10 | 221 | BORN A CRIME, by Trevor Noah. (One World) A memoir about growing up biracial in apartheid South Africa by the former host of ?The Daily Show.? |
| 11 | 83 | EDUCATED, by Tara Westover. (Random House) The daughter of survivalists, who is kept out of school, educates herself enough to leave home for university. |
| 12 | 179 | KILLERS OF THE FLOWER MOON, by David Grann. (Vintage) The story of a murder spree in 1920s Oklahoma that targeted Osage Indians, whose lands contained oil. The fledgling F.B.I. intervened, ineffectively. |
| 13 | 59 | EVERYTHING I KNOW ABOUT LOVE, by Dolly Alderton. (Harper Perennial) The British journalist shares stories and observations; the basis of the TV series. |
| 14 | 172 | THE BOYS IN THE BOAT, by Daniel James Brown. (Penguin) The story of the American rowers who pursued gold at the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games; the basis of the film. |
| 15 | 497 | THE GLASS CASTLE, by Jeannette Walls. (Scribner) The author recalls how she and her siblings were constantly moved from one bleak place to another. ? |

**Load-Date:** August 19, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Tiny Homes Face the Ax in Hong Kong, Leaving Many Families Worried***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DBP-SD01-DXY4-X2MJ-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 5, 2024 Tuesday

The New York Times on the Web

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**Section:** Section ; Column 0; Foreign Desk

**Length:** 1252 words

**Byline:** By Tiffany May

**Body**

The government says the city's smallest apartments need more regulation. For some of Hong Kong's poorest, that could mean higher rents or even eviction.

As she surveyed her home in Hong Kong, Liu Lanhua tried not to be bothered that her narrow kitchen doubled as the family's only bathroom.

Colanders, pans and hairbrushes dangled above the toilet. Jars of chili oil were precariously balanced on water pipes. A stew of chicken wings and chestnuts warmed on an electric stove a few feet from the shower faucet.

She and her 12-year-old daughter are among 220,000 people in Hong Kong living in subdivided homes, which have long been among the starkest examples of the city's vast income inequality.

Now her home is under threat. Hong Kong's leader, John Lee, last month announced that the city would impose minimum standards on the size and fixtures of such apartments. The policy is expected to phase out more than 30,000 of the smallest subdivided homes.

In Ms. Liu's home, there was no space for a sink; the only spot for two pet turtles was in a basin under the fridge. ''If we had money, these would be in separate rooms,'' she said, looking at the cluttered kitchen and toilet.

Beijing has urged the Hong Kong government to get rid of subdivided units and other tiny homes by 2049, because it regards the city's housing shortage as one cause of the antigovernment unrest of 2019.

But Mr. Lee's plan has raised concerns among experts and advocates of more public housing, who say it would raise already high rents for the poor and evict a number of people without clear plans for their resettlement. It also doesn't address the worst types of housing in the city: rental bed spaces so small they are known as coffin, or cage, homes.

Of Slums and Slumlords

Hong Kong's subdivided homes, created when apartments are carved into two or more units, are usually in old tenement buildings in densely packed, ***working-class*** neighborhoods. Despite their often dilapidated conditions, the units are in high demand because affordable housing is in short supply.

Hong Kong has among the world's most expensive homes, and highest rents. The average living space per person is 64.6 square feet -- less than half the size of a New York City parking space. Owners of tenement apartments partition the units into smaller ones to rent them to more people.

''These are effectively slums and the landlords are slumlords,'' said Brian Wong, a researcher at the Liber Research Community, an independent group in Hong Kong focused on land use and urban issues.

He added that the landlords who rent out subdivided units are often upper-middle-class residents looking to maximize profits. Paradoxically, the rent price of such units, on a per-square-foot basis, is usually higher than that of larger private apartments.

Ms. Liu pays $500 a month for her home of about 80 square feet, about a quarter of what she earns working at a construction site. Her unit is in a 60-year-old tenement building with peeling pink and yellow paint in Kwun Tong, a district in east Kowloon that was once an industrial heartland, with cotton mills and a soy sauce factory.

''I will live where it's cheap,'' she said, adding that she wanted to pay for after-school classes for her daughter. She has been waiting for six years to move into public housing but has no idea when that might happen.

Ms. Liu and her daughter sleep on bunk beds in the 60-square-foot main room, pushed against windows that are covered with paper for privacy and always closed to keep rats out. Ms. Liu appreciates that her neighbors don't complain when her belongings spill into common spaces.

Kwun Tong is the most densely populated district in Hong Kong, and the poorest. People are drawn to it for its connectivity and services. Ms. Liu moved there six years ago to take a housekeeping course. Her daughter rides two stops on the subway to attend public school and studies with a tutor nearby until dinnertime. Their apartment is close to a large wet market.

The Hong Kong Leader's Plan

Ms. Liu's home would not meet the standards required under the policy outlined by Mr. Lee, the city's chief executive, which stipulates that each home must have a separate bathroom and kitchen. It would likely require significant renovation or remodeling.

The policy also calls for apartments to be at least 86 square feet and come with windows.

Ms. Liu's bathroom and stove are in a narrow cubicle that is slightly more than 20 square feet, separated from the main room by a common hallway. There is one faucet but no shower cubicle or sink, so she soaks ingredients in a bowl on the floor. The fridge faces the toilet.

Merged toilet and kitchen setups like this are common in subdivided apartments. Some apartments come only with toilets or kitchens that are shared with other households.

The government estimates that 30 percent of the city's 110,000 subdivided homes will fall short of the new standards.

The Housing Bureau said in a response to questions from The New York Times that the rules were needed to improve living conditions. It said it would inspect apartments and that landlords could face prison time for not complying with the rules.

The bureau also said that landlords would have a few years to renovate their units to meet the standards, and register them in a centralized system.

Plan Leaves Much to be Desired

At a recent meeting between social workers with the Kwun Tong Subdivided Home Concern Group, a nonprofit, and residents of the district, questions were raised about the government's plan. What are the standards for a proper toilet? If rents go up, will the government provide tenants with subsidies? Will those evicted be given priority in housing wait-lists?

''The standards have been raised but our finances haven't,'' said Moon Tang, a mother of three. She also wondered what would happen to people if they were evicted. ''If they had money, they would have rented a more expensive space in the first place,'' she said. ''Where do they go?''

In its emailed response to questions, the Housing Bureau said the government would ''adopt a gradual and orderly approach'' to the changes and would help residents ''where necessary.'' Most affected tenants would be able to turn to an increased supply of permanent and temporary public housing apartments by the time the rules come into force in the coming years, it said.

Experts note, however, that the new policy also fails to address problems faced by those living in ''cage homes'' or ''coffin homes'' -- bed spaces separated by wired metal or panels of wood. (Such spaces are regulated by a separate law.)

Siu Ming Chan, an assistant professor at the City University of Hong Kong who researches poverty and housing, said the rules could lead to a rise in rents, making apartments even more unaffordable. The government should increase subsidies for those affected by the policy, many of whom are older and live alone, he added.

Ben Shek, 68, a former technician who lives alone in a 60-square-foot Kwun Tong apartment that would likely be considered substandard, does not want to move. He suffered a stroke more than a decade ago that left him with a limp and unable to work. He shares a bathroom with two other families, inside a carpentry workshop. He likes his place because it is on the ground floor, making it easy for him to get around.

''Since I'm not working anymore, I don't get to have too many expectations,'' he said. ''And even if I did, they can't be too high.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/world/asia/hong-kong-subdivided-housing.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/world/asia/hong-kong-subdivided-housing.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Liu Lanhua in her subdivided apartment in the Kwun Tong district of Hong Kong. Such homes are among the starkest examples of the city's vast income inequality. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Billy H.C. Kwok for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 5, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Every Running Mate Is a Diversity Pick***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CJ5-PR41-JBG3-625T-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 22, 2024 Monday 15:06 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 356 words

**Byline:** Lydia Polgreen Lydia Polgreen is an Opinion columnist and a co-host of the &amp;#8220;Matter of Opinion&amp;#8221; podcast for The Times.

**Highlight:** Modern running mates are chosen to balance tickets.

**Body**

Over the weekend [*I wrote*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/matter-of-opinion) about the way diversity, equity and inclusion have redounded to the benefit of JD Vance, saying he as much as anyone could be called a D.E.I. candidate, even though the term, intended as a negative, has only been applied to Kamala Harris, who is Black.

Several readers wrote in to quibble with my argument by saying that Harris, unlike Vance, was explicitly chosen as vice president because of her race and gender, and therefore she was quite literally a D.E.I. candidate.

I did not include this in my column because to me it seemed too obvious, but given how many people have made this point it is worth saying: On a two-person presidential ticket, the running mate is always a diversity pick. Modern running mates are chosen to balance a ticket, and identity is a huge part of that balance.

John F. Kennedy (reluctantly) chose Lyndon B. Johnson as a way to shore up his weaknesses in the South. Ronald Reagan chose a patrician scion of the Northeastern elite to balance out his Western image. Barack Obama chose Joe Biden at least in part for his age and experience. Donald Trump chose Mike Pence for his appeal to religious conservatives. Each brought needed diversity to the ticket, and each had strengths and weaknesses.

Even Vance is a diversity pick — a youthful counter to a 78-year-old presidential candidate. He may be ideologically similar to Trump, but he comes from a very different background — Midwestern and ***working class***, quite a contrast to Trump, the born-rich son of a New York City real estate magnate.

One could quibble about how qualified each of these men was for the job, but the fact that their identities were part of why they got the nod does not diminish their legitimacy as running mates. It is telling that only in the case of a Black woman running mate does this effort to diversify the ticket get such outsize attention. Which, in the end, was the point I was trying to make in my column: There are many kinds of diversity and lots of forms of affirmative action, some of them [*baked right into our Constitution*](https://www.nytimes.com/column/matter-of-opinion). Maybe we should be a little more vocal and honest with ourselves about that.

**Load-Date:** July 22, 2024

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[***The Loneliness Epidemic Has a Cure***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CW2-G8J1-JBG3-60MC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 2, 2024 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 19; DAVID FRENCH

**Length:** 1445 words

**Byline:** By David French

**Body**

What is the most important single thing that you can do to heal our national divides and to improve the social and economic mobility of your struggling neighbors?

I'd submit that it's not voting for the right candidate (though you should certainly do that), nor is it engaging in activism to raise visibility for a worthy cause (though I endorse that as well). Instead, it's something that is at once much simpler but also much more difficult.

Make a new friend.

The story of modern America -- especially for ***working-class*** Americans who did not go to college -- is a story of declining connections, declining friendships and a loss of a sense of belonging. That sense of isolation makes people miserable, and as the misery spreads, it affects our economy and our culture. The data, quite frankly, is horrifying.

Last month, the American Enterprise Institute released its 2024 American Social Capital Survey. It exposes a stark social divide. People with high school diplomas or less spend less time in public spaces, less time in hobby groups and less time in community groups or in sports leagues than those with college degrees and higher (for simplicity, I'll refer to the two groups as high school graduates and college graduates). And they're less likely to host friends, family and neighbors in their homes.

Let's pause here for a moment. Think about the consequences of this distinction: Tens of millions of ***working-class*** Americans experience a social reality different from that of their more educated peers. The lack of common spaces and common experiences means that isolation can become self-perpetuating.

The friendship numbers are just as sobering. Americans of all stripes are reporting that they have declining numbers of friends, but the decline is most pronounced among high school graduates. Between 1990 and 2024, the percentage of college graduates who reported having zero close friends rose to 10 percent from 2 percent, which is upsetting enough. Among high school graduates, the percentage rose to a heartbreaking 24 percent from 3 percent.

The news just keeps getting worse. In 1990, an impressive 49 percent of high school graduates reported having at least six close friends. By 2024, that percentage had been cut by more than half -- to 17 percent. The percentage of college graduates with that many friends declined also, but only to 33 percent from 45 percent.

The disappearance of friendship has profound consequences. According to the A.E.I. report, there is a class divide in the percentage of Americans who can rely on someone to give them a ride to the doctor, lend them a small amount of money in an emergency or offer a place to stay. Another way of putting this is that the Americans who are most vulnerable to losing the informal social safety net of friends and relatives may be the people who need it the most.

It should be no surprise, then, that Americans at lower income levels report a far lower sense of belonging than those who are more prosperous. The Center for Inclusion and Belonging at the American Immigration Council, an immigration advocacy group, and Over Zero, an organization that studies and seeks to prevent identity-group-based violence, have created a comprehensive Belonging Barometer that measures the extent to which Americans feel a sense of belonging in their families, among their friends and in their workplaces, their communities and the nation as a whole. In every category, those with fewer resources reported less belonging.

We should care deeply about these numbers regardless of any larger social or cultural impact they might have. The thought that so many millions of our fellow citizens feel as if they don't belong, as if they can't call anyone for help or simply lack the pure joy of fellowship with close friends should grieve us all. It should change the way we behave. It should make us be more intentional about reaching out to people. And it should call us to action in our own neighborhoods and communities.

But declining friendship isn't just a matter of individual pain. It's also a matter of national concern. I recently read an intriguing paper by N.Y.U.'s Jay Frankel that makes the argument that ''emotional abandonment, both in individual lives and on a mass scale, is typically felt as humiliating; and it undermines the sense that life is meaningful and valuable.''

One might think that isolation leads to the quiet desperation that Henry David Thoreau observed in his time, but for many people it triggers a much more aggressive response -- including a pull toward authoritarianism. In 2021, The Washington Post's Michael Bender wrote about his experience embedded with Donald Trump's most loyal fans, the ''Front Row Joes'' who traveled from rally to rally across America to support the politician they loved best.

Following Trump, Bender writes, had ''made their lives richer.'' They came for Trump, but they stayed for the relationships. Trump's rallies ''gave the Joes a reason to travel the country, staying at one another's homes, sharing hotel rooms and car-pooling. Two had married -- and later divorced -- by Trump's second year in office.''

If you wonder why the Trump fever won't break, consider the extent to which the movement transcends politics. ''In Trump,'' Bender notes, ''they'd found someone whose endless thirst for a fight encouraged them to speak up for themselves, not just in politics but also in relationships and at work.''

Loneliness doesn't just have an impact on politics; it also has an impact on social mobility. A 2022 report from Opportunity Insights that analyzed data from 70.3 million users of Facebook found that ''at the community level, cross-class connections boost social mobility more than anything else.''

This is extraordinary, but it also squares with common sense. I grew up in a small town in Kentucky, and it was only after I made friends with people who had greater resources and experiences in the world that I began to expand my own horizons. I've tried my best to do the same, to use my own resources and experiences to lift up friends in my life.

Last week a friend of mine shared an extraordinary article by Rachel Cohen, a young policy correspondent at Vox. Cohen writes that her generation was taught that ''real social change would come only from mass protest and collective pressure on governments and corporations.'' In this construct, ''Volunteering, donating, and modifying one's personal behavior were, at best, unproductive; at worst, they were harmful distractions from the change we really need.''

Cohen wonders whether this emphasis on systems and mass protest is actually contributing to loneliness and friendlessness. Her answer is to go local, to volunteer. That doesn't mean neglecting your interest in systemic change, but it does mean engaging with people personally and perhaps even forging enduring connections.

Of course you can make friends in mass movements (as we see from the Front Row Joes), but there is often a tangible benefit to local engagement. You meet people who live close to you. There's an ease in creating and maintaining the relationship when there's physical proximity, and local engagement also means creating local spaces where people can feel at home.

Ever since I started writing about American anxiety, polarization and fear, I've gotten an immense amount of correspondence from people who are both worried about the state of the nation and worried about people they know personally -- an old friend who's gone off the deep end or a family member who seems lost to conspiracy theories.

Frequently they ask me for resources. They might ask for the best fact check I've read to respond to an election conspiracy theory. Or they might ask if there's a good book they can send to change a friend's mind. I've started responding to their questions with a question of my own: How much time do you spend with them?

Millions of Americans are lonely. They feel sad, mad and stuck. They're alienated from their communities and angry at their predicament, and they don't feel that they have many options to improve their lives. But friendship can help fix each of those problems. With fellowship comes joy. With connection comes opportunity. There are few higher and better callings than to forge a bond with a person and provide a place where they belong.

The Times is committed to publishing a diversity of letters to the editor. We'd like to hear what you think about this or any of our articles. Here are some tips. And here's our email: [*letters@nytimes.com*](mailto:letters@nytimes.com)

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[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/01/opinion/loneliness-epidemic-aei-education.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/01/opinion/loneliness-epidemic-aei-education.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A19.

**Load-Date:** September 2, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Mayor's Address to Business Leaders Is Disrupted as Protesters Storm Stage***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BTM-GN51-JBG3-602R-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 17, 2024 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2024 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 19

**Length:** 700 words

**Byline:** By Jeffery C. Mays

**Body**

The mayor's speech at a ''power breakfast'' was interrupted by demonstrators who stormed the stage and accused him of abandoning the ***working class***.

A handful of protesters disrupted a speech by Mayor Eric Adams on Tuesday, storming a stage and accusing the mayor of caring more about the needs of the real estate lobby than the ***working-class*** New Yorkers he often talks about.

The demonstrators moved to within an arm's length of Mr. Adams and chanted ''How much money do you take from the rich?'' before they were forcibly removed by police officers.

The surreal encounter, which took place at 583 Park Avenue, a historic landmark building now used as an event space, stunned the business leaders who had gathered there for a ''power breakfast'' held by the Association for a Better New York. Placed in the seat of every attendee was a one-page flier with a picture of the mayor titled ''New York City's Accomplishments.''

The flier centered on familiar themes of many of the mayor's recent appearances, highlighting job growth and a reduction of some crimes -- talking points that the mayor repeated in his speech.

Mr. Adams also announced progress on a massive office tower financed by Vornado Realty Trust and the Citadel founder Ken Griffin. The mayor said that, like the Empire State Building generations ago, the new building demonstrated faith in the city's future, even as Manhattan's office market was still struggling.

''This building is an investment,'' the mayor said, advancing the notion that the new skyscraper was further indication that New York had fully recovered from the coronavirus pandemic. ''It states we believe in our city.''

Mr. Adams dismissed the protesters, from a group called Planet Over Profit, as a handful of dissenters simply making noise and trying to stop the city's progress. The group focuses on how the wealthiest Americans ''are robbing us of a livable future,'' according to its social media profile on X.

Four people were taken into custody, said police officials. It was unclear if they would face criminal charges.

The episode illustrated the tension the mayor was dealing with in attempting to hold together his coalition of ***working-class*** New Yorkers and business leaders as he heads into what is sure to be a hotly contested Democratic primary next year.

Even as Mr. Adams tries to reverse unfavorable budget cuts that his administration made to libraries and schools, and faces a federal investigation into his 2021 campaign and a decades-old allegation of sexual assault, the primary is sure to also focus on the mayor's management of the city as it emerged from the pandemic.

Scott Stringer, the former comptroller who is exploring another run for mayor, has been sending fund-raising emails questioning Mr. Adams's management. One email from last week said Mr. Adams had taken a ''wrecking ball'' to vital city services.

''I would do a little less campaigning and lot more governing if I were him,'' Mr. Stringer said about the mayor's speech. ''If the priority is to build the second coming of the Empire State Building, then New Yorkers have a problem because we have an affordability crisis.''

Fabien Levy, the deputy mayor for communications, dismissed the protesters after the mayor's speech.

''He's the mayor of New York City,'' Mr. Levy said with a shrug, ''8.3 million people, 35 million opinions.''

Andrew Rein, president of the Citizens Budget Commission, was in the audience during Mr. Adams's speech. The group recently released a survey that found that many New Yorkers were not happy with the quality of life or services in the city. Still, he said the mayor's boosterism of New York was to be expected.

''He has to talk about all the good things that are happening because the more New Yorkers believe in New York, the better we will be,'' Mr. Rein said. ''It doesn't mean everything is perfect.''

Speaking at an unrelated news conference after his speech, the mayor said he saw the demonstrators, who were carrying a sign, walk on to the stage and that he was unfazed by their presence.

''No banner is going to scare me,'' Mr. Adams said.

Dana Rubinstein contributed reporting.Dana Rubinstein contributed reporting.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/04/16/nyregion/protesters-mayor-adams-speech.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/04/16/nyregion/protesters-mayor-adams-speech.html)

**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A19.

**Load-Date:** April 17, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Paperback Row***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CKD-DDM1-JBG3-635C-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 28, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk; Pg. 20

**Length:** 414 words

**Byline:** By Shreya Chattopadhyay

**Body**

Annihilation, by Jeff VanderMeer. (Picador, 224 pp., $18.) This science fiction novel, which won the Nebula Award when it was first published in 2014, takes place in Area X, a part of earth humans have avoided for years, save 11 failed expeditions. Now printed in a 10th-anniversary edition, the first book in VanderMeer's Southern Reach Trilogy follows four unnamed researchers, all women, as they embark on a 12th survey of the toxic ecosystem.

How to Say Babylon: A Memoir, by Safiya Sinclair. (37 ink, 352 pp., $18.99.) Sinclair, a prizewinning poet, puts forth what our reviewer called a ''breathless, scorching memoir of a girlhood spent becoming the perfect Rasta daughter and an adolescence spent becoming one of Jamaica's most promising young poets,'' reckoning with her fundamentalist childhood's impact on her life.

Cheap Land Colorado: Off-Gridders at America's Edge, by Ted Conover. (Vintage, 304 pp., $19.) Conover decided to buy his own plot of land in Colorado's rural San Luis Valley, where five acres go for $5,000 or less, after interviewing many of its ***working-class***, off-grid residents. His approach to describing them, our critic Jennifer Szalai wrote in her review, ''isn't so much about pinning people down as letting them reveal themselves.''

DAY, by Michael Cunningham. (Random House, 288 pp., $17.) On April 5, 2019, Isabel and Dan, married and raising kids in a Brooklyn brownstone, tell Robbie, their kids' beloved gay uncle, that he needs to move out of their attic. Over the course of three days three years apart and the onset of a never-named pandemic, this novel delves into the intricacies and fallout of their decision.

The Guest Room, by Tasha Sylva. (Holt, 368 pp., $18.99.) ''Careful what you look for,'' Tess, this thriller's narrator, thinks as she digs around a grave at the novel's start. It's not just graves: Ever since she's had to rent out her late sister's room, she hasn't been able to stop digging through its occupants' things, a compulsive prying that goes unnoticed until Arran, her newest tenant, seems just as curious about her.

The Heat Will Kill You First: Life and Death on a Scorched Planet, by Jeff Goodell. (Back Bay, 416 pp., $23.99.) A longtime climate reporter takes stock of the heat waves, hurricanes, wildlife deaths, immigration patterns and more that stem from rising global temperatures. It's ''a propulsive book, one to be raced through; the planet is burning, and we are running out of time,'' our reviewer wrote.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/11/books/review/new-paperbacks.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/11/books/review/new-paperbacks.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS This article appeared in print on page BR20.

**Load-Date:** July 28, 2024

**End of Document**



[***John Fetterman and the Fight for White Working-Class Voters***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:66T8-JGS1-DXY4-X37T-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 7, 2022 Monday 09:41 EST

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**Section:** PODCASTS; the-daily

**Length:** 364 words

**Byline:** Michael Barbaro, Nina Feldman, Will Reid, Paige Cowett, Dan Powell, Elisheba Ittoop and Chris Wood

**Highlight:** How the Democrats’ Senate candidate in Pennsylvania fits into a plan to win back the constituency that was once the core of their base.

**Body**

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For the Democrats to hold on to power in Washington, they have to do what President Biden did in Pennsylvania two years ago: Break the Republican Party’s grip on the white ***working-class*** vote, once the core of the Democratic base.

In tomorrow’s midterm election, no race better encapsulates that challenge than the Pennsylvania Senate candidacy of John Fetterman.

Is the plan working or is this crucial group of voters now a lost cause for the Democrats?

On today’s episode

Background reading

* Among white ***working-class*** voters in places like northeast Pennsylvania, the Democratic Party has [*both the furthest to fall and the most to gain*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/30/us/politics/blue-collar-voters-pennsylvania.html).

1. In the final days of the Pennsylvania Senate race, Mr. Fetterman has [*acknowledged that his recovery from a stroke remains a work in progress*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/06/us/politics/fetterman-stroke-election.html), leaning into the issue with a mix of humor, sarcasm and notes of empathy.

There are a lot of ways to listen to The Daily. [*Here’s how.*](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/16/podcasts/the-daily/how-do-i-listen-to-the-daily.html)

We aim to make transcripts available the next workday after an episode’s publication. You can find them at the top of the page.

Shane Goldmacher contributed reporting.

Fact-checked by Susan Lee.

The Daily is made by Lisa Tobin, Rachel Quester, Lynsea Garrison, Clare Toeniskoetter, Paige Cowett, Michael Simon Johnson, Brad Fisher, Chris Wood, Jessica Cheung, Stella Tan, Alexandra Leigh Young, Lisa Chow, Eric Krupke, Marc Georges, Luke Vander Ploeg, M.J. Davis Lin, Dan Powell, Dave Shaw, Sydney Harper, Robert Jimison, Mike Benoist, Liz O. Baylen, Asthaa Chaturvedi, Rachelle Bonja, Diana Nguyen, Marion Lozano, Corey Schreppel, Anita Badejo, Rob Szypko, Elisheba Ittoop, Chelsea Daniel, Mooj Zadie, Patricia Willens, Rowan Niemisto, Jody Becker, Rikki Novetsky, John Ketchum, Nina Feldman, Will Reid, Carlos Prieto, Sofia Milan, Ben Calhoun and Susan Lee.

Our theme music is by Jim Brunberg and Ben Landsverk of Wonderly. Special thanks to Sam Dolnick, Paula Szuchman, Lisa Tobin, Larissa Anderson, Cliff Levy, Lauren Jackson, Julia Simon, Mahima Chablani, Desiree Ibekwe, Wendy Dorr, Elizabeth Davis-Moorer, Jeffrey Miranda, Renan Borelli, Maddy Masiello and Nell Gallogly.

Shane Goldmacher contributed reporting.

**Load-Date:** November 8, 2022

**End of Document**



[***Ken Loach: Championing the Strugglers and Stragglers; Critic’s Notebook***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BV2-TGG1-JBG3-619J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 19, 2024 Friday 13:50 EST

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**Section:** MOVIES

**Length:** 1147 words

**Byline:** Jeannette Catsoulis

**Highlight:** A retrospective of the director’s work at Film Forum shows how his movies have kept a focus on ***working-class*** solidarity.

**Body**

A retrospective of the director’s work at Film Forum shows how his movies have kept a focus on ***working-class*** solidarity.

From the start, the British filmmaker Ken Loach came out swinging in support of the underdog. Long before his films opened in theaters, his 1960s television plays introduced uncomfortable topics like back-street abortion ([*“Up the Junction”*](https://www.justwatch.com/us/movie/up-the-junction)) and homelessness ([*“Cathy Come Home”*](https://www.justwatch.com/us/movie/up-the-junction)) to audiences who were not always appreciative of their documentarylike realness and divisive politics.

Since then, his dogged championing of society’s strugglers and stragglers has sometimes resulted in his films’ being misread or underappreciated by American audiences. (Even the British film critic David Thomson once judged Loach easier to respect than enjoy.) Inseparable from his time and place, Loach responded to the economic depression of postwar Britain — and what would become decades of Conservative rule — with an unrelenting focus on ***working-class*** solidarity. In a Loach movie, survival hinges not on individualism, but on community.

Film Forum’s [*wide-ranging retrospective*](https://www.justwatch.com/us/movie/up-the-junction) (running through May 2), which generously samples Loach’s prolific output from 1967 to the present, offers an opportunity to marvel at the breadth and emotional heft of an audacious career. In the 1990s alone (invigorated, one guesses, by 11 years of Thatcherism), he tackled topics as diverse and contentious as Northern Ireland ([*“Hidden Agenda”*](https://www.justwatch.com/us/movie/up-the-junction)), labor rights ([*“Riff-Raff”*](https://www.justwatch.com/us/movie/up-the-junction)), unemployment ([*“Raining Stones”*](https://www.justwatch.com/us/movie/up-the-junction)), domestic abuse ([*“Ladybird, Ladybird”*](https://www.justwatch.com/us/movie/up-the-junction)) and addiction ([*“My Name is Joe”*](https://www.justwatch.com/us/movie/up-the-junction)) with an uncompromising belief in the essential drama of ordinary lives.

Over time, his films have become less raw and more artful, more fluidly cinematic but with no less social relevance or political edge. (It’s notable, and shameful, that his 2019 indictment of worker exploitation, [*“Sorry We Missed You,”*](https://www.justwatch.com/us/movie/up-the-junction) feels as justified today as it did more than three decades ago in “Riff-Raff.”) Injections of tough-minded humor have inoculated even his most tragic pictures from charges of miserabilism and opened them up to a wider audience. In “Raining Stones” (1993), for instance — about an unemployed father who takes dangerous steps to purchase his daughter’s first communion dress — a gently comic undertow eases the violence. You’ll be distressed, but you won’t be destroyed.

Nowhere, though, is humor more essential than in two of Loach’s most wrenching dramas. In [*“I, Daniel Blake”*](https://www.justwatch.com/us/movie/up-the-junction) (2016) — whose release in Britain sparked [*a parliamentary discussion*](https://www.justwatch.com/us/movie/up-the-junction) — an ailing widower (Dave Johns) is repeatedly rebuffed by an impenetrable welfare system. Despite the welcome distraction of Paul Laverty’s salty, spiky dialogue, some scenes (as when Daniel accompanies an impoverished single mother to a food bank) remain so gutting I like to think even Thatcher would have crumpled.

No less harrowing, yet defiantly ebullient, “My Name Is Joe” (1998) follows a recovering alcoholic (the great Peter Mullan in a jaunty performance) as he risks his sobriety and a new romance to help a desperate friend. Washed in warmly gritty photography and dialogue (again by Laverty) that singes the ears, the movie is vibrantly alive in ways that transcend its somber subject matter.

Until his latest (and likely last) feature, [*“The Old Oak,”*](https://www.justwatch.com/us/movie/up-the-junction) Loach has mostly avoided triumphalism or extremes of sentiment, favoring realistically bleak or indeterminate endings. (A chilling example is his 1971 drama, “Family Life,” which traps an emotionally fragile teenager between her bullying mother and the brutal interventions of an antiquated mental health institution.) Age has doused neither the fire in his belly not the moral astringency of his gaze, resulting in characters who never plead for sympathy. Instead of whining, they fight.

Few battle harder than Maggie (an incendiary Crissy Rock), the single mother in [*“Ladybird, Ladybird”*](https://www.justwatch.com/us/movie/up-the-junction) (1994), who’s been knocked around by life and a series of shiftless men. Maggie is so relentlessly combative and unapologetic (“I smell trouble and I go to bed with it”) that viewers can find it easier to blame her, rather than the film’s mostly solicitous social workers, for her operatic misfortunes. Not Loach, though, who forces us to reckon with the way poverty and abuse can make us enemies even to ourselves.

The mother who appears in Loach’s debut feature, [*“Poor Cow”*](https://www.justwatch.com/us/movie/up-the-junction) (1968), has also, like Maggie, suffered abuse, but the two films could not be more different. I first saw “Poor Cow” some time in the ’80s, and a recent rewatch convinced me I had failed to fully appreciate both the loveliness of its color-soaked images and the radical feminism of its stance. Adapted from Nell Dunn’s 1967 novel, it remains Loach’s most wistful and formally experimental film, following Joy (Carol White, glowing like a pop-art angel) as she uses her beauty to scrape by when her boyfriend (a scrumptious Terence Stamp) lands in prison. (Some of Stamp’s footage was ingeniously repurposed by Steven Soderbergh for his 1999 thriller, “The Limey,” in which Stamp also stars and whose character appears in flashbacks as a young man.)

There’s a winsome innocence to this movie, and to Joy’s promiscuity: She refuses to “turn professional,” as a friend urges, because she enjoys sex too much. (The film’s title uses a British slur for a loose woman.) Accompanied by Donovan’s plaintive soundtrack, Joy is a philosopher-flâneuse, wandering the laundry-draped courtyards and agitated streets of West London and telling us, in desirous voice-over, exactly what she wants. Whatever that may be, the film insists, she’s as entitled to it as any man.

Viewed en masse, Loach’s movies form a cinema of ***working-class*** superheroes, caped in hard-knock resilience. The modesty of their ambitions — they aspire to sufficiency, not luxury — might mystify viewers accustomed to Hollywood’s narrative excesses. Joy seeks happiness in “a man, a baby and a couple of nice new rooms to live in”; Stevie (Robert Carlyle), the itinerant laborer in “Riff-Raff,” dreams of leaving his dodgy construction site and opening a little shop. Yet there’s something touchingly noble in their limitations and pragmatism, exemplified by Stevie’s bracing retort when his girlfriend admits to feeling depressed.

“Depression’s for the middle class,” he snaps. “The rest of us have an early start in the morning.”

PHOTOS: In a wide-ranging retrospective, Film Forum is showing films by Ken Loach, including “Raining Stones,” with Bruce Jones, left, and Ricky Tomlinson, center, and “Poor Cow,” right, with Terence Stamp and Carol White. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY NORTHERN ARTS ENTERTAINMENT; NORTHERN ARTS ENTERTAINMENT); Loach’s many other films include: “Hidden Agenda,” center, with Brian Cox and Frances McDormand; and “The Old Oak,” with Dave Turner. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY HEMDALE; ZEITGEIST FILMS IN ASSOCIATION WITH KINO LORBER) (C3) This article appeared in print on page C3.

**Load-Date:** April 22, 2024

**End of Document**



[***France's Far-Left Firebrand Is Eager to Lead. His Allies Aren't Eager to See It.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CFJ-24W1-JBG3-60NC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 10, 2024 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 9

**Length:** 1377 words

**Byline:** By Adam Nossiter

**Body**

Jean-Luc Mélenchon led his coalition to a narrow victory in elections. But even some of his allies bristle at the thought of the combative former Trotskyist becoming prime minister.

Emphatic, pugnacious and demanding: The style met the moment in the far-left leader Jean-Luc Mélenchon's speech to a fired-up crowd of thousands celebrating victory in Sunday's French legislative elections.

Standing before supporters in the ***working-class*** 19th arrondissement of Paris, Mr. Mélenchon addressed himself to President Emmanuel Macron, and not politely. ''The president should either resign or name one of us prime minister,'' he declared.

Other leftist leaders have said that there should be ''discussions'' about the future of the country. Not this one. The crowd on Sunday roared.

Mr. Mélenchon's tone and hard-line stance have given him a devoted, youthful following -- the only leftist leader with one -- and made him both adored and hated, marginalized and central in French politics. More French have a negative opinion of him, 73 percent, than they do of Marine Le Pen, the leader of the far-right National Rally. But he also attracts large crowds who hang on his every word, as they did on Sunday.

Now he is necessarily at the center of the discussion of what might lie ahead for France: his brand of leftism or the milder form represented by his critics within the winning leftist coalition, the New Popular Front. His party, France Unbowed, won the most seats in Parliament, 75, in the coalition.

He has said the person chosen to lead the government should be himself. Unlike the other leaders on the left, he has come close to the presidency, nearly making it to the runoff two years ago. He told France 5 television on June 22 that ''very obviously'' he was ready to be prime minister. ''I intend to govern this country,'' he said.

It is a prospect that even members of Mr. Mélenchon's own coalition, wary of what is viewed as his intermittent extremism, have vowed will never happen. ''If he really wants to help the New Popular Front, he should put himself off to the side,'' said François Hollande, the mild-mannered former president, a Socialist and now newly elected deputy, two weeks ago. ''He should just shut up.''

He is not going to, and that is both a source of his support and his major problem with the others in the leftist coalition that almost immediately threatens to fracture despite its narrow victory on Sunday.

''The problem they will have, when the president looks for a new government, the others don't want Mélenchon,'' said Gérard Grunberg, a political scientist and research director emeritus at the National Center for Scientific Research. ''He makes a real union of the left impossible. He's very provocative. The left is totally disunited.''

For now, France is without a government, and it is not clear how it will get one. No party or alliance won a majority in the elections. Despite that fact, Mr. Mélenchon said on Sunday, ''We're not going to cancel a page or a comma of our program.''

That program is a redistributionist, egalitarian, hostile-to-capitalism economic vision that was inspired in large part from Mr. Mélenchon's 2022 presidential platform.

On Sunday, he spoke of the coalition's economic plans as if he owned them: raising the monthly after-tax minimum wage to 1,600 euros, from 1,398 euros (or about $1,700 from about $1,500) -- ''We'll decree it,'' Mr. Mélenchon said; freezing prices on food, energy and fuel; $162 billion in taxes on the rich. Other elements include payments to households for costs associated with their children's education. The right, and Mr. Macron, have criticized it as adding an unbearable fiscal burden to an already deeply indebted country.

Mr. Mélenchon didn't even have to bring up another signature element in the left's platform: ''Retirement at 60!'' the youthful crowd began chanting spontaneously.

It is hard to imagine Mr. Macron appointing Mr. Mélenchon prime minister. They are not fans of each other. Mr. Macron has compared the leftist's political movement to the far right National Rally. Mr. Mélenchon is happy to return the compliment.

''Under his baton, France has become a global example of police violence and government abuse of power, in a regime that is supposed to be democratic,'' Mr. Mélenchon wrote of the president in his 2023 book, ''We Can Do Better! Toward a Citizens' Revolution,'' which was not translated.

''Emmanuel Macron is dawdling, deliberately dragging his feet,'' Mr. Mélenchon said Tuesday after arriving at the National Assembly. ''He's holding things up to hang on to power as long as he can.''

Mr. Mélenchon fights with the media, targeting individual reporters, professes hate for the United States and love for leftist Latin American dictators whose prolixity he shares. He has offered praise for authoritarian regimes in China, Cuba and Venezuela. ''The Yankees represent everything I detest,'' he told Le Monde in 2011. ''A pretentious and arrogant empire, made up of ignoramuses, of pitiful leaders.''

A former Trotskyist, longtime senator from the Paris exurbs and onetime government minister under the pragmatic Socialist prime minister Lionel Jospin, Mr. Mélenchon is a reader of Faulkner who left the Socialists in 2008 to found his own party, moving further and further left.

He has refused to condemn Hamas as a terrorist organization, has fought publicly with the leaders of Jewish organizations in France and is regularly accused of antisemitism, which he denies. He sometimes traffics insinuations that are stereotypes, once saying, for instance, that a Jewish former economy minister, Pierre Moscovici, didn't ''think French'' but thought ''international finance.''

''There is at least an ambiguity there that favors antisemitism,'' Mr. Grunberg said.

Patrick Weil, another political scientist, agreed: ''There's a limit to Mélenchon. He's considered by a big part of the population as dangerous and antisemitic.''

When Mr. Mélenchon said on Sunday that a top priority would be to ''recognize as quickly as possible the state of Palestine,'' the crowd erupted in roars of ''Free Palestine.'' As at other Mélenchon rallies, kaffiyehs and Palestinian flags were much in evidence.

One of his longtime heroes is Maximilien Robespierre, the most bloodstained of the French revolutionaries, and during the campaign he showed his own authoritarian side, purging five members of his France Unbowed party who had often disagreed with him. ''Our democracy deserves better than you,'' François Ruffin, an independent-minded deputy and party member who was not one of those purged, posted on social media.

Yet he has a formula -- populist economics to appeal to hard-up youths, fierce hostility toward Israel to appeal to ***working-class*** French Muslims in the suburbs, anti-American and anti-Europe rhetoric, and a pro-immigrant stance -- that proved to be a winner in this election. Many in the crowd on Sunday cheering him on were of Arab and African origin. ''The French people are not a religion, not a skin color,'' Mr. Mélenchon said.

He is the rare French politician who speaks approvingly of immigration, employing the term ''creolization'' to describe his country, as he did Sunday. ''That is very positive,'' Mr. Weil said. ''He integrates into citizenship young people of North African and African origin. He says France has become a melting pot. It's super important.''

It is one of the many things that has earned him supporters. In a pre-emptive move on Monday, one of France Unbowed's leaders, Mathilde Panot, told the RTL radio station that Mr. Mélenchon was ''absolutely not disqualified'' to be prime minister.

There were echoes of his hero Robespierre, who presided over the Reign of Terror during the French Revolution, in his rhetoric Sunday night.

''The government of the New Popular Front will have no other authority than what the people give it,'' he said -- a line that could have been written 230 years ago by Robespierre, a man who ceaselessly proclaimed that ''the people'' were the only source of government authority.

''It's not the politics of the past that will continue,'' Mr. Mélenchon said, ''it's the people who have surged up from all the ***working-class*** neighborhoods.''

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Above, Jean-Luc Mélenchon in Paris on Sunday after legislative elections. Right, Mélenchon supporters in 2022. ''He makes a real union of the left impossible,'' one analyst said. ''He's very provocative.'' (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANDRE PAIN/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

MICHEL EULER/ASSOCIATED PRESS) This article appeared in print on page A9.

**Load-Date:** July 11, 2024

**End of Document**



[***John Fetterman Wants Democrats to Stop Freaking Out***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DHG-NM81-JBG3-63J2-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 27, 2024 Wednesday 09:16 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1604 words

**Byline:** Jess BidgoodJess Bidgood is a managing correspondent for The Times and writes the newsletter, a guide to the 2024 election and beyond.

**Highlight:** “Buckle up and pack a lunch, because it’s going to be four years of this,” the Democratic senator from Pennsylvania said.

**Body**

“Buckle up and pack a lunch, because it’s going to be four years of this,” the Democratic senator from Pennsylvania said.

Senator John Fetterman wasn’t in Washington for the first Trump administration. But he has a few ideas about how Democrats should handle the second.

He wants his party to accept its losses. He wants his party to chill out a little. And he wants his party to please stop with all the hot takes about what went wrong in November, since Democrats have four long years to figure it out.

Fetterman has some experience taking on President-elect Donald Trump’s G.O.P. He won his seat in 2022 after overcoming a near-fatal stroke and beating the Trump-endorsed Dr. Mehmet Oz, who has since [*become the president-elect’s pick to run Medicare*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/21/business/media/trump-fox-news-dr-oz.html). As the Democratic Party reckons with its losses in places like Pennsylvania — where Trump beat Vice President Kamala Harris by 1.7 percentage points and Bob Casey, a third-term Democratic senator, lost his seat — I called Fetterman.

Our conversation was the first in a series of interviews I’ll do in this newsletter about the path forward for the Democratic Party. Drop me a line and tell me about others you want to hear from.

This interview was edited for length and clarity.

Incumbent parties struggled or lost elections around the world this year, particularly in Western democracies. Do you think the Democrats’ losses in November were inevitable?

That’s a question worth asking. I had a lot of concern — there was a couple of one-offs. One of them was the assassination in Pennsylvania. I think some people seem to forget that, or how incredibly dangerous that was for a nation, God forbid, if he would have been mortally wounded. But the kind of imagery and the kinds of energy that emerged from that, absolutely, I witnessed that on the ground in Pennsylvania. I thought, well, that might be ballgame.

Then, Musk was involved. He was described as moving to Pennsylvania. And sometimes that doesn’t really mean much, but he was an active surrogate — and I mean, his checkbook was helpful. That wasn’t really the defining facet for me. I was concerned that he’s going to have a lot of sway with a part of the demographic that the Democrats have to win, and we’ve struggled with.

You’re talking about the tech billionaire Elon Musk, but what’s the demographic in question?

Whether it’s the “bros,” that negative term that perhaps even your publication uses, as a negative — it’s the bros, or, you know, males, blue-collar guys, just people. It’s very rare, in my opinion, that surrogates have “fanboys.” Making fun of him or make light of it, you do that at your peril, because it is going to matter.

How do you think Democrats should be talking to bros, and should be talking to men, and should be talking to ***working-class*** voters?

Have a conversation. Have a conversation with anyone that’s willing to have an honest conversation. That’s always been the rule, and that’s what I’m going to continue. I’ve had conversations on Fox News, and they’ve played me straight. I’ve shown up on Newsmax, and they’ve played it straight. And [*Rogan*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/21/business/media/trump-fox-news-dr-oz.html). Rogan was great. He was cordial and open and warm.

Why was it important to you to go on Joe Rogan?

I’m a fan. I’m a huge fan of Bill Maher, a huge fan of Colbert.

Why do you think Democrats have struggled with men?

It’s already migrated. In 2016, I was doing an event with the steel workers, across the street where I live, and I was noticing different kind of energy with this, with Trump. It was clear at that time that people were voting for Trump. And the Democrats’ response was, “Aren’t they smart enough to realize they’re voting against their interests?” And that’s insulting, and that’s, I mean, that’s, that’s just not helpful. It’s condescending. And if anything, that reinforces that kind of stereotype.

Telling them that “I know better than you do,” that’s not helpful.

In 2022, you won your Senate race by almost five points. It wasn’t particularly close. Why do you think you did so much better in 2022 than Democrats in Pennsylvania did in statewide races in 2024?

A lot of different kinds of things converged in this cycle. So, in some sense, it’s not perfectly analogous to compare ’22 to ’24. Trump absolutely is a much more compelling top of the ticket than Dr. Oz, or, you know, the ultimate Democratic candidate dream of Doug Mastriano.

Is there something that you think you understand, though, about the recipe for success in Pennsylvania or the voters you need to talk to, that other Democrats don’t?

I don’t have “You should, you should, you should.” This is “I do, I do, I do.”

The opinions and the hot takes from the safety of, like, a deep blue seat or state, that doesn’t really count for much.

The things that they say, and those kinds of positions, are filling the clips that the Republicans unload on us in states like Pennsylvania.

How do you think the Democratic Party needs to change right now?

I don’t give advice except on fashion. Again, I want to thank your publication for [*putting me on the best-dressed list*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/21/business/media/trump-fox-news-dr-oz.html), so you understand why I am a fashion plate.

Do Democrats need to do an analysis of what went wrong? And, if so, who should do it?

We’re not even at Thanksgiving, and Democrats just can’t stop losing our minds every fifteen minutes. We really need to pace ourselves, or, you know, for FFS, just grab a grip. Realize that this is how elections go. At least for the next two years, they’re going to have the opportunity to write the narrative and to drive the narrative.

Trump is assembling a cabinet of people many Democrats find deeply objectionable. How do you think Democrats should respond?

I’m just saying, buckle up and pack a lunch, because it’s going to be four years of this. And if you have a choice to freak out, you know, on the hour, then that’s your right. But I will not. I’m not that dude, and I’m not that Democrat. I’m going to pick my fights. If you freak out on everything, you lose any kind of relevance.

Do you think Democrats have done too much freaking out when it comes to Trump?

It’s symbiotic. One feeds off the other. The Democrats can’t resist a freakout, and that must be the wind under the wings for Trump.

I saw a quote from you where you referred to, the Matt Gaetz pick, as “God-tier-level trolling.”

Obviously! The response or the opinions on the Democratic side aren’t interesting. They’re not. They’re not surprising. The real interesting ones are going to come from my colleagues on the Republican side.

It sounds like you want Democrats to be quiet and let Republicans have their own fight.

All I’m saying is, the freakout and all the anxiety and all that should have been before Nov. 5.

Does clutching the pearls so hard — does that change anything? Did it work? Did it change the election? Was it productive? And, like, I can’t believe the outrage. That has to be candy for Trump.

You said Democrats needed to pick their battles. What’s one you’d choose?

I’m not going to pick one before Thanksgiving.

One analysis of the election that we’ve heard from your colleague Senator Bernie Sanders is that Democrats failed to recognize how bad people were feeling about the economy, about the country generally, and failed to name a villain. Do you agree with that analysis?

I do not.

Why?

I think there was a lot of other issues. I would even describe them as cultural. Walk around in Scranton, tell me what an oligarch is. I think it’s like, “Whose argument is the closest match to the kinds of things that are important to me?” And I think some of them are rooted in gender and worldviews, and even backlash of things like cancel culture.

I witness people, now there’s specific kinds of clothing. They call it Blue Collar Patriots. I’m willing to bet you know who they’re voting for.

And why is that? I don’t think it’s because we haven’t talked enough about oligarchs, and how it’s rigged.

What do you think Democrats need to do to bring about the kind of cultural shift you’re talking about?

For a party that’s had way too many bad takes, we should take our time.

The luxe life of a pardoned turkey

One minute, you’re staying at a lush hotel in Washington and strutting on the White House lawn. And then, before you know it, you’re in the back of an S.U.V. for an 18-hour drive, dreaming about your custom retirement cottage.

Such is the life of a pardoned turkey.

This week, President Biden pardoned Peach and Blossom, making them briefly the most famous birds in America as he marked a holiday ritual in the waning days of his presidency.

It’s not yet clear what Biden will do next, but Peach and Blossom headed straight to [*Farmamerica*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/21/business/media/trump-fox-news-dr-oz.html), an agricultural educational center in Waseca, Minn., where they will live out their retirement in a specially built coop.

They’ll have 24-hour access to fresh water and feed. And a livestock nutritionist has been consulted about “a well-balanced diet for the turkeys, so they can maintain a healthy weight,” said Jessica Rollins, the center’s executive director.

The turkeys will greet their public on Friday, when the farm will host a turkey trot. Peach and Blossom themselves will not be trotting in the freezing weather. They’ll be nice and warm inside the visitor center.

“I have anxiety because we have nice carpet down,” she said, “but we have plastic that we will put over that.”

Happy Thanksgiving, all! I’ll be off until Monday, eating a turkey that was not spared. In the spirit of the holiday, thank you, dear reader, for making time for this newsletter in your own busy schedule. See you next week!

PHOTO: Senator John Fetterman, Democrat of Pennsylvania, in Washington this year. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Eric Lee/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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[***Why Kamala Harris’s Centrism Is Working***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CSY-CN11-JBG3-600Y-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 2000 words

**Byline:** David Leonhardt David Leonhardt runs The Morning, The Times&amp;#8217;s flagship daily newsletter. Since joining The Times in 1999, he has been an economics columnist, opinion columnist, head of the Washington bureau and founding editor of the Upshot section. He is the author of &amp;#8220;Ours Was the Shining Future: The Story of the American Dream."

**Highlight:** The vice president’s convention speech embodied her efforts to win over swing voters.

**Body**

The vice president’s convention speech embodied her efforts to win over swing voters.

Kamala Harris capped her first month as the Democratic Party’s presidential candidate with a roughly 35-minute convention speech last night that embodied her aggressive efforts to win over swing voters.

It was a patriotic speech that was hawkish on foreign policy and border security. She described the United States as the greatest country in the world — a view many Americans hold but [*most Democratic voters do not*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) — and she ended by saying that being an American was “the greatest privilege on earth.” She promised to confront China, Russia, Iran and Iran-backed terrorists and to make sure that the U.S. military remained the “most lethal fighting force in the world.”

She also offered a series of populist promises to help the middle class by reducing the cost of housing and health care — policies that many independents and some Republicans favor. And she spent little if any time on subjects that inspire passion among Democrats but are either secondary or off-putting to many swing voters, such as student debt forgiveness and President Biden’s climate agenda.

You can read more about Harris’s speech [*in this news story*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), as well as in this article on how she [*contrasted herself with Donald Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

In today’s newsletter, I want to explain why Harris’s move to the political center seems to be working, at least so far.

Who vs. what

Harris has [*surged in the polls*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), erasing Biden’s deficit and taking a small lead over Trump, for two main reasons. First, she has won over some swing voters, including independents, ***working-class*** Midwesterners and even a fraction of 2020 Trump voters. Second, she has done so at no apparent cost: In addition to attracting swing voters, she has built a bigger lead than Biden had among the Democratic base, such as young voters, college graduates and city residents.

How could this be? It comes down to the difference between the who and the what of her candidacy.

Loyal Democrats are energized about the who. They spent months agonizing over Biden’s flailing candidacy. Once he quit and Harris wrapped up party support in just a few hours, everything felt different.

Democrats remembered what it was like to have a candidate who could deliver a speech without making people fret that something was about to go wrong. Harris is full of energy and joy. She can cogently explain the administration’s policies, and she seems to be having fun in the process. Amid this electricity, many Democrats have been willing to tolerate her triangulation in the service of winning.

Harris isn’t just another Democratic politician, either. She would be the country’s first female president, of course, and is a woman of color. Today’s Democratic Party puts great emphasis on identity, especially race and gender. The party defines itself in large part as the defender of groups that suffer discrimination and injustice. [*Just watch*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) Tuesday night’s ceremonial roll call to nominate Harris, when delegates celebrated her historic status — and their own identities.

This focus on personal identity can give pathbreaking candidates more flexibility to stray from Democratic orthodoxy without angering the base. Barack Obama benefited from a similar dynamic in 2008. He was more moderate than some other Democratic candidates that year, yet he still excited many progressives. (Obama’s speech this week was also fairly moderate. Nonetheless, it received rapturous applause.)

For all these reasons, Harris has formed an emotional bond with liberals and others who make up the Democratic base. That bond has freed her to pursue swing voters with the what of her candidacy. She offers an economic agenda that many ***working-class*** voters support. She claims that she, not Trump, is the true candidate of border security. She encourages “U.S.A.!” chants. Last night, she referred to American history as “the most extraordinary story ever told.”

A tight race

Even so, the presidential race remains close. Harris leads in enough states to win, but only just. And if recent polls have undercounted Trump voters as much [*as they did in 2016 and 2020*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), he would probably win an election held today.

With the convention now over, Democrats won’t be able to control the narrative the way that they have this week. Republicans have already started running ads to remind voters of Harris’s liberal past. One ad opens by calling Harris a “San Francisco radical” and showing her wearing a Covid mask while she announces her pronouns. It then includes clips in which she calls for a ban on plastic straws, supports looser immigration policies and says more police officers don’t lead to more safety. Expect to see a lot of these ads before November.

It is possible that Harris has been enjoying a temporary polling bump — from the good vibes of replacing Biden — that will soon fade. (In that case, I’ll be curious to see if Harris goes even further to moderate her image; she said nothing last night, for example, about whether she supported an “all of the above” energy policy to reduce prices.)

Nobody knows what will happen between now and Election Day. What’s clear is that Harris has run an effective first month of her campaign, managing both to consolidate Democratic support and to moderately — in both senses of the word — expand her appeal.

More from the convention

* Harris’s speech included a statement of support for Israel, a denunciation of Hamas and a demand for security and dignity for the people of Gaza. It was effort [*to bridge the Democratic Party’s divides*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) on the war.
* Harris spoke about growing up in a ***working-class*** neighborhood [*with an immigrant single mother*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing). “She taught us to never complain about injustice, but do something about it,” Harris said. “She also taught us, ‘And never do anything half-assed.’”

1. Harris accused Trump and the Republicans of planning to jail opponents, cut taxes for the rich and ban abortion nationwide. “Simply put, they are out of their minds,” she said.
2. “My entire career, I’ve only had one client: the people,” Harris said of her background as a prosecutor and lawmaker. Trump, she argued, was running “to serve the only client he has ever had: himself.” [*Read a transcript of her speech*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).
3. Other speakers last night [*echoed Harris’s patriotic theme*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing). Adam Kinzinger, a Republican former congressman, said, “I want to let my fellow Republicans in on the secret: The Democrats are as patriotic as us.”
4. Members of the Central Park Five — who as boys were wrongfully convicted of attacking a woman in 1980s New York — [*criticized Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing). Years ago, he called for the return of the death penalty over the case.
5. Celebrity appearances included the Chicks, who performed the national anthem, [*Kerry Washington*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), the singer Pink and the N.B.A. star Stephen Curry, who endorsed Harris in a video.
6. Harris’s grandnieces led delegates in a call-and-response about how to pronounce her name. “First you say ‘comma,’ like a comma in a sentence,” one said. “Then you say ‘la,’ like ‘la-la-la-la-la,’” the other said.

More on the campaign

* Trump, [*calling in to Fox News*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) after Harris’s speech, sought to distance himself from Project 2025, his conservative allies’ governing blueprint, and accused Harris of failing to fix the problems she was “complaining about.”

1. Trump said on social media that Gov. Josh Shapiro of Pennsylvania, who is Jewish, had done “nothing” for Israel and called himself “the best friend that Israel, and the Jewish people, ever had.” Shapiro accused Trump of [*peddling antisemitic tropes*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

* Arizona can require people registering to vote to [*show proof of citizenship*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), the Supreme Court said.

1. Trump’s New Jersey golf club will host a fund-raiser [*to support Capitol rioters*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), billed as the J6 Awards Gala, next month.

* Arkansas’s Supreme Court [*rejected an effort*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) to put an abortion-rights amendment on the November ballot, saying the paperwork was faulty.

1. Robert F. Kennedy Jr. [*filed to withdraw*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) from the presidential election in Arizona. He’s scheduled to speak about his campaign’s future today.

THE LATEST NEWS

War in Ukraine

* Ukraine’s two-week-old offensive in western Russia [*has slowed*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), while Russian forces have gained momentum in Ukraine’s eastern Donetsk region.

1. In Russia, [*negative feelings about Vladimir Putin*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) have increased since Ukraine’s incursion, an analysis of online posts found.
2. In Germany, strict budget rules and rising parties on the far left and far right are pushing the government to [*reduce its support for Ukraine*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

Israel-Hamas War

* “They could have brought him back”: The families of Israeli hostages whose bodies were recovered from Gaza this week expressed anger at Israel’s leaders [*for not agreeing to a cease-fire*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

1. A group representing hostage families said that autopsies [*found bullets in the recovered bodies*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing). The military said it was too soon to tell if gunshot wounds were the cause of death.

More International News

* [*The second-largest diamond ever found*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing)was uncovered in Botswana. It’s the size of an adult’s palm, and weighs more than a pound.

1. Italian divers recovered the body of the [*British tech entrepreneur Mike Lynch*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), confirming that he was killed when his yacht sank in a storm.
2. [*A volcano erupted in southwestern Iceland*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), the country’s sixth eruption since December.

Other Big Stories

* The F.D.A. [*approved updated Covid vaccines*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) from Pfizer and Moderna. Only one in five American adults took booster shots last fall.

1. A network of more than a dozen current and former inmates used drones to [*smuggle drugs into Georgia prisons*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), prosecutors said.

Opinions

Times Opinion columnists picked their [*best and worst moments*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) of the last night of the Democratic convention.

This month, the F.D.A. denied approval of psychedelic drugs for mental health treatment. They won’t be approved until proponents [*stop conducting unethical clinical trials*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), Caty Enders writes.

Here are columns by Paul Krugman on [*Trump and crime*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) and Michelle Goldberg on why [*Harris needs Lina Khan*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

MORNING READS

Love and loss: Sphen, a gentoo penguin who found international fame because of his relationship with another male penguin named Magic, [*died at 11*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

Altered states: A survey revealed similarities between [*psychedelic trips and near-death experiences*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

Pickle: A TikTok influencer’s recipes have [*caused a cucumber shortage in Iceland*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

Lives Lived: Charlene Marshall was at the center of a legal battle over the estate of the New York socialite Brooke Astor, her mother-in-law. Marshall’s husband, Anthony, was ultimately convicted of fraud, but she in some ways seemed like the one on trial. Marshall [*died at 79*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

SPORTS

M.L.B.: The Seattle Mariners, who held a 10-game lead in the A.L. West two months ago, [*fired their manager*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) Scott Servais. Our beat writer says the organization is at [*a crisis point*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

College football: The sport’s fall schedule kicks off this weekend. [*See our 12-team playoff projection*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

ARTS AND IDEAS

The CrossFit Games are usually a triumphant moment, an extreme four-day test of fitness in which participants leap over hay bales, swing sledgehammers and toss medicine balls. This year, though, the competition turned tragic when a 28-year-old athlete from Serbia died during an open-water swim. His death has resurfaced simmering concerns that the games [*push competitors too far*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

More on culture

* [*A biography of the poet and thinker Audre Lorde*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing)offers a new way to think about her activism and legacy.

1. [*Jon Stewart went live*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing)on the last night of the Democratic convention.

THE MORNING RECOMMENDS …

Harness the delight of a chicken gyro [*in salad form*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

Download these [*free video games*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

Clean small messes with [*a hand-held vacuum*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

Take [*our news quiz*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

GAMES

Here is [*today’s Spelling Bee*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing). Yesterday’s pangrams were chunked and unchecked.

And here are [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), [*Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), [*Sudoku*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing), [*Connections*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing) and [*Strands*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

Thanks for spending part of your morning with The Times. See you tomorrow. —David

[*Sign up here to get this newsletter in your inbox*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing). Reach our team at [*themorning@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/series/us-morning-briefing).

PHOTO: Kamala Harris (PHOTOGRAPH BY Haiyun Jiang for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 23, 2024

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[***Banker Tasked to Find Nominees, Who Stand To Oversee His Firms***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCT-HCX1-JBG3-62FK-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Byline:** By Kate Kelly and Kenneth P. Vogel

**Body**

Howard Lutnick, co-chair of the president-elect's transition team and a Wall Street financier, is leading the search for appointees while still running his businesses.

The financier Howard Lutnick has been given a high-profile assignment from President-elect Donald J. Trump, one that raises questions about the Wall Street executive's dual role and what he might gain from it.

As co-chair of the transition team, Mr. Lutnick is in charge of identifying 4,000 new hires to fill the second Trump administration, including antitrust officials, securities lawyers and national security advisers who have global expertise.

But Mr. Lutnick has not stepped away from running financial firms that serve corporate clients, traders, cryptocurrency platforms and real estate ventures around the world -- all of which are regulated by the same agencies whose appointees he is helping to find.

Given his sprawling business interests, it's not known how Mr. Lutnick might keep from violating the transition's own code of ethics, which echo federal conflict-of-interest guidelines for transition team members. The Trump transition guidelines say that individuals who work on the team must disqualify themselves from matters that may directly conflict with their own financial interests or those of an organization with which they do business.

It is not clear whether Mr. Lutnick, who gained national attention when many of his employees died in the 2001 terrorist attack on the World Trade Center, has signed the code of ethics or whether he has recused himself from providing lists of possible nominees for any specific agencies that have oversight of his businesses.

Mr. Lutnick declined an interview request from The New York Times. People who work with Mr. Lutnick say that he is careful about separating his private business from his transition work.

Still, his behavior is raising alarms among governance experts.

The Trump team's eschewing of standard protocols is ''way over the line,'' said Max Stier, president of the nonpartisan government management organization the Partnership for Public Service. ''They're so far walking right past the entire architecture of the process and rules that were set up to ensure that leaders preparing to govern are doing it on behalf of the public rather than their own private interest.''

Karoline Leavitt, a Trump transition spokeswoman, noted that hiring choices were Mr. Trump's alone to make. ''President-elect Trump will begin making decisions on who will serve in his second administration soon,'' she said in a statement. ''Those decisions will be announced when they are made.''

In recent years, transition teams have typically been led by people in and around government who have had fewer business interests that are heavily regulated by the government. The first Trump transition in 2016 was initially run by the former governor of New Jersey, Chris Christie, then by Mike Pence, who was the vice president-elect and governor of Indiana at the time.

Mr. Lutnick has less than three months to help the incoming administration fill thousands of jobs. He spent much of Wednesday, after the election was called for Mr. Trump, holed up with transition team members at the president-elect's Mar-a-Lago estate in Florida. Mr. Lutnick has asked scores of Republican donors and executives for names of potential hires, amassing a list of thousands through personal referrals that he hopes will help sidestep lengthy vetting processes.

''We've got so many candidates,'' he said during a CNN interview on Oct. 31. ''We are so set up -- I feel great.'' He mentioned some of the major financial players whose advice he had sought, including the Blackstone co-founder Stephen A. Schwarzman and the brokerage firm founder Charles Schwab. ''I am a recruiter at a different level than most people you will ever meet,'' he said.

But the perception that Mr. Lutnick is using his stature on the transition team to influence government officials for his professional benefit has not gone unnoticed in Mr. Trump's circles. Those worries were first reported by Politico.

Mr. Lutnick's companies, which include the investment bank Cantor and the brokerage firm BGC Group, are involved in nearly every sector in the U.S. economy, from health care to technology. A public company Mr. Lutnick chairs, Newmark Group, consults on commercial real estate around the world. Cantor and BGC clients could be affected by a broad array of government policies and regulations, including the corporate tax rate that Mr. Trump wants to keep low and the Food and Drug Administration's approval or rejection of new drugs.

Mr. Lutnick's cryptocurrency business also stands to benefit from his close ties to the second Trump administration. One of Cantor's clients is the digital currency company Tether.

Mr. Lutnick has publicly defended Tether, which produces a currency called a stablecoin that is backed by dollars, amid questions over its financial soundness.

He has also relied on Jeff Miller, a lobbyist and fund-raiser with close ties to Mr. Trump's orbit and to congressional Republicans, to assist Tether in Washington. An arm of Cantor Fitzgerald, Mr. Lutnick's holding company, has paid Mr. Miller's firm $300,000 since late last year, and the lobbyist has helped Mr. Lutnick connect with members of Congress.

In meetings on Capitol Hill, Mr. Lutnick's team has pushed back on criticism that Tether creates a shadowy financial system. Rather, the team argued, Tether leaves a more traceable trail for law enforcement than cash, according to people familiar with the advocacy who requested anonymity to share private conversations.

Two people familiar with Mr. Lutnick's interactions on Capitol Hill, who were not authorized to speak about them, said Mr. Lutnick was scheduling separate meetings in congressional offices for the transition and for his business interests to keep them apart. For the transition meetings, which included a session in late September with Republican Senate leaders to discuss confirmations, he was accompanied by an official from the transition team. For the business meetings, he was accompanied by Mr. Miller.

An energetic and transaction-minded business leader, Mr. Lutnick may be best known for the tragedy that he and his employees experienced during the attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, when he was a young chief executive. The offices of his firm, then known as Cantor Fitzgerald, were high in the World Trade Center towers, and 658 of its employees, including Mr. Lutnick's brother, Gary, perished. (Mr. Lutnick, who had taken his son to school that morning, was not at the office.)

It was during that era that Mr. Lutnick's friendship with Mr. Trump, a fellow businessman, was forged, a Cantor colleague said, as they grappled together with the effect of the attacks on their home city.

''Right after 9/11, Donald Trump was a sweet, kind human being who was incredibly supportive,'' Mr. Lutnick said through a spokeswoman.

A fast-talking native Long Islander with a salt-and-pepper beard, Mr. Lutnick, 63, is one of the many extremely wealthy people, who include the Trump transition co-chair Linda McMahon and the tech entrepreneur Elon Musk, with whom Mr. Trump has surrounded himself during the campaign, even as he calls himself a champion of the ***working class***.

A longtime registered Democrat, Mr. Lutnick has said that the party moved away from his interests and that he is now a Republican.

He has also said that the attacks on Israel on Oct. 7, 2023, redoubled his commitment to Mr. Trump. ''We must elect Donald J. Trump president because we must crush jihad!'' Mr. Lutnick shouted from the stage at Mr. Trump's Madison Square Garden rally on Oct. 27, pumping his fist. Minutes later, he introduced Mr. Musk, whooping with excitement over the billionaire's promise to cut $2 trillion in government spending through a proposed Department of Government Efficiency, or DOGE, which Mr. Lutnick has said he helped Mr. Musk develop.

Over the last two years, Mr. Lutnick has donated $1 million to Mr. Trump's super PAC, according to federal election records, and co-hosted a fund-raiser at his Bridgehampton, N.Y., home that raised $15 million. All told, he has donated or raised more than $75 million for groups supporting Mr. Trump this cycle, according to someone familiar with his fund-raising who requested anonymity to discuss nonpublic figures.

During a meeting at Mr. Lutnick's Park Avenue office in October, Mr. Lutnick asked Jay Clayton, the Apollo Group independent board chair who served as chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission in the first Trump administration, to name some of his own best employees, hoping he might be able to poach them.

Mr. Lutnick's request, Mr. Clayton recalled, was: '''Give me the people you don't want to give up, and let's get them into government.' And I think that's a good approach.''

Ken Bensinger contributed reporting. Kitty Bennett contributed research.Ken Bensinger contributed reporting. Kitty Bennett contributed research.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/09/us/politics/howard-lutnick-transition-ethics.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/09/us/politics/howard-lutnick-transition-ethics.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO: Howard Lutnick, who is a co-chair of the Trump transition team, isn't stepping away from his business interests. (PHOTOGRAPH BY KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A26.

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[***A Former Tiananmen Square Protester Keeps Up the Fight***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCT-HCX1-JBG3-62GY-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 10, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Foreign Desk; Pg. 4; THE GLOBAL PROFILE

**Length:** 1400 words

**Byline:** By Alexandra Stevenson

**Body**

Neither jail nor exile to Hong Kong has stopped Han Dongfang, a former Tiananmen Square protest leader, from championing workers' rights. ''If you're born stubborn, you go everywhere stubborn.''

Han Dongfang was just another dot in a sea of agitated university students during the mass protests in Tiananmen Square 35 years ago when he suddenly jumped onto a monument to speak.

''Democracy is about who decides our salaries,'' Mr. Han, now 61, recalled shouting out to the crowd from the Monument to the People's Heroes in Beijing. ''Workers should be able to take part in the decision.''

It was one of the first times during the protests that anyone had mentioned workers. And it marked the beginning of Mr. Han's three-decade fight for their rights in China, a struggle that was almost brought to an immediate halt.

On June 4, 1989, just weeks after Mr. Han began his speeches, the People's Liberation Army fired on pro-democracy protesters in the square, putting a bloody end to the democracy movement and free speech in China.

The crushing response also disbanded the labor union he had helped to create during the protests -- the first and only independent union since the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949. After Mr. Han was placed on a ''most wanted'' list, he turned himself in to face prison, where he served 22 months.

Today, Mr. Han is one of China's last remaining labor rights activists not in hiding. Stripped of his Chinese passport and kicked out of mainland China in 1993, he does his work from Hong Kong.

''I prefer to be open rather than to hide,'' he said from the windowless meeting room in the office of China Labor Bulletin, a nongovernmental organization that Mr. Han started in 1994.

His faith in the power of transparency has kept Mr. Han in Hong Kong, even though nearly all other China-focused civil society organizations have left since 2020, when Beijing imposed a national security law and dismantled the protections that gave the city its semiautonomous status.

Where his peers have essentially surrendered in the face of the crackdown, Mr. Han has pushed ahead, telling colleagues to operate as though everything they do and say is being monitored by the authorities.

''I'm sure that the Chinese state security turned this organization's records upside down and inside out 50 times,'' Mr. Han said. ''And Hong Kong's national security police, too.''

After high school, the Beijing-born Mr. Han in 1980 joined the military, where he remembers being disillusioned by the fact that officers were fed chicken, while soldiers like him got bread so dry ''it could kill someone.''

He then took a relatively well-paid job as an engineer for the state railways, where he was working in April 1989 as students started protesting in Tiananmen Square near where he lived. Mr. Han joined them.

It was done mostly out of curiosity, he said. But as he listened to the students quote thinkers he had never read, and as he tried to relate their visions of democracy to his own life, he realized that workers could have a say outside of the Communist Party's system.

''It was a completely new idea that directly contradicted many years of propaganda about the ***working class*** being the leading class,'' he said.

Mr. Han took a leading role in an unofficial union that had begun to organize in the square called the Beijing Workers' Autonomous Federation.

After the Tiananmen massacre, the union was quickly declared illegal, and nothing like it has been allowed again. Ever since, Mr. Han, who is understated but not easily deterred, has been propelled by one goal: empowering workers to take collective action.

''That's my character,'' he said. ''If you're born stubborn, you go everywhere stubborn.''

His fervor led The New York Times to call him ''the Chinese government's worst nightmare: a man who is less afraid of it than it is of him.'' At the time of that article, in 1992, he was still able to live in mainland China. He was expelled the following year, resettling in Hong Kong.

Under China's current leader, Xi Jinping, groups like his have been shut down and other labor activists jailed. But Mr. Han has stayed active -- and optimistic. He continues to believe it is possible to advance Chinese workers' rights through unions.

On paper, China has one of the strictest sets of labor protections in the world. Every worker has the right to join or start a trade union. In practice, every union must be associated with what is effectively a state-sponsored union: the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, a government body that typically works with companies when setting up unions. The employees have little power.

Mr. Han has tried to work within this stifling system, focusing on convincing branches of the All-China Federation to negotiate on behalf of workers instead of siding with management.

He has also tried to gain an assist from an unlikely source: Mr. Xi.

Worried about social unrest amid an economic slowdown, China's leader has called for the official labor union to do more to help low-paid workers.

''You can say that I'm helping Xi Jinping to hold officials accountable,'' Mr. Han said with a faint smile.

In the China Labor Bulletin office, bookshelves and tables are piled with books and brochures about Chinese labor law. Mr. Han and his team of a dozen employees meet once a week to talk about strikes and protests that surface on Chinese social media. They also use state media stories, police reports and images with clues like street signs to try to identify the names and locations of companies where the labor unrest is occurring.

Once they have identified a company whose workers need help, Mr. Han will call local union officials to try to get them to take action.

Mr. Han, who has an encyclopedic knowledge of China's labor laws, will remind the officials of their duty to make sure workers' needs are being represented.

The conversation can be heated because officials with the All-China Federation tend to look the other way when worker violations occur. Often, they are complicit when company bosses do things like bring in private security to beat striking workers.

''When we call, we say, 'The law says this,''' said Mr. Han. ''In some cases they would say, 'If you really follow the law, all the factories in China should be closed.'''

His approach has achieved some successes, and over the years, China Labor Bulletin has been involved in some of the biggest labor disputes in China.

Last year, when a 20-year-old employee of an electronics factory was found dead in his dorm room after working for 33 days with little rest, the local authorities made a ''humanitarian'' payment to the family.

Mr. Han contacted the local official union and the factory and warned them that the company, which had foreign customers, could be held responsible under a German law requiring companies to identify and fix human rights abuses in their supply chains. Eventually, the worker's family was paid an additional amount that was double the first payment.

To describe Mr. Han as willful would be an understatement.

During his almost two years in jail, prison wardens tortured him and placed him in a ward with tuberculosis patients even though he was healthy. He called it ''hell'' and ''unbearable,'' but also ''an achievement.''

When Beijing released him because he had contracted tuberculosis and was near death, he traveled to the United States for treatment. He lost a lung. When he recovered, the Chinese authorities told him to stay away; instead he tried to sneak back in, more than once.

On his last attempt in 1993, he made it to Guangzhou, a city 80 miles from Hong Kong, then still a British colony. Eventually, the police dragged him back to Hong Kong.

He responded to the ordeal by setting up China Labor Bulletin.

Despite the past successes he can point to, Mr. Han said he feels powerless to help the victims of Beijing's current clampdown on China's decades-long property boom: the construction workers, painters, landscapers and others who have not been paid as companies went bankrupt.

Many workers are suffering, and some are protesting and speaking out, but there is little he can do. ''We don't see any hope because the root of the finance is dry,'' he said, ''there is no more water coming out.''

''The scale is beyond anyone's imagination,'' Mr. Han said. ''It's huge.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/10/world/asia/china-labor-rights-han-dongfang.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/10/world/asia/china-labor-rights-han-dongfang.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: PHOTO (PHOTOGRAPH BY ANTHONY KWAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Above, Mr. Han in 1992 in Hong Kong after he was jailed by the Chinese government. Right, demonstrators in Tiananmen Square in Beijing in 1989. During the protests there, Mr. Han helped create the first independent union in China since 1949. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY THOMAS CHENG/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE VIA GETTY IMAGES

SADAYUKI MIKAMI/ASSOCIATED PRESS) This article appeared in print on page A4.

**Load-Date:** November 11, 2024

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[***Hochul, in Unwanted Position, Says She Is Ready to Work With Trump***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCS-NG31-DXY4-X27N-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** NYREGION

**Length:** 1410 words

**Byline:** Nicholas Fandos and Grace AshfordNicholas Fandos is a Times reporter covering New York politics and government.

**Highlight:** While other big state Democrats are reviving the resistance, Gov. Kathy Hochul of New York says she is open to working with Donald J. Trump where possible.

**Body**

While other big state Democrats are reviving the resistance, Gov. Kathy Hochul of New York says she is open to working with Donald J. Trump where possible.

On Thursday afternoon, Gov. Kathy Hochul of New York found herself in a situation she had hoped would never come to pass: on the phone congratulating Donald J. Trump, the Republican president-elect.

Ms. Hochul, the leader of the nation’s second largest Democratic state, was an outspoken surrogate for Vice President Kamala Harris during the presidential campaign. She spent months warning that Mr. Trump’s return to power posed an existential threat to what New York values, from abortion rights to immigration.

But confronted with his sweeping victory this week, including [*surprising gains*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/nyregion/democrats-house-ny.html) in deep blue pockets of New York, Ms. Hochul appears more inclined toward cooperation than combat — at least for now.

In sober remarks after the election results became clear, the governor stressed that New York was once again prepared to fight if Washington targets the state’s liberal abortion, gun and climate laws. Far from declaring herself part of the resistance, though, Ms. Hochul said she was ready to work with “him or anybody regardless of party.”

She said she delivered a similar message directly to Mr. Trump in a private call, stressing her opposition to curtailing abortion access but also the possibilities for collaboration around revitalizing Penn Station, the subways and the state’s budding semiconducting industry.

Both sides described the conversation as cordial.

It was a sharp tone shift away from that of other prominent Democratic governors. Gov. Gavin Newsom of California quickly stepped back into the role of opposition leader, [*announcing a special legislative session*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/nyregion/democrats-house-ny.html) “to safeguard California values and fundamental rights.” In Illinois, Gov. J.B. Pritzker [*mocked Mr. Trump’s competence and*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/nyregion/democrats-house-ny.html) vowed to be “a warrior” for Democratic values. “You come for my people, you come through me,” he said.

Allies and advisers say Ms. Hochul, a lifelong moderate, sees things differently. She believes the election showed that even many Democratic voters are tired of the party’s reflexive anti-Trump stances and want to see progress in reducing crime, housing costs and illegal immigration.

A lifelong New Yorker, Mr. Trump has expressed special interest in playing a role in the city’s future. He will also soon hold sway over significant sources of funding propping up New York City’s subway, the state’s nascent chips manufacturing business, tax policy and a congestion pricing plan that [*Ms. Hochul may be moving to revive*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/nyregion/democrats-house-ny.html) before he takes office.

Unlike Mr. Newsom and Mr. Pritzker, two liberals thought to be angling for potential presidential runs, Ms. Hochul is staring down a difficult re-election fight in 2026 in a state where Mr. Trump just made deep inroads by grabbing key planks of the Democratic coalition.

Mr. Trump’s first term inspired strong backlash that lifted Democrats in New York and across the country, and Ms. Hochul may eventually benefit from a similar dynamic, too. But for now, [*polls indicate*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/nyregion/democrats-house-ny.html) that voters remarkably view Mr. Trump — once considered a pariah in his home state — slightly more favorably than Ms. Hochul.

“No one right now just wants a leader or a governor to go out and punch Trump in the face before he’s even done anything,” said Lis Smith, a Democratic strategist who served as a spokeswoman for former Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo’s successful 2018 campaign.

“Voters said pretty strongly that you can’t just run on an anti-Trump message,” she said.

There are factors working in favor of Ms. Hochul’s initial approach. She and the president-elect have neither personal history nor much baggage. She is less pugnacious than Mr. Cuomo, her predecessor who frequently sparred with Mr. Trump.

Ms. Hochul may also have some leverage, even if it seems unlikely that she will use it. As governor, she holds the power to pardon Mr. Trump or commute any sentence he receives after being [*found guilty*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/nyregion/democrats-house-ny.html) earlier this year in Manhattan for falsifying records to cover up a sex scandal that threatened to derail his 2016 campaign.

The Republican made New York a frequent punching bag on the campaign trail, presenting his former hometown as an emblem of the Democratic misrule he blamed for American decline. But he also made overtures that, if sincere, could provide an opening for collaboration.

At a rally in the Bronx, he pledged he would collaborate with the state’s Democratic leaders to “get this state and this city at a level that it’s never seen before.” Sounding more mayoral than presidential, he vowed to clean up homeless encampments, get “the severely mentally ill off your streets,” and renovate the city’s aging subway system.

“It’s in the best interest of New Yorkers for our leadership to recognize that while there may be differences, we want to help New York,” said Representative Nicole Malliotakis of Staten Island, the city’s lone Republican congresswoman.

Still, it is hard to overestimate the complexity of the challenge ahead for Ms. Hochul.

Mr. Trump has a long history of expressing interest in collaboration only to renege. Mr. Cuomo thought he was nearing a deal with him for major federal infrastructure investments in 2020. But after Mr. Cuomo criticized the then-president at the Democratic National Convention that year, the White House cut off the talks, according to [*a former aide’s account*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/nyregion/democrats-house-ny.html).

Mr. Trump similarly took umbrage this summer when Ms. Hochul attacked him in a speech at this year’s D.N.C. He called her the “nastiest speaker” and accused her of overseeing a “rigged” judicial system. (The two later had a more friendly exchange at the [*Alfred E. Smith Memorial Foundation Dinner*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/nyregion/democrats-house-ny.html) in New York City.)

There are also outright political and governmental risks for Ms. Hochul if she is perceived as too compliant with Mr. Trump.

He rode back to office after trying to overturn his 2020 election loss, has said he would dedicate his first day in office to [*acting like a dictator*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/nyregion/democrats-house-ny.html), pledged to deport millions of undocumented immigrants and to impose tariffs that could disrupt the state’s economy.

The progressive left, which makes up a key swath of the Democratic coalition, is already pressing Ms. Hochul to use the party’s hold on Albany to fight back, beginning by calling a special legislative session [*to try to protect undocumented immigrants*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/nyregion/democrats-house-ny.html) in the state from deportation.

Ms. Hochul is also under considerable pressure from environmental groups, some business interests and transit advocates to quickly finalize a long-planned congestion pricing plan projected to generate $15 billion for the Metropolitan Transportation Authority to improve its system.

Ms. Hochul paused the program earlier this year, citing concerns that the $15 toll for drivers entering central Manhattan would hurt the city’s economy and struggling residents at a time when both are still recovering from pandemic-era disruptions. She still has those concerns.

But Ms. Hochul has also spoken to federal officials about restarting the plan with a $9 toll, possibly putting it in place before Mr. Trump, who opposes the plan and could try to kill it, takes office.

Ms. Hochul has given conflicting signals on how she may proceed.

Ana María Archila, co-director of the left-leaning Working Families Party in New York, said she worried Ms. Hochul was taking the wrong lessons from Tuesday’s election.

“People are frustrated by a political system that doesn’t help them live their lives,” she said. “We have two years to demonstrate that government can actually help, and we have two years to prevent further erosion and further migration of ***working-class*** voters.”

At a news conference on Wednesday, Ms. Hochul sought to reassure the state that its leaders were prepared to respond to Mr. Trump’s victory.

Ms. Hochul said she had empaneled a task force to study “statutory, regulatory and fiscal vulnerabilities” to recommend state policy changes that might insulate that state’s approach to immigration, reproductive rights and climate change.

But it was Letitia James, the state’s attorney general, who sounded more ready to wield the hammer when she took the microphone after her.

Ms. James, who [*won a $454 million civil fraud judgment*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/nyregion/democrats-house-ny.html) against Mr. Trump this year, indicated her office was gearing up.

“We know their playbook,” she said. “We’re ready to respond to their attacks.”

Michael Gold contributed reporting.

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[***Hochul Signals to Trump Willingness to Collaborate***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DCT-HCX1-JBG3-62HG-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 10, 2024 Sunday

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 24

**Length:** 1421 words

**Byline:** By Nicholas Fandos and Grace Ashford

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**Graphic**

This article appeared in print on page A24.

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[***Democrats Lament Their Failure To Tap Into 'Young World' of Men***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DF2-FKD1-JBG3-62VC-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 16, 2024 Saturday

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 12

**Length:** 1565 words

**Byline:** By Benjamin Oreskes and Kellen Browning

**Body**

Democrats have widely acknowledged that they have no answer for the online ecosystem of conservative influencers popular with Gen Z men. Some have argued for a rethink of media strategy.

Three weeks before Election Day, Donald J. Trump appeared on a podcast hosted by two former professional football players. They spent about an hour together, talking as much about sports as his presidential bid.

At one point, the hosts asked Mr. Trump why he had made time for them and other similar shows, spending dozens of hours in podcast studios over the course of the campaign.

''It's a young world,'' he explained. ''You're in a young world, right?''

Mr. Trump's gamble that courting this ''young world'' -- an increasingly influential sphere of podcasts and personalities built for, inhabited and consumed overwhelmingly by young men -- would motivate them to vote for him appears to have paid off, at least according to early data.

And while many factors contributed to Mr. Trump's victory, Democrats are seizing on exit polling that suggests he improved his performance with Gen Z men, with a focus on the so-called manoverse, as they seek to rebuild a fractured coalition after Vice President Kamala Harris's loss. As young men increasingly reported feeling left behind, Mr. Trump wooed them in part by tapping into a right-leaning online media ecosystem that celebrated traditional masculinity while speaking to their economic insecurities.

The Democratic Party failed, some Democrats and young progressives said, to confront the cultural issues motivating Gen Z men, and to offer a coherent message on pocketbook issues that would appeal to them. Now, they are engaging in a period of soul-searching, reckoning with the splintered media environment that Mr. Trump was able to master and casting about for a response. Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, the prominent New York Democrat, has been speaking directly to the camera on her Instagram page, asking conservative viewers what forms of media they consume.

''Republicans have used culture as a gateway to politics,'' said Brian Tyler Cohen, a Democratic influencer who posts news analyses and interviews to his 3.4 million subscribers on YouTube. ''These are people who are influential to young men through culture, and then politics comes along with it. We do not have that infrastructure.''

He pointed to the high-profile voices who spent years building enormous male followings through entertainment, sports, comedy and a bevy of other topics before veering more explicitly into politics and endorsing Mr. Trump this year, like the podcaster Joe Rogan (more than 14 million followers on Spotify, the most of any podcaster on the platform) and the YouTube pranksters known as the Nelk Boys (8.25 million followers on the platform).

Ms. Harris's campaign also tried to reach younger voters, with young women preferring her to Mr. Trump, according to exit polls. The vice president was interviewed on the popular podcast ''Call Her Daddy'' and sat down with other social media stars in an effort to make up ground during her truncated campaign.

But some younger Democrats said a broader strategy shift was in order, especially in terms of how politicians approach nontraditional media. Celebrity appearances and paid endorsements from influencers come across as transactional and inauthentic, they said.

''It's last-second, 'Let's get Beyoncé onstage to say we support women,' but that doesn't move anyone who wasn't already going to vote Democrat,'' said Ayem Kpenkaan, a liberal content creator who goes by @bocxtop on social media. As Democrats were casting about for explanations for Mr. Trump's victory, posts by Mr. Kpenkaan, 25, blaming ''alpha male podcasts'' for men's rightward shift went viral.

He suggested that Democrats needed liberal versions of media platforms that are culturally right-leaning but not inherently political -- like Barstool Sports, the popular sports brand that has become so enmeshed in online culture that it has coined a phrase, Barstool conservatism.

''We have to make entertaining, engaging content that men want to watch and care about,'' Mr. Kpenkaan said. ''Then, over time, you pepper in more progressive views.''

The right had a long head start. Organizations like Turning Point, co-founded by the conservative activist Charlie Kirk -- who himself is an influential figure among young people -- have spent years appealing to students on college campuses, and Trump-supporting influencers have built their online followings up into the millions. Media personalities in areas as diverse as relationship advice, finance and exercise pump out right-leaning ideas or conservative cultural opinions. (The podcast Mr. Trump appeared on in October, ''Bussin With the Boys,'' is one of Barstool's offerings.)

Some of the cultural values championed by the right could be tricky territory for progressives. The right-leaning media ecosystem scoffs at the left's focus on identity politics, political correctness and pronoun usage, while encouraging traditional expressions of masculinity and femininity that liberals consider archaic.

Still, the young men who consume this content are reachable, some said, if only Democrats could shore up both their messaging, particularly on the economy, and their messengers.

''It's just about talking about a positive vision of the future and the day-to-day life experiences that young people are facing,'' said Rachel Janfaza, a researcher of youth political culture. ''Their political ideologies are not fully cemented, so I think it creates an opportunity for Democrats to lean into some of the more economic-focused policies.''

Even as online spaces dominated by men have shifted rightward in tone, there was continued skepticism over whether such a group would actually vote in large numbers. Men between 18 and 24 have traditionally turned out at a lower rate than any other cohort -- a trend researchers attribute in part to a distrust for institutions.

But Mr. Trump's campaign believed that his candid, irreverent approach and disdain for traditional social norms would dovetail with that anti-establishment worldview.

Jack Advent, a social media strategist who handled the Trump campaign's TikTok and helped with influencer outreach, and was nicknamed ''TikTok Jack'' by Mr. Trump, said the campaign deliberately sought out ways to make the candidate feel authentic, having him speak directly to the camera and showing behind-the-scenes clips of the campaign online.

The belief, Mr. Advent said, was that style would help young male voters feel like Mr. Trump was offering something unique.

''Most of modern media is so highly curated -- it's whatever message they want to push. Young males, or males in general, felt deprived of seeing authentic content that resonates versus marginalizes them,'' Mr. Advent, 22, said. ''When you watch an individual on a TV hit, they're in a studio, far away, talking at you. Through podcasts and TikToks, it feels like they're talking to you. It's more personable, it's less scripted.''

The strategy seemed to have paid off, at least in some quarters.

Nathaniel Chavez, 20, a construction worker in Sparks, Nev., said his worldview has been shaped by self-help business books from male authors and podcasts from people like Mr. Rogan and Andrew Tate, the former professional kickboxer and influencer who has proudly labeled himself a misogynist and is facing rape and human trafficking charges, which he has denied.

Mr. Chavez said he heard about Mr. Trump's policies through these podcasts and through talks with his father, a Republican.

''There is a strength to Trump, and he will make things happen,'' Mr. Chavez said. ''I'm not saying that he is just going to fix everything, but I do think he will have an impact.''

Democrats argued that progressive policies such as building more affordable housing and raising the minimum wage were widely popular and should appeal to young, ***working-class*** men. But there was a disconnect in communication.

''The policies in a lot of ways are moving in the right direction -- the message hasn't,'' said Cristina Tzintzún Ramirez, the president of NextGen America, a progressive group aimed at mobilizing young voters. ''A president's job is to message and frame for the American people that they see their pain, they see a path forward, and I think we just didn't have enough of that from the Biden administration.''

Ms. Tzintzún Ramirez said organizations like hers had succeeded in reaching college students with messages that appealed to them, like addressing climate change and lowering student loan debt.

But NextGen had been less successful at addressing the priorities of young people not in school -- the type of people Mr. Trump swayed -- in part because it had struggled to secure money from donors to target them.

For example, NextGen's ''Men's Voter Power'' campaign focused on swaying young male voters of color, especially those not on college campuses, with events like basketball games in Philadelphia. But it received far less funding than programs aimed at college students.

''It was the very smallest part of our program,'' Ms. Tzintzún Ramirez said. Democrats ''won the youth vote,'' she added, ''but there's a lot more they could be winning if they also focused on these other core groups that were, sadly, an afterthought.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/trump-gen-z-influencers-democrats.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/13/us/politics/trump-gen-z-influencers-democrats.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Some progressives say the Democratic Party has failed to offer a coherent message on key issues that would appeal to young men. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SCOTT MCINTYRE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

Democrats lack their own version of platforms like Barstool Sports, which are culturally right-leaning but not that political. (PHOTOGRAPH BY AMIR HAMJA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A12.

**Load-Date:** November 16, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Trump Voters Drive a Rise in Ticket Splitting***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D2M-RK71-JBG3-61PX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 28, 2024 Saturday 13:36 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 853 words

**Highlight:** Ticket splitters in key presidential battlegrounds and Ohio tend to be supporters of Donald J. Trump who are skeptical of his picks for Senate, polling shows.

**Body**

Ticket splitters in key presidential battlegrounds and Ohio tend to be supporters of Donald J. Trump who are skeptical of his picks for Senate, polling shows.

In the 2022 midterm elections, former President Donald J. Trump endorsed dozens of candidates down the ballot, [*positioning himself as Republicans’ undisputed kingmaker*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/25/us/politics/trump-endorsement-primaries.html).

But in the competitive races critical to his party’s hopes of regaining control of the Senate, his picks all fell short — leaving the chamber in the hands of Democrats.

This year, even with Mr. Trump himself on the ticket, the Senate candidates he has backed to flip the seats of Democrats in key battlegrounds are running well behind him, according to recent New York Times and Siena College polling.

Across five states with competitive Senate races — Wisconsin, Arizona, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan — an average of 7 percent of likely voters who plan to support Mr. Trump for president also said they planned to cast a ballot for a Democrat in their state’s Senate race.

Arizona has the highest share of voters who intended to split their tickets: Ten percent of Mr. Trump’s supporters said they would vote for Representative Ruben Gallego in the race for the state’s open Senate seat.

While the dynamics are not identical, many of the races feature long-serving Democratic senators who have been able to chart a moderate course, even as Mr. Trump and his brand of politics won support in the state.

These ticket splitters are largely Republican-leaning, and a majority — 62 percent — said they supported Mr. Trump in the 2020 election.

Mostly younger and less educated than the electorate overall, these voters tend to hold more moderate views, despite their leaning toward Republicans. More than two-thirds of G.O.P. ticket-splitters said they wanted abortion to be legal, nearly double the share of Republicans planning to vote a straight ticket who said the same. They were also more likely than Republicans who plan to vote a straight ticket to say that society should accept transgender people as having the gender with which they identify, and that immigrants strengthen our society.

There is a bright spot for Mr. Trump and Republicans in the race for control of the Senate, though, in Montana (not included in this poll). Recent polls have found that Tim Sheehy, the Republican, is running ahead of his opponent, Senator Jon Tester, which would give Republicans the advantage in taking control of the chamber.

Ticket splitting is increasingly rare in this hyper-polarized political era, but its relative prevalence in these states is a sign not just of the potential weakness of Republican Senate candidates, but of the strength of Democratic candidates.

In Arizona, Mr. Gallego has been lifted past his Republican rival, Kari Lake, a close Trump ally, by ticket splitters who are disproportionately young and Latino.

Javier Rodriguez said he had voted for Democrats his whole life and was considering supporting Mr. Gallego for Senate in Arizona, but Mr. Trump for president.

“I’m Mexican American and I always vote for my own, which is why I’m considering supporting Gallego,” said Mr. Rodriguez, 42, of Maricopa. “But it takes a special person like Trump to get me to vote against my own.”

Mr. Rodriguez said higher prices and crime were the issues driving his support for Mr. Trump.

In Ohio, Senator Sherrod Brown is leading in a hard-fought race against the Republican, Bernie Moreno, partly because of women voters, who are more than twice as likely as men to be ticket splitters in the state.

“I am a Republican, I think that the policies of the Trump administration were good for our country,” said Kathleen Eagan, 42, of Cincinnati. “But I also think Senator Brown has done a great job for Ohio and did a great job working across the aisle.”

Ms. Eagan said she intended to split her ticket.

“We are a rare group, but I know quite a few people in Ohio who fall into this camp,” she said.

Mr. Brown is banking on that to win in a state where Mr. Trump won by eight percentage points in 2020. (Mr. Moreno recently came under fire for [*disparaging comments he made about suburban women*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/25/us/politics/trump-endorsement-primaries.html) and women over the age of 50 over their concern about abortion rights — remarks that the Brown campaign has seized upon.)

In Pennsylvania, Senator Bob Casey, who has served three terms and comes from a prominent political family in the state, is drawing support from white ***working-class*** voters who also support Mr. Trump, a crucial demographic in the state. Mr. Casey has seen openings to attack his Republican opponent, Dave McCormick, on his [*vast personal wealth*](https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/25/us/politics/trump-endorsement-primaries.html) — he was a chief executive of one of the world’s largest hedge funds — and his ties to the state.

Roughly 3 percent of supporters of Vice President Kamala Harris said they intended to split their tickets and support a Republican candidate for Senate. This is more in line with historical rates of ticket splitting.

PHOTO: Former president Donald Trump at a rally in Tucson this month. Arizona has the highest share of voters who intended to split their tickets. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Adriana Zehbrauskas for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 29, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Here’s What’s Keeping Democrats Up at Night Ahead of the Debate***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CXM-7MX1-DXY4-X2KW-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

September 9, 2024 Monday 06:00 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1583 words

**Byline:** Katie Glueck Katie Glueck covers American politics with a focus on the Democratic Party.

**Highlight:** Heading into the high-stakes debate on Tuesday, the mood in the party remains upbeat. But with polls looking tight, concerns are starting to seep in.

**Body**

Heading into the high-stakes debate on Tuesday, the mood in the party remains upbeat. But with polls looking tight, concerns are starting to seep in.

After weeks of Democratic exuberance surrounding Vice President Kamala Harris’s sudden rise to the presidential nomination, the party’s joyous August has given way to a season of anxiety, as it braces for another nail-biter against former President Donald J. Trump.

Asked what should be keeping Democrats up at night, Patrick Murray, who directs the polling institute at Monmouth University, replied bluntly, “They could lose.”

That outcome seemed nearly a guarantee before President Biden bowed out of his re-election bid late this summer, Mr. Murray said. Now, he added, the election is merely a “close race, as opposed to a race that you’re almost certain to lose.”

A national poll of likely voters [*by The New York Times and Siena College*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/08/us/politics/trump-and-harris-times-siena-poll.html) released on Sunday found Mr. Trump leading Ms. Harris by 48 percent to 47 percent, within the poll’s three-percentage-point margin of error.

On the eve of the only scheduled debate between Ms. Harris and Mr. Trump, here’s a look at a few of the main worries emerging for Democrats, based on interviews with pollsters, party strategists and elected officials:

Can they actually translate enthusiasm into votes?

Before Mr. Biden dropped out, [*he appeared stunningly weak*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/08/us/politics/trump-and-harris-times-siena-poll.html) among vital groups of Democratic-leaning voters, including Black, Hispanic and younger Americans.

Polls have shown Ms. Harris making up ground with some of those voters, [*and a Gallup survey released last month*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/08/us/politics/trump-and-harris-times-siena-poll.html) captured a significant surge in Democratic enthusiasm.

But leading Democrats caution that expressing excitement in a poll is not the same as delivering a vote.

“That enthusiasm is real,” said Senator Tina Smith of Minnesota, the vice chair of the Democratic Senate campaign arm. “We have to now turn that energy into support for our candidates.”

“What keeps me awake right now,” she added, “is just complacency, that people sort of ride the wave of that energy without buckling down and getting the work done at the grass roots.”

While Ms. Harris has improved on Mr. Biden’s standing with some core Democratic-leaning groups, she still fell short of traditional Democratic strength in the Times/Siena poll. Notably, she was the choice of 55 percent of Hispanic voters in a matchup against Mr. Trump, similar to Mr. Biden’s 52 percent showing [*in June*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/08/us/politics/trump-and-harris-times-siena-poll.html). He won 65 percent of Hispanic voters in 2020, according to [*exit polls*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/08/us/politics/trump-and-harris-times-siena-poll.html).

Some Democrats have also worried about whether [*Black men, in particular*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/08/us/politics/trump-and-harris-times-siena-poll.html), may be more receptive to Mr. Trump this year.

LaTosha Brown, a co-founder of the Black Voters Matter Fund, expressed skepticism that Mr. Trump would win over those voters in significant numbers.

“I have less of a worry of him being able to make inroads with Black folks,” said Ms. Brown, who supports the Democratic ticket. “My greater fear is people not voting at the numbers that I think we need.”

Representative Suzan DelBene, a Washington Democrat who is the chair of the House Democratic campaign arm, said in an interview that enthusiasm “absolutely does” translate into votes — “when people are not just feeling energetic but actually showing up to help make sure they’re working to get out the vote.”

Are Democrats soft in Pennsylvania?

The electoral vote-rich state of Pennsylvania may be the most crucial battleground state on the map, and polls show a very close race in a place that was decided by one percentage point or less in the last two presidential elections. [*The Times’s polling average shows the race*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/08/us/politics/trump-and-harris-times-siena-poll.html) in the state essentially tied, with Ms. Harris up by a point.

[*With a large population*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/08/us/politics/trump-and-harris-times-siena-poll.html) of residents who do not have college degrees — a constituency that has increasingly favored Republicans — and Mr. Biden, a Scranton native, no longer on the ticket, Democrats in the state expect an exceedingly close race.

Representative Brendan Boyle, a Pennsylvania Democrat, said that was the case “when Joe Biden was the Democratic nominee, and I think it’s still the case with Kamala Harris as the nominee.” (Before Mr. Biden’s disastrous June debate performance, the race had appeared close in the state.)

But, Mr. Boyle said, Mr. Biden in 2020 “dramatically overperformed” in Northeastern Pennsylvania, an area that typifies the kind of [***working-class****, historically Democratic territory*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/08/us/politics/trump-and-harris-times-siena-poll.html) where Mr. Trump has come to have strong appeal.

“That’s where he had a certain home-field advantage that will be hard for anyone to duplicate,” Mr. Boyle said of Mr. Biden. “We will probably have to work harder, specifically in the Scranton area.”

He said he expected that Ms. Harris, like Mr. Biden, would try to engage ***working-class*** voters, something she and especially her running mate, Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, [*have already begun*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/08/us/politics/trump-and-harris-times-siena-poll.html) to do.

Mr. Boyle also noted the flip side of the education divide, saying that he expected Democrats to maintain or expand their already significant advantage among white college-educated voters, especially women.

Those constituencies played critical roles in transforming the Philadelphia suburbs from moderate or even Republican territory to increasingly reliable bastions of Democratic support since 2016. Democrats are counting on running up the margins there again.

Trump seems to be flailing. Why is the race so close?

By many measures, Mr. Trump — the first American president to be convicted of a crime — had a terrible end to his summer.

[*He trailed Ms. Harris*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/08/us/politics/trump-and-harris-times-siena-poll.html) in fund-raising and [*struggled to drive*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/08/us/politics/trump-and-harris-times-siena-poll.html) a consistent message against her. He floundered through another news cycle [*about abortion rights*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/08/us/politics/trump-and-harris-times-siena-poll.html), and his campaign [*clashed with the Army*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/08/us/politics/trump-and-harris-times-siena-poll.html) over a visit by him and his team to Arlington National Cemetery. And Mr. Trump, who was found liable for sexually abusing and defaming the writer E. Jean Carroll, [*went out of his way last week*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/08/us/politics/trump-and-harris-times-siena-poll.html) to remind the country that he faces accusations of sexual misconduct from multiple women.

Yet many polls show him effectively tied with Ms. Harris, and with a significant advantage on the issue Americans say matters most to them: the economy.

“That this is even a tight race — like, that really saddens me,” said Ms. Brown, adding that she was also worried about how racism and sexism toward Ms. Harris, a Black and South Asian Democrat, would be “weaponized.”

Some Democrats also said they expected Mr. Trump to ultimately find effective attack lines.

[*The Harris campaign has argued that she is the underdog*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/08/us/politics/trump-and-harris-times-siena-poll.html) and will run the kind of aggressive race that such a position would require, pointing to her robust infrastructure in battleground states.

Democrats also significantly outpace Republicans in reservations for television advertising in the presidential race in key states through Election Day, according to recent data from the media tracking firm AdImpact.

But the debate will be the biggest test yet of whether Ms. Harris can cut into Mr. Trump’s enduring advantages, as she continues to introduce herself to a closely divided country.

Older voters liked Biden. Will they be sold on Harris?

Mr. Biden, 81, performed slightly better among his fellow older Americans than Democrats typically do, holding a slim lead among likely voters ages 65 and up in a Times/Siena national poll in June despite losing those voters to Mr. Trump in 2020.

In the latest survey, however, Mr. Trump led Ms. Harris with those voters, 52 percent to 46 percent, signaling a potential challenge for Ms. Harris with a traditionally reliable voting group.

“Biden was unusually strong for a Democrat among older voters,” Mr. Murray, the Monmouth polling director, said. “Those would be the voters that you would be worried that could slip away from you with this new candidate.”

Still, John Anzalone, a Democratic pollster whose firm helps conduct bipartisan polling for AARP, said in an interview last week that Ms. Harris was broadly competitive with many older voters, which was also evident in Times/Siena [*battleground*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/08/us/politics/trump-and-harris-times-siena-poll.html) [*state*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/08/us/politics/trump-and-harris-times-siena-poll.html) [*polling*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/08/us/politics/trump-and-harris-times-siena-poll.html) last month.

He noted the Biden-Harris administration’s work on issues that benefited older Americans — capping the [*cost of insulin*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/08/us/politics/trump-and-harris-times-siena-poll.html) for seniors, for instance — and said that some older voters were particularly turned off by Mr. Trump’s style.

“Trump is just not their type of Republican,” he said.

What surprises are in store?

This election has all of the traditional unknowns: Will there be a significant change in the economy? Another stunning development on the volatile global stage? Or a wild October surprise?

But beyond that, Democrats are grappling with fears that stem from their experience in recent elections.

There are anxieties [*about foreign influence, misinformation and disinformation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/08/us/politics/trump-and-harris-times-siena-poll.html). Some have [*nagging doubts*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/08/us/politics/trump-and-harris-times-siena-poll.html) about whether the country would elect a woman, especially a Black woman, as president. Many worry about how Mr. Trump, who tried to overturn his 2020 defeat, would respond if he were to lose again in November.

And then there are the scars from the polling errors of 2016, when national and especially state polls [*consistently underestimated Mr. Trump*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/08/us/politics/trump-and-harris-times-siena-poll.html).

“I feel pretty good if the polls are right,” Mr. Boyle, the Pennsylvania congressman, said. “What will still keep me up is, are the polls right or off by a couple of points or underestimating Trump’s support?”

Ruth Igielnik contributed reporting.

Ruth Igielnik contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Many polls show Vice President Kamala Harris effectively tied with former President Donald J. Trump since her sudden rise to the presidential nomination. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Ruth Fremson/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** September 11, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Why I’m Getting More Pessimistic About Biden’s Chances This Fall***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BW5-MX91-DXY4-X04W-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

April 24, 2024 Wednesday 16:41 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 409 words

**Byline:** David Brooks David Brooks has been a columnist with The Times since 2003. He is the author, most recently, of &amp;#8220;How to Know a Person: The Art of Seeing Others Deeply and Being Deeply Seen.&amp;#8221;

**Highlight:** The reasons aren’t rocket science.

**Body**

Last fall I argued that Joe Biden was the Democratic Party’s [*strongest 2024 presidential nominee*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/06/opinion/joe-biden-trump-election.html). I believed that for two reasons: He has been an effective president, and he is the Democrat most likely to appeal to ***working-class*** voters.

I still believe Biden is the party’s strongest candidate, but I’m getting more pessimistic about his chances of winning.

The first reason is not political rocket science: Voters prefer the Republicans on key issues like inflation and immigration. Most Donald Trump supporters I know aren’t swept up in his cult of personality; they vote for him because they are conservative types who like G.O.P. policies and think Trump is a more effective executive than Biden.

The second reason I’ve become more pessimistic is because of what’s happening to the youth vote. NBC News released [*an interesting poll last weekend*](https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/06/opinion/joe-biden-trump-election.html) finding that interest in this election is lower than in any other presidential election in nearly 20 years. Only 64 percent of Americans said they have a high degree of interest in the election, compared to, say, 77 percent who had high interest in 2020.

But what really leaps out is the numbers for voters ages 18 to 34. Only 36 percent of those voters said they are highly interested.

I imagine that’s partly because it’s difficult to get enthusiastic about candidates who are a half-century older than you. But part of it is also about Biden’s approach to the Israel-Hamas war. Young people are much more critical of Israel than other groups, and there are no candidates representing that point of view.

I think what we’re seeing at Columbia and on other elite campuses is a precursor to what we’re going to see at the Democratic convention in Chicago. In 1968 the clashes between the New Left activists and Mayor Richard Daley’s cops were an early marker of the differences between the more-educated and less-educated classes. They were part of the trend that sent ***working-class*** voters to the G.O.P.

If there are similar clashes in Chicago this August, the chaos will reinforce Trump’s core law-and-order message. It will make Biden look weak and hapless. Phrases like “from the river to the sea” will be 2024’s version of “defund the police” — a slogan that appeals to activists but alienates lots of other voters.

The folks in the administration project confidence that their man will prevail. I wish I could share that confidence.

PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY Kenny Holston/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** April 25, 2024

**End of Document**



[***When Progressive Ideals Become a Luxury***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CFJ-DRP1-DXY4-X08B-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

July 10, 2024 Wednesday 08:10 EST

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**Section:** OPINION

**Length:** 342 words

**Byline:** Rob Henderson, Lindsay Crouse and Kevin Oliver

**Highlight:** On my journey from foster care to Yale, I developed a concept I call luxury beliefs.

**Body**

In a 2017 Senate hearing, the Harvard sociologist Robert Putnam famously argued, “Rich kids and poor kids now grow up in separate Americas.” Rob Henderson knows this firsthand. His mother was addicted to drugs; he never knew his father. He grew up shuttling among foster homes, where he started drinking beer around age 5 and smoking marijuana at age 9. At age 17 he watched a drunk friend kick a dog off a cliff and knew he had to escape. He enlisted in the Air Force.

When Henderson got to Yale on the G.I. Bill, he was shocked by the differences between him and his classmates. As he explains in the video above, he learned it was popular for his classmates to hold strong, seemingly progressive views about many of the concerns that shaped his life — drugs, marriage, crime. But they were largely insulated from the consequences of their views. Henderson found that these ideas came to serve as status symbols for the privileged while they, ironically, kept the ***working class*** down. He came to call these ideas luxury beliefs.

Henderson went on to get his Ph.D. at Cambridge and wrote a book about his experiences, “Troubled: A Memoir of Family, Foster Care, and Social Class.” In the video, Henderson argues that these out-of-touch views are all around us, widening our class divide and fueling our fractious politics. And he envisions another way.

Rob Henderson ([*@robkhenderson*](https://x.com/robkhenderson)) is the author of “Troubled: A Memoir of Foster Care, Family, and Social Class.” Lindsay Crouse is a writer and producer in Opinion. [*Kevin Oliver*](https://x.com/robkhenderson) is a video editor and producer.

[*Opinion Video*](https://x.com/robkhenderson) combines original reporting with creative storytelling to produce visually transformative commentary. Pitch a [*video guest essay here.*](https://x.com/robkhenderson)

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PHOTO: (PHOTOGRAPH BY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** July 10, 2024

**End of Document**



[***How Biden Can Out-Populist the Populist***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6BJC-GN91-JBG3-64BX-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

March 14, 2024 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; Pg. 18; NICHOLAS KRISTOF

**Length:** 1087 words

**Byline:** By Nicholas Kristof

**Body**

As Democrats puzzle over how President Biden can be so unpopular, it's worth looking at the global context -- because he's actually doing better than most Western leaders.

In the Morning Consult approval ratings for global leaders, Biden polls better than leaders in Canada, Britain, Germany, Spain, Belgium, Ireland, Sweden, Austria, the Netherlands, Norway, France and Japan.

Here in America, we often attribute Biden's unpopularity to his age, and that's certainly part of it. But youthful leaders abroad are even less popular: In Britain, people fault the 43-year-old prime minister, Rishi Sunak, for being ''too inexperienced for these grim times,'' as The New Statesman put it.

The United States is doing better economically than most other countries, but Biden's challenge is still that he represents the establishment at a time when there is deep suspicion around the globe of elites and globalization -- yet there are also lessons from abroad that could help Biden beat Donald Trump. So while there's a far-right tide that may also swamp the United States, it's not hopeless for Biden.

Fareed Zakaria notes in his brilliant new book, ''Age of Revolutions,'' that a backlash to globalization after the 2008-09 financial crisis fed political uprisings in many Western countries, parallel to the rise of the Tea Party and the ethnonationalist takeover of the Republican Party that was happening in the United States.

''These anti-globalization parties have successfully tapped into the social and economic anxiety of millions,'' Zakaria writes. These narratives may be untrue or simplistic, but they are reshaping the West.

For anyone who can't imagine Trump's winning again, consider what has happened in countries we think of as socially liberal. The Sweden Democrats, a party with neo-Nazi roots, has surged to become the country's second-largest party.

In Germany, the extreme nationalist Alternative for Germany party is leading in eastern parts of the country. Italy is governed by Prime Minister Giorgia Meloni, whose far-right party has links to neo-fascists.

Then there's the Netherlands, where Geert Wilders -- who once sought to ban the Quran and called Moroccan immigrants ''scum'' -- won national elections in November.

What are the lessons for Biden from this global trend?

First, far-right parties ''all feed on anti-immigration sentiment,'' notes Sylvie Kauffmann of Le Monde in France. One strategy to defuse this, pursued with some success by Denmark's liberal prime minister, is to signal that the left can also curb immigration.

I'm uncomfortable with this strategy. I flinch at Denmark's crackdown on immigrants and I'm wary of Biden's push to show how firm he can be on immigration. I exist only because of the compassion that the United States showed to refugees in 1952, when it admitted my dad. Yet I'm even more horrified by the prospect of a return to the White House of a man who demonizes immigrants and separated children from their parents at the border.

So on balance, reluctantly and nervously, I'm OK with Biden's increasingly harsh stance on immigration -- and politically he has an advantage because he is proposing a crackdown as Republicans wring their hands and block it. Biden hasn't seized that advantage, but the international scene suggests he would benefit if he did: He could shout from the rooftops that in practice it is he, not Trump, who is the tough guy on immigration.

The other lesson from across the industrialized world is the importance of educated liberals showing greater sensitivity to the ***working class***, which has drifted rightward in country after country. In Britain, the Labour Party is trying to win back ***working-class*** voters with more moderation in both policies and tone, and this may be working: It is leading in the polls.

In the United States, Biden is in a better position than some other Democrats to recover ***working-class*** voters, just as they helped him win both the primaries and the general election in 2020. Biden may be the most religiously observant president in decades and is strongly pro-union. Instead of condescending, he speaks from the heart about ***working-class*** fragility. He tells a poignant story that I hope he shares more often:

His dad, while working at a car dealership, attended his office Christmas party but was disgusted when the owner threw out silver dollars on the floor for employees to scramble after. The elder Biden walked out and away from the job -- and made sure his son knew that a job isn't just about pay but also about dignity.

With stories like that, Biden can compete for ***working-class*** voters. (If he gets out and campaigns more!) It helps that his opponent is a billionaire whose scores of felony charges complicate any effort to run as an anti-corruption populist. Biden's policies also have a legitimate populist tinge, from the call for higher taxes on the rich to his record delivering on a price cap for insulin -- a crucial issue for the eight million Americans who need it.

In short: On immigration and on economic policy, in his background and in his faith, Biden has a chance to out-populist the populist.

Biden may also be helped by a recognition that some of his antagonists don't have core values so much as a box of tricks. That brings me to Senator Katie Britt, who in her response to the State of the Union address was caught in deceptions about human trafficking to try to hurt Democrats.

As someone who has been writing about human trafficking for three decades, I was appalled to see Britt diminish a critical human rights issue by misleading the public about a survivor's story and treating her as a political prop. If Britt actually cared about trafficking, there are policies she could back (like fixing foster care, now a common pipeline to traffickers). Some Republicans did excellent work on the issue under President George W. Bush.

Instead, Britt displayed the worst kind of political cynicism, taking something as horrific as modern slavery and using it to manipulate voters. She exploited for her own purposes women who already have suffered brutally.

Even in times of a global populist headwind, that hollowness of his opposition gives Biden an opening.

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[***How NAFTA Broke American Politics***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CW8-TT11-DXY4-X3PR-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Highlight:** Since its passage in 1993, the trade agreement has played an outsize role in presidential elections — which now often hinge on the three Rust Belt states it helped to hollow out.

**Body**

In May of last year, Marcus Carli, the plant manager of the Master Lock factory in Milwaukee, Wis., called a surprise meeting with the board of United Auto Workers Local 469. Several officers of the union, which represents the workers at the plant, joined Carli and an executive from Master Lock’s parent company in a tiny conference room. Carli brought along a security guard. “He’s here for my protection,” Carli told the union representatives. As the guard sat down, Yolanda Nathan, the local’s incoming president, noticed his gun. “That’s when I thought, Oh, we’re losing our jobs,” she says. Carli immediately confirmed her worst fears. “The plant’s closing,” he announced. “It took my breath away,” Nathan says. “It took all our breaths away.”

Half an hour later, the plant’s first-shift workers were called to assemble in the old cafeteria. A row of tables spanned the room, separating company officials from the workers. “The plant’s closing,” Carli said again. He refused to take questions. “They just dropped the bomb on us,” Jeremiah Hayes, who worked in the plant’s wastewater-treatment facility, says. He particularly resented the makeshift barrier: “It was insulting. We felt like a bunch of animals.”

Mike Bink, who started at Master Lock in 1979, was devastated but not surprised. Months earlier, a co-worker whose job entailed making steel plates that were fed into a machine to make a lock body told Bink that the plates were now being shipped to Master Lock’s plant in Nogales, Mexico. That factory was built in the 1990s, not long after President Bill Clinton signed the North American Free Trade Agreement into law, and the company eliminated more than 1,000 of nearly 1,300 union positions in Milwaukee. “People ran for the gate,” Bink, who was then the president of Local 469, says. “They thought the plant was finished.” Bink managed to hang on, but NAFTA fundamentally changed the balance of power between Master Lock and its workers. “A shop floor supervisor would say things like, ‘Get to work, or the company will take all the jobs,’” Bink recalls. “After the downsizing, the union lost its leverage.”

The closure of its factory in March, where it made iconic locks for generations, represents the final stage in Milwaukee’s long unraveling as an industrial powerhouse, part of a larger phenomenon, fueled by NAFTA, that has taken place across the country, particularly in the Rust Belt states. NAFTA eliminated tariffs on trade among the treaty’s signatories — Canada, Mexico and the United States — allowing for the unfettered movement of capital and foreign investment. It ushered in an era of free-trade agreements that brought cheap goods to consumers and generated great wealth for investors and the financial sector, but it also increased income inequality, weakened labor unions and accelerated the hollowing out of America’s industrial base.

Milwaukee was once known as the “machine shop of the world.” In the 1950s, nearly 60 percent of the city’s adult population worked in manufacturing, a vast majority of whom held well-paying union jobs. In 1969, Milwaukee had the second-highest median income in the country. By 2021, Milwaukee had lost more than 80 percent of its manufacturing jobs (barely 5 percent of those that remained were unionized), and it had the second-highest poverty rate of any large American city, just one example of NAFTA’s profound impact on American industry and labor.

Deindustrialization has diminished the wealth, power and health of ***working-class*** Americans arguably more than any other single culprit. While deindustrialization has many causes — in a recessionary four-year period that ended in the early 1980s, a quarter of Milwaukee’s manufacturing jobs were wiped out — a central driver has been free-trade agreements with developing countries, of which NAFTA was the first. According to a study by the Economic Policy Institute, [*Americans without college degrees have lost nearly $2,000 a year in wages*](https://www.epi.org/publication/adding-insult-to-injury-how-bad-policy-decisions-have-amplified-globalizations-costs-for-american-workers/) owing to trade with low-wage countries, even after accounting for cheaper consumer goods. The economists Angus Deaton and Anne Case have documented how the loss of jobs has led to falling life expectancy for ***working-class*** people: College-educated Americans can now expect to live eight years longer than those without a college degree. “I would put that down to deindustrialization combined with the lack of any political voice,” Deaton told me.

The passage of NAFTA remains one of the most consequential events in recent American political and economic history. Between 1997 and 2020, more than 90,000 factories closed, partly as a result of NAFTA and similar agreements. The coming presidential election, like the previous two, is likely to be determined by three of the “blue wall” states — Wisconsin, Michigan and Pennsylvania — which have all been ravaged by deindustrialization. In 2016, Donald Trump won those states, and the presidency, in part by railing against NAFTA (“the worst trade deal ever,” he called it). Exit polls showed that Trump won nearly two-thirds of voters who believe that free trade takes away American jobs. Ohio, meanwhile, which twice voted for Barack Obama, has increasingly become a Republican stronghold.

Trump’s right-wing populism — an economic-nationalist blend of opposition to free trade, support for programs like Social Security, at least rhetorically, and anti-immigrant sentiment (“virtually 100 percent of the net job creation in the last year has gone to migrants,” he falsely asserted) — helped pave the way for a new generation of self-proclaimed “pro-worker” Republicans, including Trump’s vice-presidential pick, Senator JD Vance of Ohio. Both Vance and Trump denounced NAFTA in their speeches at the Republican National Convention in Milwaukee in July. “When I was in the fourth grade,” Vance said, “a career politician by the name of Joe Biden supported NAFTA, a bad trade deal that sent countless good jobs to Mexico.”

Biden has since changed his stance on such free-trade policy. He defeated Trump in 2020 by narrowly winning back the three pivotal blue-wall states with a campaign centered on his jobs-focused Build Back Better plan, which proposed investments in clean energy, social welfare programs and manufacturing. Though the plan was ultimately defeated in the Senate, elements of it were incorporated into Biden’s core domestic legislation, including the Inflation Reduction Act. This May, the Biden-Harris administration announced that it would extend Trump-administration tariffs on certain Chinese products and significantly increase duties on others, such as electric vehicles, to protect American workers and industries. Vice President Kamala Harris, as the Democratic nominee, has also come out in favor of targeted tariffs to support American workers.

In July, Biden told the executive council of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. that he had delivered on his promise to be the “most pro-union president in history.” Whether that is true — private-sector union membership is at an all-time low — he has appointed several policymakers who prioritize labor to powerful positions, including Katherine Tai, the United States trade representative, a cabinet-level position.

“Master Lock’s story is one that we know only too well from the last several decades,” Tai told me. “It fits a pattern of deindustrialization that we’ve been trying to figure out how to remedy.” Tai has been advocating a “worker-centered” approach to trade to give labor representatives more input in shaping policy. She points to the 2020 United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement — which renegotiated NAFTA in part to discourage the outsourcing of jobs to Mexico — as an improvement. The agreement was passed under Trump, and Tai served as the lead negotiator for congressional Democrats. She secured several labor-friendly provisions, like expanding protections for Mexican workers who wish to form a union and engage in collective bargaining, with fines for companies that violate these rights. But there is little evidence that these reforms are sufficient to stop the outward flow of jobs and capital. Stellantis moved production of the Jeep Cherokee from a plant in Illinois to Toluca, Mexico, in 2023, and CNH, an agricultural machinery manufacturer, is laying off hundreds of workers in Wisconsin and moving operations to Mexico.

In his speech accepting the Republican nomination, Trump boasted that the U.S.M.C.A. was “the best trade deal ever made.” But to Hayes, the wastewater-treatment worker, it is merely an extension of the long shadow of NAFTA, which ultimately cost him and hundreds of other Master Lock workers their jobs. “NAFTA was the beginning of the end,” Hayes says. “The position of most ***working-class*** people now is disenfranchised and cynical. They saw in real time the results, the way it stuffed them to the wayside, stripping them of the potential they believed in.”

NAFTA has roots in a long-running battle between two visions of trade policy: one that emphasizes the unfettered movement of capital and goods, often at the expense of jobs and wages; another that prioritizes labor and environmental concerns over growth and profits. After World War II, policymakers from around the world, including the United States, proposed creating the International Trade Organization to promote and regulate trade. Its charter was never ratified, however, in no small part because Senator Robert Taft of Ohio, the Republican chairman of the committee on labor and pensions, did not approve of its labor standards and antimonopoly provisions. Instead, in 1947, the United States signed on to another international agreement: the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which eliminated many trade restrictions but included no enforceable labor standards. This vision of free trade became a cornerstone of neoliberal economics. In 1962, Milton Friedman, the Nobel Prize-winning economist, wrote that free trade abroad was a means of “linking the nations of the world together, peacefully and democratically.” It was a “fallacy,” he added, to believe that it would undermine domestic wages.

By the 1960s, the maquiladora, or factory, system of U.S.-owned plants’ employing Mexican workers was being established in a largely tariff-free strip along the U.S.-Mexico border. “NAFTA legitimized, institutionalized and encouraged what was already taking place,” Michael Rosen, an emeritus professor of economics at Milwaukee Area Technical College, says. “It put the government’s seal of approval on it.”

NAFTA, which was heavily influenced by hundreds of corporate lobbyists, was negotiated and signed by George H.W. Bush, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada and President Carlos Salinas of Mexico in 1992. It needed to be approved by Congress, however. The issue dominated the 1992 presidential campaign, during which Bill Clinton took a position between President Bush and the independent candidate Ross Perot, whose opposition to NAFTA was the centerpiece of his campaign. (In a debate, Perot predicted a “giant sucking sound” of American jobs going to Mexico if NAFTA passed; he won 19 percent of the vote, the highest share by a third-party candidate since 1912.) Clinton said he would support NAFTA only if it included separate agreements protecting labor rights and the environment. (The agreements Clinton secured were widely considered hollow; no country has ever been fined for violating them.) Organized labor and a majority of congressional Democrats were opposed to NAFTA. Polling showed nearly two-thirds of the American public were, too.

Clinton said he believed the agreement would foster an export boom and create a million jobs in the first five years. The legislation received strong support in the media. “It wasn’t whether NAFTA was good or bad for the economy,” Rahm Emanuel, a Clinton-administration lobbyist for NAFTA, says in John R. MacArthur’s “The Selling of ‘Free Trade,’” published in 2000. “The media were very clear about what they thought of NAFTA: NAFTA was good; it produced jobs; it’s the future.” In December 1993, Clinton signed NAFTA into law, after a bitterly contentious vote in the House of Representatives. (The Senate approved the agreement handily.) A kind of triumphalist inevitability took hold. “We cannot stop global change,” Clinton said at the signing. “We cannot repeal the international economic competition that is everywhere. We can only harness the energy to our benefit.”

Mickey Kantor, the U.S. trade representative under Clinton, told MacArthur: “George Bush could have never passed NAFTA. No Republican President could have because he couldn’t have brought enough Democrats.” But the agreement quickly began to cost the Democratic Party. In the 1994 midterm elections, it lost 54 seats and control of the House of Representatives for the first time in 40 years. While many factors contributed, NAFTA was clearly one of them. A 2021 study published in The American Economic Review found that counties dependent on the industries most affected by [*NAFTA experienced decreases in total employment*](https://www.aeaweb.org/articles?id=10.1257/aer.20220425) of about 6 percent compared with those with little exposure. By 2000, the same study found, those counties had shifted significantly from Democratic to Republican.

The passage of NAFTA — along with other Clinton-era measures like the repeal of Glass-Steagall, a Depression-era law that regulated banks, and the granting of permanent most-favored-nation status for China, which allowed China to enter the World Trade Organization and ultimately cost the United States nearly four million jobs — signaled the Democratic Party’s move away from its ***working-class***, New Deal roots. This decoupling was worsened by the damage to unions from NAFTA. In 1996, Kate Bronfenbrenner, the director of labor education research at Cornell University, conducted a study for the North American Commission for Labor Cooperation, which found that after the passage of NAFTA, nearly 50 percent of unionization drives were met with threats to relocate abroad, and that the rate at which factories shut down after a union was successfully certified tripled.

“The greatest impact of NAFTA is the threat of moving,” Bronfenbrenner says. “The threat effect is even greater than the actual moves. It keeps workers from demanding a fair wage; it pushes local governments to waive zoning laws and environmental regulations to get companies to stay.” After NAFTA, more than 70 percent of industries that were able to move their operations threatened to close. Companies sometimes circulated fliers showing locked gates or maps with arrows to Mexico. “The penalty from the National Labor Relations Board was a posting saying, Don’t do that again,” she says. “Of course that didn’t stop them. It kept escalating.”

Since the passage of NAFTA, the percentage of private-sector workers who belong to a union has fallen by nearly 50 percent, to 6 percent today. Recent studies have shown that [*union members are more likely to vote and less prone to racial resentment.*](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/ajps.12537) Yet some members of the Democratic establishment came to embrace the party’s realignment. “For every blue-collar Democrat we lose in western Pennsylvania, we will pick up two moderate Republicans in the suburbs in Philadelphia,” Senator Chuck Schumer, the majority leader, said before the 2016 election. “And you can repeat that in Ohio and Illinois and Wisconsin.”

In July, the day before the start of the Republican National Convention in downtown Milwaukee, I met Mike Bink outside the desolate plant, whose facade was adorned with a giant padlock. A machinist, Bink is missing a finger on his left hand, a legacy of 44 years as a factory worker. Now 64, he started at Master Lock soon after graduating from high school, 20 years after his father, a foreman, did.

The company was founded in 1921 by a Russian immigrant, Harry Soref, who built his plant 18 years later and was known for generosity toward his workers. Soref died in 1957; his family sold the plant 13 years later. By the time Bink joined Master Lock, relations between management and the union had become fraught. In June 1980, the workers went out on a strike that lasted for 13 weeks. The company brought in replacements, and picket lines were tense, marked by periodic arrests. The strike, which ended with wage increases and better benefits, prompted Bink to get more involved in the union.

In 1981, he traveled on a U.A.W. bus caravan to Washington to protest President Ronald Reagan’s firing of 11,000 striking air traffic controllers, which effectively broke their union. In retrospect, he sees the demonstration as too tepid. “We should have been tipping over monuments,” Bink said. “We didn’t, in today’s words, occupy the Senate and House office buildings and close ’em down. I’m not saying we should have done anything violent. Just insisted they address this.”

Labor relations got better at Master Lock after the strike, with the appointment of a new, sympathetic chief executive and a plant manager who had worked his way up from the floor. They gave the union an office at the plant, and the union, in turn, made concessions to improve productivity and efficiency. “It was as if you flipped a switch,” Bink said. “Their attitude was more, ‘How would this be different if we worked with the union?’” Master Lock was always on the lower end of the pay scale for unionized industrial jobs. “But those years we had our best contracts because of the cooperation and the working environment.”

By the early 1990s, the plant was employing some 1,300 union workers; the company’s share of the market had reached 70 percent. But Master Lock was already beginning to outsource some of its work to China. After NAFTA was signed, Bink traveled to a U.A.W. conference in Washington, which was headlined by President Clinton. “There was a lot of anger about NAFTA in that room,” he recalled. “How could any Democrat who relies on labor to get elected sign anything that looked like that?”

Then came the big downsizing. “They lied to us,” Bink told me. “First, they said we’re going to keep 700 people. Then 400 people. It just got fewer and fewer.” By the end, roughly 200 workers remained. Moving production to China, meanwhile, had sometimes disastrous results. In 2000, Master Lock was forced to recall approximately 750,000 gun locks made in China because the two halves of the locks could be easily separated without a key.

In the years that followed, the company, citing rising labor costs in China, brought production of a few parts back. Slowly, the number of workers at the plant crept back up to 325, though the pay, particularly for unskilled workers, did not even keep pace with inflation. In 2012, during the presidential campaign, President Barack Obama came to Master Lock to celebrate this “insourcing”; he had highlighted the company in his State of the Union address as running at full capacity for the first time in 15 years, even though the plant had lost 1,000 workers. Obama’s re-election campaign centered on reviving American manufacturing, saving the auto industry from bankruptcy and attacking Mitt Romney for his tenure as chief executive of Bain Capital, a private equity firm that had bought and closed plants across the Midwest. “Milwaukee, we are not going back to an economy that’s weakened by outsourcing and bad debt and phony financial profits,” Obama told a crowd of a thousand. Bink showed Obama around the cylinder machines, which could cut to a ten-thousandth of an inch and were built by Master Lock workers. I asked Bink what the outcome of the visit was. “Nothing,” he said. “No additional jobs came back.”

At the same time, the union’s contracts kept getting worse. “Our leverage was our work — until they could do the work somewhere else,” Bink said. In 2015, the Wisconsin State Legislature was debating a so-called right-to-work law, which prohibits unions from requiring workers to pay dues, undermining the union’s finances and bargaining power. Bink went to a committee hearing hoping to testify, but the hearing was abruptly cut short by a Republican legislator. A week later, Gov. Scott Walker signed the law. Bink recalls a foreman saying, “I hope this place does crash — we can do this work in Mexico.”

As we spoke, Bink hobbled over to the fence of the shuttered plant. He has had a knee replacement and will get his other knee replaced soon. “The old guys used to spend their last two years at work getting repaired,” he said. He pointed to a spot a few feet from the factory door. “There was a tavern there when I started — a Milwaukee tradition,” he said, smiling. “These were decent, good jobs. A good place to work. We can’t — and should not have to — compete with people making two dollars an hour.”

Bink is volunteering for the Democrats in this presidential election, as he has in every presidential election since 1984. “If my knees are up to it, I’ll knock on doors,” he said. He hopes that the next Democratic president focuses on helping labor grow. “President Clinton — he ruled the world,” Bink said. “He had all three branches of government. He wanted social change. NAFTA was not the social change we needed. President Obama — he had all three branches of government. He wanted social change. They relied on us, on labor, to get elected, and they wouldn’t pull the trigger to make it easy for us to organize.”

Bink stared into the empty parking lot. He noted that roughly 70 percent of the population now supports labor unions, the highest figure since the 1960s. “When did social change happen? When labor was strong,” he said. “Maybe this is arrogant, but if any president truly wants social change, then hand power back to us.”

Since her first term in Congress, in the late 1990s, Senator Tammy Baldwin of Wisconsin has been one of the more consistent opponents of free-trade deals, often battling other Democrats. She was not in Congress during the vote on NAFTA, but her view of it shaped her vote against granting China permanent most-favored-nation status. “I thought NAFTA represented a race to the bottom,” she told me. In 2016, she was one of 12 senators to urge President Obama to stop pursuing the Trans-Pacific Partnership, a proposed free-trade deal among 12 countries that together accounted for 40 percent of the global economy. (Trump formally withdrew from the deal on his first day in office.) Under both the Trump and Biden administrations, Baldwin has successfully pushed to require certain federally funded infrastructure projects to use American-made products. “I represent a state that makes things, whether that’s cheese, beer and brats or motorcycles and locks,” she says. Like other Democratic Rust Belt politicians who are outspoken critics of free trade — Senator Sherrod Brown of Ohio and Representative Marcy Kaptur, whose district includes Toledo — Baldwin has outperformed the Democratic Party in elections.

Last spring, as Local 469 fought to save the Master Lock plant, the union’s president, Yolanda Nathan, reached out to Baldwin and other elected officials. Baldwin sent a letter to Attorney General Merrick Garland and Commissioner Lina Khan of the Federal Trade Commission, urging them to look at potential antitrust issues arising from Master Lock’s recent acquisition of a competitor. She met with David Youn, then the president of Master Lock’s parent company, Fortune Brands, asking him to reconsider. “I don’t think I got straight answers on why they felt the necessity to do this,” she told me. “I certainly wasn’t able to change his mind.” (A spokeswoman for Fortune Brands called the closing “a difficult decision” that was “in the best interests of our broader business” and said jobs would go both to factories within the United States and to its “North American manufacturing operations.”)

Several days after the closing was announced, Local 469 held a protest at the plant. More than 100 workers and their supporters, including Mayor Cavalier Johnson of Milwaukee, picketed. Members highlighted that Fink earned $10 million in 2022. Nathan stood in the bed of a red pickup truck, next to Johnson. “I’m sorry this is happening to us,” Nathan said through a bullhorn. “It’s not fair to be told that your hard work isn’t good enough anymore.” Nathan told me that around this time she heard a fellow worker sitting in his car crying. “I don’t know what I’m going to do,” he told her. “I’m the sole breadwinner of my family. My wife doesn’t work. I have two kids.”

For the plant’s Black employees, who made up more than 80 percent of the work force, the closing of the factory followed a particularly painful pattern. Milwaukee has been either the first- or second-most racially segregated large metropolitan area in the country for decades — but it was also once a place of ***working-class*** Black prosperity. In 1970, the city’s Black median income was the second-highest in the country, behind Detroit’s; its Black poverty rate was 22 percent lower than the national average. Nearly 85 percent of Black men between 25 and 54 were employed. Now it has the [*lowest Black median household income, the highest Black poverty rate and the widest racial disparities*](https://uwm.edu/ced/the-aalam-uwmced-index-of-african-american-well-being-in-the-nations-largest-metropolitan-areas-2024-edition/) in prime working-age male employment of the country’s 50 largest metro areas, according to a recent study by Marc Levine, an emeritus professor of urban studies at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

Nathan, who is 44 and wears her hair in dreadlocks tied back in a ponytail, lives with her wife, a real estate agent, and has two children. She moved to Milwaukee from Lambert, Miss., when she was 22 and soon got a job at Master Lock through a temp agency. At the time, with the weakening of the union, wages at Master Lock had declined significantly. Nathan started at $9 an hour. “Some people working in fast food were making more than we were,” she said. “But I loved the job. It was like family.”

Like most workers, Nathan began in unskilled production. She moved to different assignments, which came with raises of seven cents an hour. Eventually, a union officer helped her get into an apprenticeship program, where she learned to be a screw machine operator. When the plant’s closing was announced, she was earning $33.46 an hour.

Nathan got a job at the Miller brewery, now owned by Molson Coors and one of only two large union plants in Milwaukee. She loads boxes onto a machine that fills them with cases of beer. She makes $22 an hour. In the mornings, she takes classes at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, where she is studying to be a cardiovascular technician. “I’m putting myself through school so that I can leave manufacturing,” she said. “I don’t have hope in it anymore.”

Before becoming president of Local 469, Nathan worked on the union’s political education committee, where she registered roughly half the membership to vote. Recently, she started her own voter-registration effort at Miller. “I do it so that they can see that there is a dire need to vote,” she said. Though she has voted Republican in the past, she is passionate about defeating Trump. “Trump doesn’t understand ***working-class*** people,” she said. “He can’t relate to us, because he never had to work a day in his life. He never had to wake up looking for his next meal.”

Other former employees, like Chancie Adams, who had a skilled production job at Master Lock, have become bitter about politics. Adams is now working at a nonunion metal fabrication plant, making $10 an hour less than he used to. “You can vote for whoever and be having all these beliefs, but look at what happened,” he told me outside the plant. “Look what’s happening. I was here 14 years, and I’m 44 years old, and I’m starting over.” In 2012, he went door to door gathering signatures to recall Governor Walker, who had virtually eliminated collective bargaining rights for public employees, but the plant’s closing has left him skeptical about political involvement. “I heard the mayor was out here at the protest and gave a statement about how disgusted he was,” he said. “Well, I ain’t never heard nothing else from him. It was just to show face. There was no fight for us.” Though Adams usually votes, this year he won’t. “What for?”

Three miles away, at the Republican National Convention, a double-perimeter security zone patrolled by heavily armed officers left the nearby streets almost empty. Jeremiah Hayes met me at a park nearby. Hayes is one of three former Master Lock employees still working at the plant. A month after it closed, he was hired by a company that got a contract to decommission Master Lock’s wastewater facility, which is filled with hazardous materials. “It’s surreal being back there,” Hayes told me. “It’s so quiet.” We found a small restaurant across the street from the highest-security zone and went inside to watch Trump’s speech.

Trump returned to a long-running theme: the terrifying specter of deindustrialization. “Right now, as we speak, large factories just started, are being built across the border in Mexico.” Trump blamed the U.A.W. for “allowing this to happen” and said the union’s president, Shawn Fain, who endorsed Biden and Kamala Harris, “should be fired immediately.” He concluded by saying: “To all of the forgotten men and women who have been neglected, abandoned and left behind, you will be forgotten no longer.”

Hayes, who typically votes Democratic, said: “They’re using things like NAFTA as leverage. But they’ve always done that.”

Oren Cass, the head of American Compass, a conservative think tank, who is also a former adviser to Mitt Romney, is the intellectual leader of the “pro-worker” faction in the Republican Party, which includes JD Vance. He recently wrote a mea culpa in The Times for ignoring ***working-class*** suffering and denounced the long stagnation of American wages. Yet Cass contributed to the chapter on labor in the Project 2025 initiative, a set of conservative policy proposals for the next Republican administration. It encourages Congress to consider banning public-employee unions, roll back child-labor protections and restrict overtime pay. Trump and Vance each oppose the Protecting the Right to Organize Act, which has languished in Congress and would make it easier to form a union. The Trump administration threatened to veto the bill and said it would “kill jobs and destroy the gig economy.”

While Trump has made gestures toward labor — the convention gave a prime-time slot to Sean O’Brien, president of the Teamsters, who denounced “greedy employers” and praised Trump for listening to critical voices, though he didn’t endorse him — his record as president tells another story. In 2017, at a rally in Youngstown, Ohio, which lost some 50,000 well-paying steelworker jobs over the previous 40 years, Trump promised that all the empty factories would be “coming back.” Two years later, the last large plant in the area, a [*G.M. factory that had recently employed nearly 5,000 people, closed.*](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/05/01/magazine/lordstown-general-motors-plant.html) During Trump’s presidency, the trade deficit grew to its highest level since 2008, and his 2017 tax cuts incentivized corporations to offshore jobs by lowering the tax rates on foreign profits. According to Public Citizen’s Global Trade Watch, more than 300,000 jobs were lost to offshoring and trade during his presidency.

Perhaps nothing is more symbolic of Trump’s failed promise to bring back manufacturing jobs than the deal he made in 2018 with Foxconn, a Taiwanese manufacturer of iPhones and other Apple products, to build a campus near Milwaukee. Trump said the factory would be the “eighth wonder of the world,” and he broke ground for its construction using a gold-plated shovel alongside Representative Paul Ryan, the speaker of the House, and Scott Walker. The deal was predicated on $4.5 billion in taxpayer subsidies. Foxconn, which promised to create 13,000 jobs, has so far created only 1,000.

The day after I watched Trump’s speech with Hayes, I drove out to see the Foxconn campus. The centerpiece of the development, a futuristic 100-foot-high glass-and-steel globe, was surrounded by vast, empty fields. In May, President Biden, who has created 765,000 manufacturing jobs during his presidency, traveled to the area to highlight a $3.3 billion investment by Microsoft to build A.I. infrastructure there.

At the Master Lock plant, about 20 miles away, a U.A.W. flag was still flying, but it was at half-mast and badly frayed. The abandoned factory now looked as foreboding as the surrounding area, known as the 30th Street Industrial Corridor. It once held more than 20,000 well-paying jobs. Scattered throughout were signs marking infrastructure projects funded by the Biden administration. In the midst of half a century’s worth of deindustrialization, these efforts seemed small.

In 2019, during her presidential campaign, Kamala Harris, then a senator, said she would have opposed NAFTA. The following year, Harris was one of 10 senators to vote against the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement. When her running mate, Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, was in Congress, he voted against giving President Obama fast-track authority for the Trans-Pacific Partnership. In August, Harris and Walz received an enthusiastic endorsement from the U.A.W. president, Shawn Fain. At a U.A.W. local event in Michigan, Harris spoke passionately about the importance of unions — “Even if you’re not a member of a union, you better thank unions for that five-day workweek” — and by late last month, she held a slender lead in Wisconsin, Michigan and Pennsylvania.

I reached Bink during the Democratic National Convention, which he had been watching intently, with one notable exception. “This is rude of me,” he said, “but when Bill Clinton spoke, I stopped watching.” He still felt betrayed by NAFTA. Bink was thrilled by Harris’s U.A.W. event and hopes that she continues in the union-friendly direction Biden established. “I think about three-quarters of the country would like to hear her speak out against NAFTA,” he said. “What’s it done? The movement of wealth from the middle class to the already wealthy hasn’t done anything for our society.” He thinks a future president might learn something from what happened at Master Lock. “The people that have been elected — and I’ll say that generically — haven’t taken care of the working people in the country.”

Lyndon French is a photographer based in Chicago. Rooted in documentary, his work focuses on Americana with subjects that include American industry and people with unique obsessions to obscure conventions.

PHOTOS: PHOTO (MM18-MM19); MIKE BINK, FORMER PRESIDENT OF LOCAL 469, WHICH REPRESENTED MASTER LOCK’S UNIONIZED WORKERS, WORKED AT THE PLANT FOR 44 YEARS. OPENING PAGES: MASTER LOCK’S ORIGINAL PLANT OPENED IN 1939. AFTER YEARS OF OFFSHORING JOBS, IT FINALLY CLOSED IN MARCH.(MM20-MM21); IN THE 30TH STREET INDUSTRIAL CORRIDOR OF MILWAUKEE, BUSINESSES ONCE PROVIDED 20,000 JOBS.(MM22); YOLANDA NATHAN WAS THE NEWLY ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE UNION AT MILWAUKEE’S MASTER LOCK PLANT WHEN MANAGEMENT DECIDED TO SHIFT SOME OPERATIONS TO MEXICO. (MM23); JEREMIAH HAYES, THE FORMER MASTER LOCK WORKER NOW HELPING TO DECOMMISSION THE WASTEWATER FACILITY, BELIEVES THAT NAFTA WAS THE BEGINNING OF THE END FOR THE AMERICAN WORKER. (MM24); IN 2018, PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP MADE A DEAL WITH FOXCONN, A TAIWANESE MANUFACTURER OF APPLE PRODUCTS, TO BUILD A CAMPUS OUTSIDE MILWAUKEE. THE DEAL WAS SUPPOSED TO BRING IN 13,000 JOBS BUT HAS BROUGHT IN ONLY 1,000. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY LYNDON FRENCH) (MM25) This article appeared in print on page MM18, MM19, MM20, MM21, MM22, MM23, MM24, MM25.

**Load-Date:** February 13, 2025

**End of Document**



[***U.A.W. Files Labor Charges Against Trump and Musk Over Interview***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CPW-H981-JBG3-615F-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 13, 2024 Tuesday 08:00 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 486 words

**Byline:** Tim Balk

**Highlight:** The United Automobile Workers union accused the pair of threatening workers during their livestreamed conversation on Monday.

**Body**

The United Automobile Workers union accused the pair of threatening workers during their livestreamed conversation on Monday.

The United Automobile Workers union filed charges with federal labor regulators on Tuesday accusing former President Donald J. Trump and Elon Musk of threatening workers during a livestreamed conversation a day earlier.

The union, [*which has backed*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/31/us/politics/uaw-kamala-harris.html) Vice President Kamala Harris, accused Mr. Trump of violating the law by voicing support for the practice of firing workers when they go on strike, an approach the former president suggested Mr. Musk had embraced.

In the [*glitch-delayed conversation*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/31/us/politics/uaw-kamala-harris.html) on X, Mr. Trump described Mr. Musk as the “greatest cutter” of workers. He claimed Mr. Musk has responded to striking workers by saying, “That’s OK — you’re all gone.” Mr. Musk, the billionaire leader of Tesla and SpaceX, laughed in response, but did not directly address Mr. Trump’s remark before the former president changed the topic.

While Mr. Musk does have a reputation as a ruthless job-cutter — particularly at X, formerly Twitter, where he [*laid off roughly half the work force*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/31/us/politics/uaw-kamala-harris.html) shortly after buying the company — and has been found to have engaged in anti-union tactics, Mr. Trump may have conflated different episodes across Mr. Musk’s business empire. Mr. Musk was found by the National Labor Relations Board in 2021 to have illegally fired a single Tesla employee for engaging in union activity. The board also accused him this year of illegally firing employees at SpaceX, but that involved a letter the workers circulated that was critical of Mr. Musk.

The N.L.R.B. said it had received unfair labor practice allegations against Mr. Trump’s campaign and Tesla. Regional offices for the board will investigate, said Kayla Blado, an N.L.R.B. spokeswoman.

Tesla did not immediately respond to requests for comment. On X, Mr. Musk [*insulted*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/31/us/politics/uaw-kamala-harris.html) Shawn Fain, the president of the U.A.W.

A spokesman for the Trump campaign, Brian Hughes, called the complaint against Mr. Trump a “shameless political stunt intended to erode” the former president’s support from American workers.

Mark Gaston Pearce, who was chair of the N.L.R.B. under President Barack Obama, said the U.A.W. was making a “novel” use of labor law in targeting a politician. But, he said, unless the union is able to show that Mr. Trump was speaking on behalf of Mr. Musk’s companies, “It’s not likely a charge is going to be able to stick.”

Under the [*National Labor Relations Act,*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/31/us/politics/uaw-kamala-harris.html) it is illegal for employers to threaten to fire workers in retaliation for union activity.

Mr. Fain said in a [*statement*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/31/us/politics/uaw-kamala-harris.html) that “Trump stands against everything our union stands for.”

He added, “Both Trump and Musk want ***working class*** people to sit down and shut up, and they laugh about it openly.”

PHOTO: Members of the United Automobile Workers demonstrating in 2023. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Patrick T. Fallon/Agence France-Presse — Getty Images FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 14, 2024

**End of Document**



[***The Fight for the House Is on a Knife’s Edge***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D9X-C1J1-DXY4-X4GD-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 1, 2024 Friday 20:16 EST

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**Section:** US; elections

**Length:** 1285 words

**Byline:** Catie EdmondsonCatie Edmondson covers Congress for The Times.

**Highlight:** Public and private polling this cycle, as well as strategists in both parties, point to one of the tightest contests yet for the House majority, in races that stretch from California to Nebraska to Virginia.

**Body**

Public and private polling this cycle, as well as strategists in both parties, point to one of the tightest contests yet for the House majority, in races that stretch from California to Nebraska to Virginia.

Control of the House is on a knife’s edge, with Democrats and Republicans from the liberal coasts to the nation’s heartland running neck-and-neck in the key races that will decide which party will hold the majority in the next Congress.

Public and private polling, as well as interviews with strategists and operatives in both parties, point to one of the tightest contests yet for the House majority, which Republicans now hold by a mere four seats. While the vast majority of the 435 seats in the House are not in play, the roughly two dozen that are being contested are truly up for grabs. Of the 22 races [*rated most competitive by the nonpartisan Cook Political Report*](https://www.cookpolitical.com/ratings/house-race-ratings), 20 are within the margin of error in internal Democratic polling.

“We started with a narrow margin, we’re ending with a narrow margin,” said Ian Russell, a former deputy executive director of the House Democrats’ campaign arm who this year is advising Representative Jared Golden of Maine, one of the party’s most vulnerable incumbents. “It’s close because it’s a presidential year and it’s going to be close at the presidential level.”

The battlefield includes centrist Democratic incumbents in Maine, Washington, Alaska and Pennsylvania who are trying to hang on in their rural districts that favor former President Donald J. Trump and Midwestern Republicans facing unexpectedly steep challenges in Nebraska, Iowa and Wisconsin.

But [*control of the House may ultimately come down to about nine competitive races in blue states*](https://www.cookpolitical.com/ratings/house-race-ratings) on the East and West Coasts, where Republicans in liberal-leaning districts are attempting to stave off Democratic challenges and protect five seats in California and four in New York.

Democrats have run aggressively on protecting reproductive rights, and, especially in more conservative districts where incumbents are at risk, have emphasized measures passed in Mr. Biden’s landmark Inflation Reduction Act, including slashing the price of insulin.

Republicans’ message has focused instead on inflation, public safety and immigration.

The biggest obstacle for Democrats seeking to take the House, said David Winston, a veteran Republican pollster and strategist, is that polling indicates most Americans think the country is on the wrong track. [*A nationwide New York Times/Siena College poll*](https://www.cookpolitical.com/ratings/house-race-ratings) conducted in late October showed that 61 percent of likely voters said the country was headed in the wrong direction.

“The challenge for Democrats here in this environment — and inflation is driving this environment — is, how are they not the status quo?” Mr. Winston said. “And what are they going to do to change things and making some separation from Biden?”

In many districts, candidates’ fate may rest on how Mr. Trump and Ms. Harris perform. Polling has shown an extremely close race between the two candidates in battleground states, but strategists in both parties say that Mr. Trump is generally on pace with his 2020 performance or doing slightly better in battleground districts in blue states, while Ms. Harris is on track to match Mr. Biden’s 2020 performance in key districts in the Midwest. At the same time, they expect suburban voters to continue peeling away from Mr. Trump, a shift that helped Democrats take back the House in 2018.

The past two House cycles were marked by conventional wisdom in the run-up to Election Day that turned out to be wrong. In 2020, when [*Democrats expected to expand their majority*](https://www.cookpolitical.com/ratings/house-race-ratings), they instead were [*set back on their heels and lost seats*](https://www.cookpolitical.com/ratings/house-race-ratings). In 2022, [*the so-called “red wave” that Republicans predicted*](https://www.cookpolitical.com/ratings/house-race-ratings) would deliver them an ample majority [*never materialized*](https://www.cookpolitical.com/ratings/house-race-ratings), instead giving them control of the House by a razor-thin margin.

A year ago [*House Republicans were openly fretting that voters would punish them at the ballot box for a historically chaotic Congress*](https://www.cookpolitical.com/ratings/house-race-ratings), beginning with the bitter infighting that had marked the election of Kevin McCarthy as speaker, featuring [*dysfunction on the floor wrought by hard-right rebels*](https://www.cookpolitical.com/ratings/house-race-ratings) and culminating in Mr. McCarthy’s ouster and three weeks of G.O.P. paralysis while they were unable to coalesce around a leader.

By summer, [*it was Democrats’ turn to fret following President Biden’s disastrous debate performance*](https://www.cookpolitical.com/ratings/house-race-ratings), as polling showed Democrats in tight races that they would need to outrun him in some cases by double digits in order to win re-election.

Now, with Vice President Harris at the top of the ticket, the only certainty is that the critical contests are closer than ever.

Here is a look at the tossup races that will decide control of the House.

The Republicans in blue states

The improbable heart of the battle for House control is the liberal states of New York and California, where Republicans are defending Biden-friendly territory. Democrats arguably lost their majority in these districts in 2022, as voters registered their dissatisfaction with the states’ high living costs and fears about public safety.

In New York, the two Republicans in most danger are Representatives Brandon Williams in Syracuse and Anthony D’Esposito on Long Island, both first-term congressmen in districts Mr. Biden handily won in 2020.

In California, Representative John Duarte, a freshman from the Central Valley, is seen as the party’s most vulnerable member. A number of the other seats, including those held by Representative Michelle Steel in Orange County, one of the first Korean American women to serve in Congress and a prodigious fund-raiser, and Mike Garcia, a former Navy combat pilot in the Antelope Valley, are hotly contested.

Many of the Republicans holding these swing seats are battle-tested and have become adept at distancing themselves from the most extreme elements in their party.

Still, some may be unable to weather a wave of Democratic enthusiasm in increasingly liberal-leaning districts. In Omaha, known as the “blue dot” in the otherwise solidly Republican state of Nebraska, Representative Don Bacon, a mainstream conservative with longstanding bipartisan credentials, is in the fight of his political life to hang onto his seat.

The Trump-district Democrats

Republicans have long hoped to unseat the small group of Democrats who hold the rural, ***working-class*** districts that Mr. Trump won in 2020. But those Democrats, including [*Mr. Golden in Maine*](https://www.cookpolitical.com/ratings/house-race-ratings), Marie Gluesenkamp Perez of Washington, Mary Peltola of Alaska, and Matt Cartwright of Pennsylvania, have all established centrist brands for themselves, making them particularly difficult to dislodge.

Republicans are betting that this year, with better challengers and increased turnout among Trump voters, they will finally be able to flip some of these seats.

The open seats vacated by Democrats

Democrats are toiling to defend a trio of seats vacated by well-known, prolific fund-raisers who have been able to keep the swingy districts solidly in Democratic control for years. Both Representatives Elissa Slotkin of Michigan and Abigail Spanberger of Virginia, who flipped their seats in 2018 to hand Democrats the majority, are seeking higher office; Ms. Slotkin is running for Senate and Ms. Spanberger for governor.

A third, Representative Dan Kildee of Michigan, the scion of a political dynasty in the state who has served in the House for over a decade, announced he would retire after a recent cancer diagnosis.

PHOTO: Control of the House of Representatives may ultimately come down to about nine competitive races in Democratic-leaning states on the East and West Coasts. (PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIC LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A19) This article appeared in print on page A1, A19.

**Load-Date:** November 1, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Tim Walz, a Fan of The Boss, Proclaimed a ‘Bruce Springsteen Day’ in Minnesota***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CNB-Y8R1-DXY4-X061-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 6, 2024 Tuesday 13:07 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 443 words

**Byline:** Nick Corasaniti Nick Corasaniti is a Times reporter covering national politics, with a focus on voting and elections.

**Highlight:** The governor and newly-minted vice-presidential nominee has embraced the bard of the working man, honoring the New Jersey rocker last year when he came to St. Paul for a concert.

**Body**

The governor and newly-minted vice-presidential nominee has embraced the bard of the working man, honoring the New Jersey rocker last year when he came to St. Paul for a concert.

Last year, a blue state governor signed a proclamation declaring March 5 Bruce Springsteen Day.

The state was not New Jersey.

Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, an enthusiastic fan of The Boss who became Vice President Kamala Harris’s running mate on Tuesday, marked the rocker’s concert in St. Paul last year with effusive praise and a day of honor.

“Springsteen’s music is a source of inspiration for many people in Minnesota, reminding us of the values we hold dear, including kindness, compassion and fairness,” the [*proclamation signed by Mr. Walz*](https://x.com/GovTimWalz/status/1632437306450665476?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E1632437306450665476%7Ctwgr%5E522010fd8b0d4a24e7addba78e2db92fe0641640%7Ctwcon%5Es1_&amp;ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.cbsnews.com%2Fminnesota%2Fnews%2Fwith-the-boss-in-town-sunday-declared-bruce-springsteen-day%2F) said.

With Mr. Walz expected to lean on his ***working class*** appeal as part of the Democratic presidential ticket, it is fitting how strongly he has embraced the bard of the working man.

Though Mr. Springsteen’s music carries wide appeal across the political spectrum (there are few bigger fans than Chris Christie, the Republican former governor of New Jersey), The Boss has long provided a boost to Democrats on the campaign trail, [*supporting every Democratic nominee since John Kerry*](https://x.com/GovTimWalz/status/1632437306450665476?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E1632437306450665476%7Ctwgr%5E522010fd8b0d4a24e7addba78e2db92fe0641640%7Ctwcon%5Es1_&amp;ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.cbsnews.com%2Fminnesota%2Fnews%2Fwith-the-boss-in-town-sunday-declared-bruce-springsteen-day%2F). He [*forged a deep friendship*](https://x.com/GovTimWalz/status/1632437306450665476?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E1632437306450665476%7Ctwgr%5E522010fd8b0d4a24e7addba78e2db92fe0641640%7Ctwcon%5Es1_&amp;ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.cbsnews.com%2Fminnesota%2Fnews%2Fwith-the-boss-in-town-sunday-declared-bruce-springsteen-day%2F) with former President Barack Obama and [*narrated an ad for President Biden*](https://x.com/GovTimWalz/status/1632437306450665476?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E1632437306450665476%7Ctwgr%5E522010fd8b0d4a24e7addba78e2db92fe0641640%7Ctwcon%5Es1_&amp;ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.cbsnews.com%2Fminnesota%2Fnews%2Fwith-the-boss-in-town-sunday-declared-bruce-springsteen-day%2F).

Former President Donald J. Trump, the Republican nominee and a New York native, has taken to mocking some of Mr. Springsteen’s appearances on behalf of Democrats. Campaigning in Atlanta, Ga., on Saturday, [*Mr. Trump recalled*](https://x.com/GovTimWalz/status/1632437306450665476?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E1632437306450665476%7Ctwgr%5E522010fd8b0d4a24e7addba78e2db92fe0641640%7Ctwcon%5Es1_&amp;ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.cbsnews.com%2Fminnesota%2Fnews%2Fwith-the-boss-in-town-sunday-declared-bruce-springsteen-day%2F) that Mr. Springsteen appeared at a rally for Hillary Clinton in 2016.

“I’m not a huge fan,” he said of Mr. Springsteen. “I have a bad trait. I only like people that like me.”

Mr. Springsteen made his views about Mr. Trump known early on, calling Mr. Trump a “moron” in an [*interview with Rolling Stone*](https://x.com/GovTimWalz/status/1632437306450665476?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E1632437306450665476%7Ctwgr%5E522010fd8b0d4a24e7addba78e2db92fe0641640%7Ctwcon%5Es1_&amp;ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.cbsnews.com%2Fminnesota%2Fnews%2Fwith-the-boss-in-town-sunday-declared-bruce-springsteen-day%2F) in 2016.

Mr. Walz, in at least one regard, is like so many of Mr. Springsteen’s legions of fans: Namely, in having experienced the difficulty in securing a ticket.

“Anyone manage to get an extra Bruce Springsteen ticket today? Asking for a friend,” Mr. Walz [*posted to Twitter*](https://x.com/GovTimWalz/status/1632437306450665476?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E1632437306450665476%7Ctwgr%5E522010fd8b0d4a24e7addba78e2db92fe0641640%7Ctwcon%5Es1_&amp;ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.cbsnews.com%2Fminnesota%2Fnews%2Fwith-the-boss-in-town-sunday-declared-bruce-springsteen-day%2F) on a day that Springsteen tour tickets went on sale in 2022.

But it would appear that Mr. Walz had no trouble attending the show, as he was seen [*sporting a Springsteen concert tee from the most recent tour*](https://x.com/GovTimWalz/status/1632437306450665476?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E1632437306450665476%7Ctwgr%5E522010fd8b0d4a24e7addba78e2db92fe0641640%7Ctwcon%5Es1_&amp;ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.cbsnews.com%2Fminnesota%2Fnews%2Fwith-the-boss-in-town-sunday-declared-bruce-springsteen-day%2F) at the Minnesota State Fair last summer.

Neil Vigdor contributed reporting.

Neil Vigdor contributed reporting.

PHOTO: Bruce Springsteen performing on tour last year. “Springsteen’s music is a source of inspiration for many people in Minnesota,” read the proclamation signed by Tim Walz. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Albert Gea/Reuters FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 6, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Trump Widens the Us-vs.-Them Target Audience***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6D9M-S211-JBG3-62RK-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

October 31, 2024 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2024 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 0; National Desk; Pg. 1; NEWS ANALYSIS

**Length:** 1349 words

**Byline:** By Jennifer Medina

**Body**

Donald J. Trump's anti-immigrant message is exposing longstanding tensions and challenging Democrats' hopes for solidarity.

In the Democratic imagination, ''people of color'' is a unifying term, a label for a durable coalition of Black and Latino voters, as well as Asian Americans, Arab Americans and Native Americans.

Donald J. Trump is showing just how imaginary that unity might be.

For months, the Trump campaign and its allies have effectively exploited divisions and bigotry within minority communities, pitting them against immigrants and each other.

Mr. Trump's social media posts warn Black and Latino voters that immigrants are coming for their jobs. His promises to save cities that have been ''invaded and conquered'' are a feature of his rallies, including Sunday's in New York, a city where politicians have long stoked racial divisions to win elections.

In many ways, these appeals to Black and Latino voters are not markedly different than those aimed at white voters: Your problems can be blamed on illegal immigration. Lack of affordable housing? Stagnant wages? Struggling schools? Urban crime? Mass deportation is a single, seemingly simple, solution, the argument goes.

The us-versus-them framing has long characterized political alliances, across the ideological spectrum. But Mr. Trump has been far more direct than any recent presidential candidate in inviting Black and Latino voters to be part of the ''us,'' so long as they acknowledge that there is a ''them.''

In one of the Trump campaign's most widely broadcast Spanish-language television ads, attacking Ms. Harris for her support of transgender medical care for immigrants, it closes with ''Kamala Harris is with them. President Trump is with us.''

At the Trump rally at Madison Square Garden on Sunday, a lineup of Trump campaign surrogates unleashed the most plainly anti-immigrant, racist remarks of the campaign -- notably while speaking to a crowd that was more racially diverse than most of Mr. Trump's rallies.

Tucker Carlson, the conservative pundit, called Ms. Harris, who is Black and Indian American, ''the first Samoan-Malaysian, low IQ former California prosecutor.'' Stephen Miller, a Trump policy adviser, said ''America is for Americans and Americans only,'' a version of a slogan used by the Ku Klux Klan.

Whether this all draws in more Black and Latino voters than it repels is a question only the election itself will answer. The Trump campaign did distance him from the remarks of one speaker, a comedian who called the U.S. territory of Puerto Rico a ''floating island of garbage.''

But the campaign has attracted an increasing number of Black and Latino voters even as it has used incendiary and at times racist language.

''Kamala's support is collapsing with Black voters,'' Mr. Trump wrote on Truth Social last week, claiming without evidence that ''their cities are being used as illegal alien dumping grounds.''

The post went on to warn that if Ms. Harris wins, ''The Black community loses its political power forever because their neighborhoods will all be majority migrant.''

He has frequently repeated the unsupported claim that immigrants are taking jobs away from Black and Hispanic people and that migrants are ''devastating for the Black and Hispanic patriots of our nation.''

''Kamala is killing Black and Hispanic heritage, she is killing their legacy and their rights,'' he recently wrote, in all caps, on his platform.

The strategy is strikingly similar to the one he has employed to attract white, ***working-class*** voters, tapping into their fears that another group is getting ahead unfairly. And it plays on a reality that many Black and Latino activists have privately acknowledged for years: The presumed solidarity between both groups is fragile and may be splintering again.

For decades, liberal political leaders have nurtured the theory that minority groups of all sorts would band together in the name of civil rights. Political scientists have advanced the notion of a ''linked fate'' -- the idea that an individual's well-being is linked to the group's, as a whole.

But tensions have always been there, particularly in urban politics, where Black and Latino politicians have battled over power and dominance.

The Rev. Al Sharpton, the Democratic activist who tussled with Mr. Trump for years in New York City, said that tensions between Latino and Black communities stretch back decades.

''These were two groups that have been denied rights that were then competing on who was going to get their grievances dealt with first, rather than understanding if we were united, we could get all of our grievances addressed,'' he said.

Much of the former president's approach relies on the lessons he learned in New York over decades, Mr. Sharpton said.

''He knows how to play into the divide because New York politics was a laboratory to national politics,'' Mr. Sharpton said. ''You had to drive a wedge. He knew there was enough bias in the Black community to use the Mexican border issue, and he knew there was enough bias in some of the Latino community to say, you don't want to be like the Blacks.''

In a New York Times/Siena Poll earlier this month, just a third of Hispanic registered voters said they feel Mr. Trump is talking about them when he talks about problems with immigration. Roughly one in five Black voters said that ''obstacles that once made it harder for Black people to get ahead are now largely gone.''

The poll also found that 40 percent of Black voters support mass deportation of immigrants living in the United States illegally, double the 20 percent who say they plan to vote for Mr. Trump.

Democrats who assumed that such policies would turn all Latino voters off appear to have been mistaken.

''The notion is that even if they are not speaking about me directly, they are in some sense,'' said Daniel HoSang, a professor at Yale who has studied and written extensively about the rise of right-wing political attitudes among minority groups. ''But now there's lots of evidence that is not necessarily the same framework everybody is using. It doesn't seem to be happening at this point.''

As the response to Sunday's comments made clear, there are still large shares of Latino voters who are offended by attacks from Mr. Trump and his allies.

While Mr. Trump has relied primarily on attacks on immigrants during this year's campaign, the 2020 campaign also included frequent references to the Black Lives Matter protests. In that election he saw a dramatic increase of support from Hispanic voters, many who blame Democrats for ignoring their concerns.

''It's obvious what's been going on over the years -- they're not doing nothing for us. Everything they do is for the Blacks and the white people, and that's it,'' said George Rodriguez, 57, who lives in Las Vegas and plans to vote for Mr. Trump again this year. ''It's a Black and white world and we're not OK with that.''

For months, the Trump campaign has courted Latino voters by emphasizing their American identity. And polling shows that Trump supporters are far less likely than Harris supporters to say that being Hispanic or Black is important to their personal identity.

Ian Haney López, a law professor who writes about racial politics and has worked with Democratic strategists, said that for many voters ''the nagging anxiety that they are not respected in this society makes them especially susceptible to a politician who flatters them as among the good people.'' In the Trump campaign's telling, Hispanic and Black Trump supporters are enlightened and independent because they are breaking with the longstanding majority support for Democrats.

''Trump repeatedly warns voters that they are good people beset by bad people, and that his supporters are among the good ones while his opponents are nothing short of evil,'' said Mr. López, a professor at the University of California, Berkeley School of Law. ''Many Americans -- of all races -- want to be among the good ones.''

Jazmine Ulloa contributed reportingJazmine Ulloa contributed reporting

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/29/us/politics/trump-black-latino-voters.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/10/29/us/politics/trump-black-latino-voters.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Donald J. Trump campaigning in Las Vegas last week. At left, Jennese Torres, who is Puerto Rican, during a Philadelphia rally for Kamala Harris on Monday, one day after Mr. Trump's raciallycharged rally at Madison Square Garden. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

RUTH FREMSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES) (A16) This article appeared in print on page A1, A16.

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[***Thursday Briefing***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DC4-9FT1-JBG3-655K-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 7, 2024 Thursday 00:11 EST

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**Section:** BRIEFING

**Length:** 1472 words

**Byline:** Natasha FrostNatasha Frost writes The Times&amp;#8217;s weekday newsletter The Europe Morning Briefing.

**Highlight:** What another Trump presidency means for America and the world.

**Body**

What another Trump presidency means for America and the world.

Welcome to ‘Trump’s America’

Donald Trump survived a criminal conviction, indictments, an assassin’s bullet, accusations of authoritarianism and an unprecedented switch of his opponent. Now, in an astonishing political comeback, he will be [*the next president of the United States*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html). He is the first former leader [*in more than 120 years*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html) to be elected for a second nonconsecutive term.

Trump’s defiant plans to upend the country’s political system held appeal to tens of millions of voters. He [*picked up support*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html) among Latino and Black ***working-class*** voters, giving the Republican Party hope for a new way to win in a diversifying nation.

Some voters saw him as their only choice to [*combat what they saw as out-of-control immigration*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html) or to bolster the U.S. economy. Others were [*compelled by the power of his campaign*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html). But many Americans still found him unappealing, and his victory may say more about the country’s dissatisfaction with Vice President Kamala Harris and the Democratic Party.

Trump’s electoral victory is [*shaping up to be substantial*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html): He won all five of the battleground states that have been called so far, he leads by comfortable margins in the other two, and he is on track to become the first Republican to win the popular vote in 20 years. The Republicans also took control of the Senate, which will allow Trump to more easily carry out his priorities. Control of the House [*has yet to be determined*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html).

Legal troubles: Trump will be able to [*dispense with federal criminal charges against him*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html) while postponing or derailing the state and local cases that threatened to send him to prison and wipe out his wealth. Jack Smith, the special counsel who charged Trump, has already [*begun discussions about winding down his cases*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html).

Concession speech: Harris [*conceded the race*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html) yesterday afternoon. “It is OK to feel sad and disappointed, but please know it is going to be OK,” she told tearful supporters in Washington. “Here’s the thing: Sometimes the fight takes a while.”

Analysis: “No longer can the political establishment write off Trump as a temporary break from the long march of progress,” Peter Baker, our White House correspondent, [*writes*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html). “With his comeback victory to reclaim the presidency, Trump has now established himself as a transformational force reshaping the United States in his own image.”

From Opinion:

* Democrats lost because they [*dismissed inflation and immigration*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html) and were hyperbolic about Trump’s threat to democracy, Bret Stephens argues.

1. Trump’s and Harris’s campaigns [*pitted men against women*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html). Men won, Maureen Dowd writes.
2. Returning Trump to the White House [*sets the nation on a precarious course*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html) that no one can fully foresee, The Times’s Editorial Board writes.

Global consequences for Donald Trump’s victory

The results of this week’s election have left America’s allies and adversaries alike preparing for another four years of unpredictability and “America first” protectionism that could reset the global order. [*Here’s how it may affect the world*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html).

Times correspondents shared thoughts on how the coming Trump administration could affect different regions.

“Chinese officials do see a potential upside if Donald Trump pulls the United States back from its role as a global leader. That could provide China with an opportunity to fill the vacuum.” — David Pierson, China correspondent.

“During Trump’s first term, his engagement with the African continent fluctuated from disdain to neglect — he did not visit the continent once.” — Abdi Latif Dahir, East Africa correspondent.

“Donald Trump’s victory is a setback to the world’s attempt to rein in dangerous levels of warming.” — Somini Sengupta, international climate reporter.

[*Read more analysis*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html), including what the results mean for NATO, India and the Middle East.

In the U.S.: Trump has promised to [*deport millions of immigrants*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html) living in the country illegally. He has centered his economic plans around large tariffs that could [*jolt the global economy*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html) and increase inflation in the U.S. He has suggested that he might tap Robert F. Kennedy Jr. to reshape [*the public health sphere*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html).

For more: “Trump’s first term was this odd mix of ‘not my problem’ and military threats. It’s unpredictable, and he revels in the unpredictability.” [*Read an interview with David Sanger*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html), a White House and national security correspondent for The Times.

How are you approaching Trump’s second term? What are the things you’d like to see happen in the next four years? To share your thoughts, [*fill out this form*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html).

How Trump could affect the economy

In the hours after Donald Trump’s conclusive victory, [*stocks surged to record highs*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html), the dollar strengthened around the world, and government bond yields soared. It was a sign, analysts said, that traders anticipated government spending, lighter regulation, bigger deficits and accelerating growth.

Economists have warned that Trump’s proposals [*could make inflation worse*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html). For months, high prices have weighed heavily on consumer confidence, even though the unemployment rate is very low and companies have been hiring. Much of Trump’s strategy hinges on cutting gas prices — and inflation — through deregulation and geopolitical maneuvering.

How the Trump administration will handle policy decisions that are crucial to the global economy’s path — on trade, technology, climate, industrial policy, the threat and opportunity of A.I. and more — is still unclear.

By the numbers: The S&amp;P 500 rose 2.5 percent, while the tech-heavy Nasdaq Composite index moved almost 3 percent higher. The Dow lurched 3.6 percent higher. The Russell 2000 jumped almost 5 percent, its biggest one-day increase in roughly two years as well.

Big-money politics: Trump largely let Elon Musk [*run his $175 million ground game*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html) — a gamble that allowed an ultrawealthy donor to take advantage of America’s evolving campaign-finance system.

MORE TOP NEWS

* Germany: Chancellor Olaf Scholz fired his finance minister, effectively ending his three-party ruling coalition and [*leaving the government teetering*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html).
* Cuba: Hurricane Rafael [*made landfall today*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html) as a Category 3 storm.

1. Israel: A decision by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu to fire his popular defense minister, Yoav Gallant, [*caused backlash from protesters and opposition leaders*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html).
2. Japan: Mount Fuji ended its [*longest snowless period in 130 years*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html).
3. Animals: The Edinburgh Zoo playfully started (and then quickly ended) [*a rivalry between two baby pygmy hippos*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html).

SPORTS NEWS

* Pickleball: Can a high-level “world championship” [*turn amateur interest into long-term fandom*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html)

1. Running: How Zach Bates, a man with autism, [*runs an ultramarathon*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html).
2. Soccer: [*Manchester City*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html) has been ordered to pay the majority of Benjamin Mendy’s unpaid wages after an employment tribunal.
3. Golf: How Donald Trump’s election may “clear the way” for a [*PGA Tour-PIF deal*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html).

MORNING READ

How exactly did Donald Trump win the election? He made gains in every corner of the country and with nearly every demographic group. [*Dive into the data*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html).

CONVERSATION STARTERS

* “It” pants: For fashion enthusiasts, [*wearing these pants*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html) is akin to carrying a flashy designer handbag.

1. Wildlife: To understand how vampire bats get their energy, [*scientists put them on a treadmill*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html).

* Lip-reading Kendall Jenner: With readings [*of stars’ private conversations*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html), Jackie G has become a star herself.

1. Old faithful: After the death of the creator of JanSport backpacks, readers recalled how [*their bags served them on life’s journeys*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html).

ARTS AND IDEAS

Reinventing the ‘theater kid’ label

For a long time, “theater kid” was an insult in Hollywood, with connotations of being annoying, try-hard or essentially uncool. “The public wanted stars to feel effortless; theater kids were full of effort and wanted you to know it,” our critic writes. “They were the equivalent of the class know-it-all.”

But times are changing. Recently, stars like Sabrina Carpenter, Ariana Grande and Lady Gaga have [*elevated the virtue of showmanship*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html) with an elaborate commitment to performances that embody the theater-kid ethos.

For more: We [*interviewed Grande and Cynthia Erivo*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html), who star in “Wicked,” a prequel to “The Wizard of Oz” adapted from Broadway.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Cook: This creamy, cheesy, crunchy pasta bake is [*a vegetarian dish that’s got it all*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html).

Read: Escape to a fantasy world with [*these immersive, adventurous books*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html).

Wear: Ripped jeans have managed to [*remain in style*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html).

Treat: You can hand wash all of your clothes, [*even the delicate stuff*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html).

Listen: These songs will make you [*love the vibraphone*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html).

Play the [*Spelling Bee*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html). And here are [*today’s Mini Crossword*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html) and [*Wordle*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html). [*You can find all our puzzles here*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html).

That’s it for today’s briefing. See you tomorrow. — Natasha

Reach Natasha and the team at [*briefing@nytimes.com*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/06/us/politics/trump-wins-presidency.html).

PHOTO: Donald Trump on election night in West Palm Beach, Florida. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Doug Mills/The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** November 7, 2024

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[***Combined Kitchen-Bathroom? Hong Kong Cracks Down.***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DC4-PS31-DXY4-X4C2-00000-00&context=1519360)

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**Length:** 1252 words

**Byline:** By Tiffany May

**Body**

The government says the city's smallest apartments need more regulation. For some of Hong Kong's poorest, that could mean higher rents or even eviction.

As she surveyed her home in Hong Kong, Liu Lanhua tried not to be bothered that her narrow kitchen doubled as the family's only bathroom.

Colanders, pans and hairbrushes dangled above the toilet. Jars of chili oil were precariously balanced on water pipes. A stew of chicken wings and chestnuts warmed on an electric stove a few feet from the shower faucet.

She and her 12-year-old daughter are among 220,000 people in Hong Kong living in subdivided homes, which have long been among the starkest examples of the city's vast income inequality.

Now her home is under threat. Hong Kong's leader, John Lee, last month announced that the city would impose minimum standards on the size and fixtures of such apartments. The policy is expected to phase out more than 30,000 of the smallest subdivided homes.

In Ms. Liu's home, there was no space for a sink; the only spot for two pet turtles was in a basin under the fridge. ''If we had money, these would be in separate rooms,'' she said, looking at the cluttered kitchen and toilet.

Beijing has urged the Hong Kong government to get rid of subdivided units and other tiny homes by 2049, because it regards the city's housing shortage as one cause of the antigovernment unrest of 2019.

But Mr. Lee's plan has raised concerns among experts and advocates of more public housing, who say it would raise already high rents for the poor and evict a number of people without clear plans for their resettlement. It also doesn't address the worst types of housing in the city: rental bed spaces so small they are known as coffin, or cage, homes.

Of Slums and Slumlords

Hong Kong's subdivided homes, created when apartments are carved into two or more units, are usually in old tenement buildings in densely packed, ***working-class*** neighborhoods. Despite their often dilapidated conditions, the units are in high demand because affordable housing is in short supply.

Hong Kong has among the world's most expensive homes, and highest rents. The average living space per person is 64.6 square feet -- less than half the size of a New York City parking space. Owners of tenement apartments partition the units into smaller ones to rent them to more people.

''These are effectively slums and the landlords are slumlords,'' said Brian Wong, a researcher at the Liber Research Community, an independent group in Hong Kong focused on land use and urban issues.

He added that the landlords who rent out subdivided units are often upper-middle-class residents looking to maximize profits. Paradoxically, the rent price of such units, on a per-square-foot basis, is usually higher than that of larger private apartments.

Ms. Liu pays $500 a month for her home of about 80 square feet, about a quarter of what she earns working at a construction site. Her unit is in a 60-year-old tenement building with peeling pink and yellow paint in Kwun Tong, a district in east Kowloon that was once an industrial heartland, with cotton mills and a soy sauce factory.

''I will live where it's cheap,'' she said, adding that she wanted to pay for after-school classes for her daughter. She has been waiting for six years to move into public housing but has no idea when that might happen.

Ms. Liu and her daughter sleep on bunk beds in the 60-square-foot main room, pushed against windows that are covered with paper for privacy and always closed to keep rats out. Ms. Liu appreciates that her neighbors don't complain when her belongings spill into common spaces.

Kwun Tong is the most densely populated district in Hong Kong, and the poorest. People are drawn to it for its connectivity and services. Ms. Liu moved there six years ago to take a housekeeping course. Her daughter rides two stops on the subway to attend public school and studies with a tutor nearby until dinnertime. Their apartment is close to a large wet market.

The Hong Kong Leader's Plan

Ms. Liu's home would not meet the standards required under the policy outlined by Mr. Lee, the city's chief executive, which stipulates that each home must have a separate bathroom and kitchen. It would likely require significant renovation or remodeling.

The policy also calls for apartments to be at least 86 square feet and come with windows.

Ms. Liu's bathroom and stove are in a narrow cubicle that is slightly more than 20 square feet, separated from the main room by a common hallway. There is one faucet but no shower cubicle or sink, so she soaks ingredients in a bowl on the floor. The fridge faces the toilet.

Merged toilet and kitchen setups like this are common in subdivided apartments. Some apartments come only with toilets or kitchens that are shared with other households.

The government estimates that 30 percent of the city's 110,000 subdivided homes will fall short of the new standards.

The Housing Bureau said in a response to questions from The New York Times that the rules were needed to improve living conditions. It said it would inspect apartments and that landlords could face prison time for not complying with the rules.

The bureau also said that landlords would have a few years to renovate their units to meet the standards, and register them in a centralized system.

Plan Leaves Much to be Desired

At a recent meeting between social workers with the Kwun Tong Subdivided Home Concern Group, a nonprofit, and residents of the district, questions were raised about the government's plan. What are the standards for a proper toilet? If rents go up, will the government provide tenants with subsidies? Will those evicted be given priority in housing wait-lists?

''The standards have been raised but our finances haven't,'' said Moon Tang, a mother of three. She also wondered what would happen to people if they were evicted. ''If they had money, they would have rented a more expensive space in the first place,'' she said. ''Where do they go?''

In its emailed response to questions, the Housing Bureau said the government would ''adopt a gradual and orderly approach'' to the changes and would help residents ''where necessary.'' Most affected tenants would be able to turn to an increased supply of permanent and temporary public housing apartments by the time the rules come into force in the coming years, it said.

Experts note, however, that the new policy also fails to address problems faced by those living in ''cage homes'' or ''coffin homes'' -- bed spaces separated by wired metal or panels of wood. (Such spaces are regulated by a separate law.)

Siu Ming Chan, an assistant professor at the City University of Hong Kong who researches poverty and housing, said the rules could lead to a rise in rents, making apartments even more unaffordable. The government should increase subsidies for those affected by the policy, many of whom are older and live alone, he added.

Ben Shek, 68, a former technician who lives alone in a 60-square-foot Kwun Tong apartment that would likely be considered substandard, does not want to move. He suffered a stroke more than a decade ago that left him with a limp and unable to work. He shares a bathroom with two other families, inside a carpentry workshop. He likes his place because it is on the ground floor, making it easy for him to get around.

''Since I'm not working anymore, I don't get to have too many expectations,'' he said. ''And even if I did, they can't be too high.''

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/world/asia/hong-kong-subdivided-housing.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/05/world/asia/hong-kong-subdivided-housing.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTOS: Liu Lanhua in her subdivided apartment in the Kwun Tong district of Kowloon. Hong Kong's leader wants to impose minimum standards for such apartments.

A man resting in his subdivided apartment last week. About 220,000 people in Hong Kong live in subdivided homes.

From left: Ms. Liu in the 80-square-foot, $500-a-month apartment that she and her 12-year-old daughter share

residential buildings in Kwun Tong

a family resting in a rooftop apartment. A newly announced crackdown is expected to phase out over 30,000 of the smallest subdivided apartments -- and that does not include even smaller rental spaces, known as cage homes and coffin homes. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY BILLY H.C. KWOK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A4.

**Load-Date:** November 7, 2024

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[***Jason Isbell Offers Democrats a Way to Connect With a New Audience***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CS5-CRK1-JBG3-605N-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1823 words

**Byline:** Nick Corasaniti Nick Corasaniti is a Times reporter covering national politics, with a focus on voting and elections.

**Highlight:** The Southern white, working man’s musician performs at the Democratic convention and lets loose on the state of politics in an interview.

**Body**

The Southern white, working man’s musician performs at the Democratic convention and lets loose on the state of politics in an interview.

As both a musician who channels the voices of forgotten Americans, and a white man from the South with a ***working-class*** upbringing, Jason Isbell provides hope for Democrats.

Set to perform inside the hall on the first night of the Democratic National Convention, the 45-year-old songwriter from Alabama, who has long been vocal about his liberal leanings, offers proof that the party can reach certain kinds of voters who seem to have rejected the modern Democratic Party.

A few hours before he took the stage, The New York Times sat down with Mr. Isbell to discuss politics, music and the inextricable intersection of the two.

The following interview has been edited and condensed.

Nick Corasaniti: This has been a campaign that’s been marked by a lot of agita on the left, until maybe a few weeks ago. How do you feel right now, about the country and Democratic chances in November?

Jason Isbell: I think the Democratic chances in November are good right now — and I think because of the fact that Kamala is prepared, and because of the fact that Biden actually did something selfless for the country, which was sort of shocking. I wouldn’t say unexpected, considering the kind of person that he seems to have always been, but it feels shocking when somebody actually does something patriotic now in a leadership role.

To set aside his own ego and pride and even just his work ethic and do what he did, it was a huge, huge moment. And it reinvigorated the party and the voting base but also made me sort of realize that we have an opportunity here to aim for something that’s not just mitigation.

Nick Corasaniti: Did you pick the song to perform tonight, “Something More Than Free,” thinking about both Biden and Harris, that you wanted it to kind of be about this moment at the D.N.C., or is it more about looking ahead?

Jason Isbell: I did that thinking about the entirety of the party. I remember when Bush was running, Jr., I remember seeing back home in Alabama, people would have trailers with cars on blocks, and clearly, people that weren’t doing very well financially, and they had signs in their yard for Bush. And I remember thinking, a lot of these folks don’t even realize that they’re acting against their own best interests. And if we could just convince Americans of what their own best interests are, we wouldn’t have to ask them to be anything other than selfish. It’s like, please vote selfishly, because you’re going to wind up voting for a Democrat, unless you’re part of the top 1 percent of earners. And so I chose this song really sort of with those folks in mind. The fact that, where I grew up, I was surrounded by people who worked and worked and worked, and somebody else saw the benefits of that, and I think that’s not what the American way should be.

Nick Corasaniti: You’re kind of like a Democratic campaign’s dream voter: a Southern white man with a ***working-class*** upbringing, but there’s not a ton of people like you that are voting for Democrats. Why do you think that is?

Jason Isbell: I think it’s a cultural thing. After Carter, in the Reagan era, I think a lot of issues got conflated. And I think the goals and the intentions of the party were sort of obfuscated by the fact that there was this big PR campaign that sort of made religious morals tie in with a conservative political ideology. And I think that’s kind of where we went wrong, and where a lot of people in the South just started voting against their own interests. And a lot of people like me went along with what their family did, and what their churches did, and became the kind of people who would vote for conservatives no matter what.

Nick Corasaniti: What do you think Democrats could do to bridge that gap, to appeal to more Southern white ***working-class*** men?

Jason Isbell: If the door is open, I mean, people care about the economy. If you can’t afford the things you need, it’s really difficult to go outside of your own house and off your own property and think about what’s going on with your neighbors. If the Democratic Party can keep their foot in the door long enough to actually show evidence of the fact that these plans will work best for everybody, then you get the opportunity to educate people on what the party’s all about. But first, you know, first you gotta, you gotta feed them. I mean, that’s, that’s rule No. 1, because you don’t get a lot of time to teach a hungry man something.

Nick Corasaniti: I was at the R.N.C., and on the final night I saw the country music star Jason Aldean next to former President Trump. And I remember when Mr. Aldean’s “Try That in a Small Town” came out, you had a pretty strong reaction to it. Why?

Jason Isbell: Well, I think it’s pandering to a part of us that I think is nihilist and sort of hopeless in a way. What they’re aiming for is to get this sort of, like, masculine pride out of the fact that they’re afraid of things that are different.

And I think that song sort of, to me, reinforces, or attempts to reinforce, the gap, the difference between small-town Americans and big-city Americans. And it also preys on some of those fears.

Nick Corasaniti: Why do you think the right has been able to latch onto country music and Americana?

Jason Isbell: The right has this idea of a sort of mythologized American past — you know, Make America Great Again kind of thing, which is extremely exclusive, because the farther back you go, the fewer people America was great for. And, yeah, it might have been better for them back then because they didn’t have to act right. Because here’s the thing, there’s something about country music and old-time music and even folk music, to a certain extent, that I feel like is supposed to come with a dose of self-awareness.

And I think the right misses that, or ignores that, and then they use these images and these pictures of times gone by that you hear from country music and from Appalachian music, and they use that to sort of forward that agenda of America used to be wonderful. And we can get back to that again, if we can just, just make all these folks shut up that don’t look like us.

Nick Corasaniti: I was thinking about music as a form of protest, able to speak truth to power and inspire protest movements. Like from Woody Guthrie to the Clash. So I’m wondering, as music becomes more siloed, with streaming and siloed experiences, do you still think music can have that truth to power moment?

Jason Isbell: Oh yeah.

Because for me, the goal is to take the stigma of politics, the word politics, out and just try to show people this is actually how you’re living day to day. That’s what politics are. And if you’re able to ignore that or write about things that aren’t political, that just means that you’re privileged enough to not have to worry about things like clean water, where to send your kid to school, how to get back and forth to work, how to afford your groceries. So I think the more that line blurs between your personal life and your politics, the better off we are. And I think access to musical technology and the means of distribution are going to make that a much better thing.

Nick Corasaniti: It’s also about reach though, right? I think of your song “White Man’s World.” Do you think that reaches the people who need to hear it?

Jason Isbell: I think everybody needs to hear it. Because even if you’re preaching to the choir, sometimes the choir is not singing loud enough.

Nick Corasaniti: You mentioned your audience earlier. I grew up with Springsteen and going to Bruce shows, and there are, I think, maybe more people in the audience who disagree with him politically than there are people in the audience who agree with his Democratic-leaning public positions.

Do you ever worry that playing at the D.N.C. or taking your public Democratic positions could change that in your audiences?

Jason Isbell: No, I don’t worry about that. I don’t really think mine is split down the middle. … But the people that we pick up along the way — usually the majority of those people — are at the very least open to whatever I have to say politically. But at the same time, like, the ultimate goal for me is not to get as many fans as possible. I have enough fans, and I have enough money, I have enough gear.

Nick Corasaniti: You can always have more gear.

Jason Isbell: That’s true actually. But at a certain point, you have to think: What’s the ultimate goal of this? And how am I serving that? And for me, the ultimate goal is just to communicate my inner life and test the connection that I have with everybody else, with strangers. And in order to do that, you gotta tell the truth, and you gotta be honest about how you feel. And if it runs some people off — I’m going to tell you, this might not sound like the truth here, but it is — if it runs people off, I would like them to go. I don’t want people out there who are going to make it uncomfortable for the rest of my audience. And if you’re not open to hearing what I have to say, then you’re probably not going to be open to somebody standing by you who is different from you. And that’s not the kind of room I want to be in. I don’t care how big it is or how many tickets I’ve sold.

Nick Corasaniti: But do you think that also leads to division?

Jason Isbell: Oh, there’s, there’s always been division. I mean, we could see it a little more clearly now, but yeah, I have a hard time wrapping my mind around the idea that we’re a divided nation now more than we’ve been in the past. Because I think people forget, less than 100 years into this experiment, we were killing each other. And there were bleachers. There were bleachers. You talk about, oh, I can’t believe we’re watching all this stuff go down on our phone. We had bleachers in the 1860s, and the rich people dressed up and sat in the bleachers and watched the poor people kill each other. So no, I don’t think we’re more polarized now than we’ve ever been.

Nick Corasaniti: Years ago, someone asked you on Twitter, would you ever run for office? Do you ever think about that now?

Jason Isbell: I think about it sometimes. But, you know, just getting to know some politicians over the last few years, you got to have a lot of patience. And I may have that kind of patience at some point, but at this point in my life, I don’t yet have it. I’m still working on that. I feel like I would, a few months in, I would just sort of lose my mind and start screaming into a microphone because that’s a tough job. And when somebody commits their life to it, and really risks all the different kinds of security that they might have with their family, and they do it for something other than just power, I think it’s a pretty beautiful move.

PHOTO: Jason Isbell at his home in Franklin, Tenn., in 2020. (PHOTOGRAPH BY Eric Ryan Anderson for The New York Times FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES)

**Load-Date:** August 19, 2024

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[***What Exactly Determines Landmark Designation?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DJH-0FY1-JBG3-601J-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

December 2, 2024 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section C; Column 0; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 1; CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

**Length:** 2170 words

**Byline:** By Michael Kimmelman

**Body**

In April 1969, two months before police officers raided a gay bar on Christopher Street in Greenwich Village called the Stonewall Inn, New York City's Landmarks Preservation Commission designated the Village a historic district thanks to its rowhouses and spaghetti entanglement of streets, the serendipity of Colonial-era cattle paths and property lines colliding with the city grid.

Stonewall occupied a pair of former horse stables. During the 1930s, the site was a dive bar and restaurant called Bonnie's Stonewall Inn, which shuttered in 1954. Three years later, the Genovese crime family reopened the bar, retaining the Stonewall sign and name. Gay bars were mostly mob-run back then because of laws against homosexual behavior in public. Police raids were typically settled with mob payoffs. They rarely turned violent.

But in the summer of 1969, patrons fought back.

The Stonewall uprising helped galvanize the gay rights movement. The bar itself shuttered shortly afterward. The Genoveses sold the property, which for a time morphed into a bagel shop. No one was talking about landmarking Stonewall then, but the city's designation of the Village helped forestall various proposals to raze the building. Then in 2000 Stonewall was named a National Historic Landmark, and in 2015, designated a New York City Landmark. By that point, gay marriage had become the law of the land and a new bar using the Stonewall name, now spruced up for tourists, had taken over the space, with a museum next door.

What exactly is preserved by the landmark designations?

The city designations mean that Stonewall's current owners can't alter the building's brickwork or flower boxes or signage without permission from the Landmarks commissioners. The designation says nothing about the building's actual use. Nothing about Stonewall's landmark status prevents the building from reverting to a bagel shop or morphing into a dentist's office or a nail salon.

So what do we mean when we designate something a landmark? It's a trickier question than you might think.

Landmark laws across the country have come into existence to preserve things we deem culturally significant. But they don't always protect what we actually want to save. When government officials, historians and preservationists talk about landmarks, they typically mean sites of architectural or historical distinction or places like Yosemite or the Grand Canyon.

But when most people talk about things that define communities and neighborhoods, which they fear losing and hope to sustain, they're thinking not only of Grand Central Terminal or the Golden Gate Bridge but a beloved bodega or corner bookstore, a farmers' market or local high school, or even a tradition, like stickball or the Thanksgiving Day Parade or the tango.

I began with Stonewall because it is definitely not Grand Central, the Golden Gate or Hoover Dam. The disconnect between what many people wish to preserve and what official agencies legislate is not limited to New York City's landmark provisions, which have formed the basis for similar laws across the country. Americans have enacted these laws to save buildings and sites of historic, environmental and artistic significance.

But how do we treat less obvious or tangible things and values like the physical fabric of a community or a sense of place?

I'm not suggesting America invent new kinds of red tape. At a time when the country urgently needs to build millions of affordable homes and new infrastructure, landmark laws are too often weaponized by NIMBYs, derailing progress. In the name of fighting change and gentrification, they can harm the very places, businesses and activities that communities most hope to safeguard. Expanding the regulatory tool kit for obstruction is the last thing we need to do.

What I'm imagining is simply a rebooted and more ecumenical conversation about the meaning of preservation.

There's a loosely defined term of art for things that are prized and embedded in a culture but not necessarily architectural landmarks: intangible heritage. Japan for generations has placed institutions like its great Ningyo Johruri Bunraku puppet theater on its national list of Intangible Cultural Property. The Ise Shrine is on the list, too. Dating back more than 2,000 years, the shrine is ritually dismantled and rebuilt, in keeping with Shinto beliefs and practices. So the actual shrine isn't ever older than 20 years. The intangible heritage is the construction process itself. ''Miyadaiku'' -- carpenters and artisans trained in the ancient traditions required to rebuild the shrine -- are its custodians.

UNESCO, the United Nations cultural organization, more than two decades ago established global lists of intangible cultural heritage, which the organization broadly defines, in its usual bureaucratese, as ''the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills -- as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith -- that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals, recognize as part of their cultural heritage.''

Translation: Intangible heritage need not be a building or place. It can include the French gastronomic meal, Moldovan blouse embroidery and traditional ensembles of xylophone players distinct to southern Mozambique, among myriad manifestations of arts and crafts that nations have nominated for inclusion on UNESCO's lists. It's a topic of increasing interest and lively debate, especially among younger preservationists and urbanists.

Intangible heritage is the next frontier for preservation in America.

A farmers' market? A flower district?

Like pornography, intangible heritage may be hard to pin down or define legally but, depending on your neighborhood or community, you probably have a pretty good sense of what it means.

It's a fair guess, for instance, that Upper West Siders in Manhattan would consider a legacy business like Barney Greengrass, the famous old smoked fish restaurant, a cultural landmark of the district. Many residents might say it is more important to preserve the restaurant, which the city's landmark laws do nothing to protect, than to designate as a landmark, say, yet another classic apartment tower by the early 20th-century Hungarian American architect Emery Roth, who designed the San Remo and Belleclaire, both of which are architecturally great buildings.

I'm picking sites in New York, but feel free to insert examples in your own cities and towns. I'm also liberally stretching the term intangible heritage, which is already squishy. Determining what is intangible heritage requires addressing issues generally outside the purview of existing landmarks laws, issues that raise huge ancillary questions about what makes a healthy neighborhood and about the free market.

Should New York City preserve, say, its shrinking flower district? What would that mean, practically speaking? Would it mean specialized tax breaks and subsidies? The flower district is but one of dozens and dozens of business clusters that once defined the commercial geography and cultural identity of the city. There used to be a philately district, a millinery district, a fur district. The Twin Towers in the 1970s replaced an electronics district where New Yorkers went to buy new parts for old radios. For years, before the towers were mourned and the current World Trade Center rose, New Yorkers complained about new development erasing a human-scaled, ***working-class*** neighborhood.

But of course this is where progress and preservation run headlong into each other. Looking back, what would it have meant for New York to have embalmed a district devoted to record players, Princess telephones and rabbit-eared, cathode-ray television sets? It is one thing to save an old building, after all, another to privilege the outmoded industries the buildings served in the name of preservation, which then runs up against competing economic interests.

Since the 1960s, New York has sought a partial solution by declaring ''special purpose'' districts, dozens of them. In 1977, a district was assigned to preserve and strengthen the character of Little Italy. Another was created to sustain 125th Street in Harlem as an arts and business hub with its mix of commercial buildings like the Apollo Theater and historic rowhouses. You probably have never heard of these special purpose designations because the legislation carries little, if any, enforcement power. Today most of the neighborhood that comprised Little Italy is a ghost of itself; stretches of 125th Street have become unrecognizable.

San Francisco has tried a different approach, employing financial carrots and sticks. Certain districts in that city have rules by which businesses that are chains and franchises must first receive permission before they can move into the neighborhood. The idea is to advantage homegrown companies. Blue Bottle Coffee opened its first brick-and-mortar site in San Francisco's Hayes Valley, where chains like Peet's and Starbucks were not permitted to open stores. That gave Blue Bottle a leg up in its early days, and the coffee business has now become a point of pride for the neighborhood.

San Franciscans also approved a ballot initiative establishing the Legacy Business fund, as part of a program adopted in two dozen other American cities. In effect, it allows endangered local businesses and storefront nonprofits, which have been around for decades, to apply to the city for time-limited grants to help pay the rent if they've started falling behind. The grants are not so large or long-term that they keep afloat a doomed and destitute enterprise, because that would use public money to tip the scales of government in favor of one private business over another.

New York State has tentatively followed San Francisco's lead, creating its own Historic Business Preservation Registry, which has so far tried to safeguard cherished city landmarks like Sahadi's, the Middle Eastern grocer in Brooklyn. The businesses receive a medal, but not yet a grant, so it's not clear what that will ever add up to.

Preserving the smell of salt air

The idea of saving an important neighborhood business raises all sorts of red flags. Would a family-run restaurant like Barney Greengrass be eligible for such special treatment if, say, it were sold to Long John Silver's? Does it matter if the owners change, or if the character of the place changes but its function doesn't? Would it be right to insist the mob still ran Stonewall?

''We are expecting too much of the existing landmarks law now,'' is how Erica Avrami sees the challenges. She is a professor of historic preservation at Columbia University, whose latest book, ''Second-Order Preservation,'' will be published in December.

By second-order preservation, Avrami means thinking that goes beyond whether a site is architecturally significant and toward thinking more broadly about collective priorities -- about who benefits from preservation and about whether there are built-in biases in how landmark status is determined. Studies show that historic districts tend to skew toward wealthier, whiter populations, for example.

Certain energy codes also exempt buildings in historic districts, which means owners of these buildings avoid costs that burden competing landlords. That may be necessary. Is it just? A weekly farmer's market, as Avrami points out, may be a neighborhood staple that a community wishes to preserve, but it comes and goes. The space it occupies is a void. What the community wants to safeguard is not the void. It is the market, which changes over time.

In the end, these sorts of thorny questions around intangible heritage, or whatever we choose to call it, come down to how we wish to define and enshrine our neighborhoods, our culture and ourselves. There aren't clear or easy answers. The discussion itself is a crucial part of the preservation process.

Avrami left me with the example of the Valentino Pier in Red Hook, Brooklyn, facing the Statue of Liberty. In the 19th century it was a bustling cog in New York's shipping industry. But by the 1980s, the industry had moved elsewhere and the Army Corps of Engineers was set to tear the pier down. It was a wreck and there was nothing architecturally distinguished about the pier.

But it was a neighborhood staple, a link to its past, and residents lobbied the city to preserve at least a version of it. A new pier was built.

''Did it have the original pilings and decking? Of course not,'' Avrami points out. The original materials were not what community members wanted to save. They wanted to save something less tangible but more meaningful, she said. ''They wanted to save a place where they could walk out over the water, see the Statue of Liberty, and smell the fish and salt air.''

This column is adapted from a chapter in ''Beyond Architecture: The New New York,'' edited by Barbaralee Diamonstein-Spielvogel, which NYRB will publish Dec. 10.

[*https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/30/arts/design/preservation-cities-new-york-intangible-heritage.html*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/11/30/arts/design/preservation-cities-new-york-intangible-heritage.html)

**Graphic**

PHOTO This article appeared in print on page C1, C4.

**Load-Date:** December 2, 2024

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[***Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction: Sunday, August 11th 2024***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CPK-0BX1-DXY4-X4S4-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 11, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section BR; Column 0; Book Review Desk

**Length:** 529 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the August 11, 2024 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending July 27, 2024. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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|  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Paperback Nonfiction |
| This | On |  |
| Week | List |  |
| 1 | 68 | HILLBILLY ELEGY, by J.D. Vance. (Harper) The Yale Law School graduate and 2024 Republican vice presidential nominee looks at the struggles of the white ***working class*** through the story of his own childhood. |
| 2 | 301 | THE BODY KEEPS THE SCORE, by Bessel van der Kolk. (Penguin) How trauma affects the body and mind, and innovative treatments for recovery. |
| 3 | 5 | THE ART THIEF, by Michael Finkel. (Vintage) The author of ?The Stranger in the Woods? tells the story of Stéphane Breitwieser, who stole art more than 200 times for the sake of admiring it. |
| 4 | 7 | CHAOS, by Tom O'Neill with Dan Piepenbring. (Back Bay) A reassessment of events surrounding the murders committed by Charles Manson?s followers. |
| 5 | 58 | EVERYTHING I KNOW ABOUT LOVE, by Dolly Alderton. (Harper Perennial) The British journalist shares stories and observations; the basis of the TV series. |
| 6 | 5 | FRIENDS, LOVERS, AND THE BIG TERRIBLE THING, by Matthew Perry. (Flatiron) The late actor, known for playing Chandler Bing on ?Friends,? shares stories from his childhood and his struggles with sobriety. |
| 7 | 20 | THE TRUTHS WE HOLD, by Kamala Harris. (Penguin) A memoir by the daughter of immigrants who is currently serving as the 49th vice president and is the Democratic Party's presumptive 2024 presidential nominee. |
| 8 | 224 | BRAIDING SWEETGRASS, by Robin Wall Kimmerer. (Milkweed Editions) A botanist and member of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation espouses having an understanding and appreciation of plants and animals. |
| 9 | 31 | THINK AGAIN, by Adam Grant. (Penguin) An examination of the cognitive skills of rethinking and unlearning that could be used to adapt to a rapidly changing world. |
| 10 | 220 | BORN A CRIME, by Trevor Noah. (One World) A memoir about growing up biracial in apartheid South Africa by the former host of ?The Daily Show.? |
| 11 | 82 | EDUCATED, by Tara Westover. (Random House) The daughter of survivalists, who is kept out of school, educates herself enough to leave home for university. |
| 12 | 178 | KILLERS OF THE FLOWER MOON, by David Grann. (Vintage) The story of a murder spree in 1920s Oklahoma that targeted Osage Indians, whose lands contained oil. The fledgling F.B.I. intervened, ineffectively. |
| 13 | 496 | THE GLASS CASTLE, by Jeannette Walls. (Scribner) The author recalls how she and her siblings were constantly moved from one bleak place to another. ? |
| 14 | 171 | THE BOYS IN THE BOAT, by Daniel James Brown. (Penguin) The story of the American rowers who pursued gold at the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games; the basis of the film. |
| 15 | 373 | OUTLIERS, by Malcolm Gladwell. (Back Bay) Unexpected factors that explain why some people succeed, such as upbringing, timing and 10,000 hours of deliberate practice. |

**Load-Date:** August 12, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Best Sellers: Combined Print & E-Book Nonfiction: Sunday, August 11th 2024***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CPK-0BX1-DXY4-X4S3-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

August 11, 2024 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Length:** 543 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

These lists are an expanded version of those appearing in the August 11, 2024 print edition of the Book Review, reflecting sales for the week ending July 27, 2024. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a book's sales are barely distinguishable from those of the book above it. A dagger (?) indicates that some retailers report receiving bulk orders. For an explanation of our methodology, visit [*http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers*](http://www.nytimes.com/best-sellers).

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|  |  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Combined Print & E-Book Nonfiction |
| This | Last | On |  |
| Week | Week | List |  |
| 1 | 1 | 91 | HILLBILLY ELEGY, by J.D. Vance. (Harper) The Yale Law School graduate and 2024 Republican vice presidential nominee looks at the struggles of the white ***working class*** through the story of his own childhood. |
| 2 |  | 1 | AUTOCRACY, INC., by Anne Applebaum. (Doubleday) The Pulitzer Prize-winning author elucidates the structures and technologies that bolster autocracies in the 21st century. |
| 3 | 2 | 18 | THE ANXIOUS GENERATION, by Jonathan Haidt. (Penguin Press) A co-author of ?The Coddling of the American Mind? looks at the mental health impacts that a phone-based life has on children. |
| 4 | 3 | 13 | THE DEMON OF UNREST, by Erik Larson. (Crown) The author of ?The Splendid and the Vile? portrays the months between the election of Abraham Lincoln and the beginning of the Civil War. |
| 5 | 4 | 204 | THE BODY KEEPS THE SCORE, by Bessel van der Kolk. (Penguin) How trauma affects the body and mind, and innovative treatments for recovery. |
| 6 | 12 | 8 | THE WAR ON WARRIORS, by Pete Hegseth. (Broadside) The "Fox & Friends Weekend" host shares his experiences serving in the Army and his views on the current state of the American military. ? |
| 7 | 8 | 8 | THE ART THIEF, by Michael Finkel. (Knopf) The author of ?The Stranger in the Woods? tells the story of Stéphane Breitwieser, who stole art more than 200 times for the sake of admiring it. |
| 8 | 6 | 2 | CHAOS, by Tom O'Neill with Dan Piepenbring. (Back Bay) A reassessment of events surrounding the murders committed by Charles Manson?s followers. |
| 9 |  | 8 | THE TRUTHS WE HOLD, by Kamala Harris. (Penguin) A memoir by the daughter of immigrants who is currently serving as the 49th vice president and is the Democratic Party's presumptive 2024 presidential nominee. |
| 10 | 13 | 67 | OUTLIVE, by Peter Attia with Bill Gifford. (Harmony) A look at recent scientific research on aging and longevity. |
| 11 | 7 | 4 | ASK NOT, by Maureen Callahan. (Little, Brown) The author of ?American Predator? puts forward a history of the Kennedy family that describes the abuse of women in its orbit. |
| 12 | 10 | 9 | NUCLEAR WAR, by Annie Jacobsen. (Dutton) The author of ?Operation Paperclip? portrays possible outcomes in the minutes following a nuclear missile launch. |
| 13 | 9 | 19 | EVERYTHING I KNOW ABOUT LOVE, by Dolly Alderton. (Harper Perennial) The British journalist shares stories and observations; the basis of the TV series. |
| 14 | 11 | 6 | ON CALL, by Anthony S. Fauci. (Viking) The physician-scientist and immunologist chronicles his six decades of public service, including his work during the AIDS crisis and the Covid-19 pandemic. |
| 15 | 15 | 15 | AN UNFINISHED LOVE STORY, by Doris Kearns Goodwin. (Simon & Schuster) A trove of items collected by the Pulitzer Prize-winning historian?s late husband inspired an appraisal of central figures and pivotal moments of the 1960s. |

**Load-Date:** August 12, 2024

**End of Document**



[***Best Sellers: Hardcover Nonfiction: Sunday, August 11th 2024***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CPK-0BX1-DXY4-X4S2-00000-00&context=1519360)

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August 11, 2024 Sunday

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**Length:** 533 words

**Body**

About the Best Sellers:

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|  |  | Weeks | Best Sellers: Hardcover Nonfiction |
| This | Last | On |  |
| Week | Week | List |  |
| 1 |  | 75 | HILLBILLY ELEGY, by J.D. Vance. (Harper) The Yale Law School graduate and 2024 Republican vice presidential nominee looks at the struggles of the white ***working class*** through the story of his own childhood. |
| 2 | 1 | 18 | THE ANXIOUS GENERATION, by Jonathan Haidt. (Penguin Press) A co-author of ?The Coddling of the American Mind? looks at the mental health impacts that a phone-based life has on children. |
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| 5 | 6 | 8 | THE WAR ON WARRIORS, by Pete Hegseth. (Broadside) The "Fox & Friends Weekend" host shares his experiences serving in the Army and his views on the current state of the American military. ? |
| 6 | 7 | 70 | OUTLIVE, by Peter Attia with Bill Gifford. (Harmony) A look at recent scientific research on aging and longevity. |
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| 8 | 4 | 4 | ASK NOT, by Maureen Callahan. (Little, Brown) The author of ?American Predator? puts forward a history of the Kennedy family that describes the abuse of women in its orbit. |
| 9 |  | 2 | TRUE GRETCH, by Gretchen Whitmer with Lisa Dickey. (Simon & Schuster) The governor of Michigan recounts defining moments from her life and time in office. |
| 10 | 8 | 9 | NUCLEAR WAR, by Annie Jacobsen. (Dutton) The author of ?Operation Paperclip? portrays possible outcomes in the minutes following a nuclear missile launch. |
| 11 | 15 | 10 | WHAT THIS COMEDIAN SAID WILL SHOCK YOU, by Bill Maher. (Simon & Schuster) The host of ?Real Time With Bill Maher? gives his take on a variety of subjects in American culture and politics. |
| 12 | 10 | 2 | TIGER, TIGER, by James Patterson. (Little, Brown) The ups and downs in the life and career of the golf champion Tiger Woods. |
| 13 | 9 | 14 | AN UNFINISHED LOVE STORY, by Doris Kearns Goodwin. (Simon & Schuster) A trove of items collected by the Pulitzer Prize-winning historian?s late husband inspired an appraisal of central figures and pivotal moments of the 1960s. |
| 14 |  | 1 | UNHUMANS, by Jack Posobiec and Joshua Lisec. (War Room) The senior editor of the conservative news outlet Human Events assesses some political movements and prescribes ways to counteract them. ? |
| 15 | 3 | 2 | JFK JR., by RoseMarie Terenzio and Liz McNeil. (Gallery) Twenty-five years after his death, an oral biography of John F. Kennedy Jr. |

**Load-Date:** August 12, 2024

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[***Trump’s Win Leaves Democrats Asking: Where Are Our Bro Whisperers?***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6DDH-33B1-JBG3-600B-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

November 13, 2024 Wednesday 22:39 EST

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**Section:** US; politics

**Length:** 1614 words

**Byline:** Benjamin Oreskes and Kellen BrowningBenjamin Oreskes is a reporter covering New York State politics and government for The Times.

**Highlight:** Democrats have widely acknowledged that they have no answer for the online ecosystem of conservative influencers popular with Gen Z men. Some have argued for a rethink of media strategy.

**Body**

Democrats have widely acknowledged that they have no answer for the online ecosystem of conservative influencers popular with Gen Z men. Some have argued for a rethink of media strategy.

Three weeks before Election Day, Donald J. Trump [*appeared*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1SsmPh8gCxU) on a podcast hosted by two former professional football players. They spent about an hour together, talking as much about sports as his presidential bid.

At one point, the hosts asked Mr. Trump why he had made time for them and other similar shows, spending dozens of hours in [*podcast studios over*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1SsmPh8gCxU) the course of the campaign.

“It’s a young world,” he explained. “You’re in a young world, right?”

Mr. Trump’s gamble that courting this “young world” — an increasingly influential sphere of podcasts and personalities built for, inhabited and consumed overwhelmingly by young men — would motivate them to vote for him appears to have paid off, at least according to early data.

And while many factors contributed to Mr. Trump’s victory, Democrats are seizing on exit polling that suggests he [*improved his performance with Gen Z men*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1SsmPh8gCxU), with a focus on the so-called [*manoverse*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1SsmPh8gCxU), as they seek to rebuild a fractured coalition after Vice President Kamala Harris’s loss. As young men [*increasingly reported feeling left behind*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1SsmPh8gCxU), Mr. Trump wooed them in part by tapping into a right-leaning online media ecosystem that celebrated traditional masculinity while speaking to their economic insecurities.

The Democratic Party failed, some Democrats and young progressives said, to confront the cultural issues motivating Gen Z men, and to offer a coherent message on pocketbook issues that would appeal to them. Now, they are engaging in a period of soul-searching, reckoning with the splintered media environment that Mr. Trump was able to master and casting about for a response. Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, the prominent New York Democrat, has been speaking directly to the camera on her Instagram page, [*asking conservative viewers*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1SsmPh8gCxU) what forms of media they consume.

“Republicans have used culture as a gateway to politics,” said Brian Tyler Cohen, a Democratic influencer who posts news analyses and interviews to his 3.4 million subscribers on YouTube. “These are people who are influential to young men through culture, and then politics comes along with it. We do not have that infrastructure.”

He pointed to the high-profile voices who spent years building enormous male followings through entertainment, sports, comedy and a bevy of other topics before veering more explicitly into politics and endorsing Mr. Trump this year, like the podcaster Joe Rogan (more than 14 million followers on Spotify, the most of any podcaster on the platform) and the YouTube pranksters known as the Nelk Boys (8.25 million followers on the platform).

Ms. Harris’s campaign also tried to reach younger voters, with young women preferring her to Mr. Trump, [*according*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1SsmPh8gCxU) to exit polls. The vice president was interviewed on the popular podcast “Call Her Daddy” and sat down with other social media stars in an effort to make up ground during her truncated campaign.

But some younger Democrats said a broader strategy shift was in order, especially in terms of how politicians approach nontraditional media. Celebrity appearances and paid endorsements from influencers come across as transactional and inauthentic, they said.

“It’s last-second, ‘Let’s get Beyoncé onstage to say we support women,’ but that doesn’t move anyone who wasn’t already going to vote Democrat,” said Ayem Kpenkaan, a liberal content creator who goes by @bocxtop on social media. As Democrats were casting about for explanations for Mr. Trump’s victory, [*posts by*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1SsmPh8gCxU) Mr. Kpenkaan, 25, blaming “alpha male podcasts” for men’s rightward shift went viral.

He suggested that Democrats needed liberal versions of media platforms that are culturally right-leaning but not inherently political — like Barstool Sports, the popular sports brand that has become so enmeshed in online culture that it has coined a phrase, Barstool conservatism.

“We have to make entertaining, engaging content that men want to watch and care about,” Mr. Kpenkaan said. “Then, over time, you pepper in more progressive views.”

The right had a long head start. Organizations like Turning Point, co-founded by the conservative activist Charlie Kirk — who himself is an influential figure among young people — have spent years appealing to students on college campuses, and Trump-supporting influencers have built their online followings up into the millions. Media personalities in areas as diverse as relationship advice, finance and exercise pump out right-leaning ideas or conservative cultural opinions. (The podcast Mr. Trump appeared on in October, [*“Bussin With the Boys,”*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1SsmPh8gCxU) is one of Barstool’s offerings.)

Some of the cultural values championed by the right could be tricky territory for progressives. The right-leaning media ecosystem scoffs at the left’s focus on identity politics, political correctness and pronoun usage, while encouraging traditional expressions of masculinity and [*femininity*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1SsmPh8gCxU) that liberals consider archaic.

Still, the young men who consume this content are reachable, some said, if only Democrats could shore up both their messaging, particularly on the economy, and their messengers.

“It’s just about talking about a positive vision of the future and the day-to-day life experiences that young people are facing,” said Rachel Janfaza, a [*researcher of youth political culture*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1SsmPh8gCxU). “Their political ideologies are not fully cemented, so I think it creates an opportunity for Democrats to lean into some of the more economic-focused policies.”

Even as online spaces dominated by men have shifted rightward in tone, there was continued skepticism over whether such a group would actually vote in large numbers. Men between 18 and 24 have traditionally turned out at a lower rate than any other cohort — a trend researchers attribute in part to a distrust for institutions.

But Mr. Trump’s campaign believed that his candid, irreverent approach and disdain for traditional social norms would dovetail with that anti-establishment worldview.

Jack Advent, a social media strategist who handled the Trump campaign’s TikTok and helped with influencer outreach, and was nicknamed “TikTok Jack” by Mr. Trump, said the campaign deliberately sought out ways to make the candidate feel authentic, having him speak directly to the camera and showing behind-the-scenes clips of the campaign online.

The belief, Mr. Advent said, was that style would help young male voters feel like Mr. Trump was offering something unique.

“Most of modern media is so highly curated — it’s whatever message they want to push. Young males, or males in general, felt deprived of seeing authentic content that resonates versus marginalizes them,” Mr. Advent, 22, said. “When you watch an individual on a TV hit, they’re in a studio, far away, talking at you. Through podcasts and TikToks, it feels like they’re talking to you. It’s more personable, it’s less scripted.”

The strategy seemed to have paid off, at least in some quarters.

Nathaniel Chavez, 20, a construction worker in Sparks, Nev., said his worldview has been shaped by self-help business books from male authors and podcasts from people like Mr. Rogan and Andrew Tate, the former professional kickboxer and influencer who has proudly labeled himself a misogynist and is facing [*rape and human trafficking charges*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1SsmPh8gCxU), which he has denied.

Mr. Chavez said he heard about Mr. Trump’s policies through these podcasts and through talks with his father, a Republican.

“There is a strength to Trump, and he will make things happen,” Mr. Chavez said. “I’m not saying that he is just going to fix everything, but I do think he will have an impact.”

Democrats argued that progressive policies such as building more affordable housing and raising the minimum wage were widely popular and should appeal to young, ***working-class*** men. But there was a disconnect in communication.

“The policies in a lot of ways are moving in the right direction — the message hasn’t,” said Cristina Tzintzún Ramirez, the president of NextGen America, a progressive group aimed at mobilizing young voters. “A president’s job is to message and frame for the American people that they see their pain, they see a path forward, and I think we just didn’t have enough of that from the Biden administration.”

Ms. Tzintzún Ramirez said organizations like hers had succeeded in reaching college students with messages that appealed to them, like addressing climate change and lowering student loan debt.

But NextGen had been less successful at addressing the priorities of young people not in school — the type of people Mr. Trump swayed — in part because it had struggled to secure money from donors to target them.

For example, NextGen’s “Men’s Voter Power” campaign focused on swaying young male voters of color, especially those not on college campuses, with events like basketball games in Philadelphia. But it received far less funding than programs aimed at college students.

“It was the very smallest part of our program,” Ms. Tzintzún Ramirez said. Democrats “won the youth vote,” she added, “but there’s a lot more they could be winning if they also focused on these other core groups that were, sadly, an afterthought.”

PHOTOS: Some progressives say the Democratic Party has failed to offer a coherent message on key issues that would appeal to young men. (PHOTOGRAPH BY SCOTT MCINTYRE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES); Democrats lack their own version of platforms like Barstool Sports, which are culturally right-leaning but not that political. (PHOTOGRAPH BY AMIR HAMJA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES) This article appeared in print on page A12.

**Load-Date:** November 15, 2024

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[***A Fatal Knife Attack Puts an Immigration Spotlight on a German City***](https://advance.lexis.com/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:6CTT-S171-JBG3-6006-00000-00&context=1519360)

The New York Times

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**Section:** WORLD; europe

**Length:** 1332 words

**Byline:** Christopher F. Schuetze Christopher F. Schuetze is a reporter for The Times based in Berlin, covering politics, society and culture in Germany, Austria and Switzerland.

**Highlight:** After the fatal stabbing, which prosecutors say was committed by a Syrian who was rejected for asylum, the city of Solingen finds itself at the center of a longstanding debate over migrants.

**Body**

After the fatal stabbing, which prosecutors say was committed by a Syrian who was rejected for asylum, the city of Solingen finds itself at the center of a longstanding debate over migrants.

Two days after [*a deadly knife attack*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/25/world/europe/germany-festival-attack.html) in the German city of Solingen, the youth wing of the far-right AfD party put out a call for supporters to stage a protest demanding the government do more to deport migrants denied asylum.

The authorities had identified the suspect in the stabbing spree that killed three people and wounded eight others as a Syrian man who was in the country despite having been denied asylum and who prosecutors suspected had joined the Islamic State. The attack tore at the fabric of the ethnically diverse, ***working-class*** city in the country’s west.

But even before the right-wing protests had begun on Sunday, scores of counterprotesters had gathered in front of the group home that housed the suspect and other refugees. They carried banners that read, “Welcome to refugees” and “Fascism is not an opinion, but a crime,” and railed against those who would use the attack to further inflame an already fraught national debate over immigration and refugees.

The dueling protests — not unlike those recently [*in Britain*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/25/world/europe/germany-festival-attack.html) — are emblematic of Germany’s longstanding tug of war over how to deal with a large influx of asylum seekers in recent years. The country needs immigration to bolster its work force, but the government often finds itself on the defensive against an increasingly powerful AfD.

The party and its supporters are attempting to use the stabbing attack to bolster their broader anti-immigrant message, with some blaming the assault on “uncontrolled migration” even before the nationality of the suspect was known.

“They are trying to use this tragedy to foment fear,” said Matthias Marsch, 67, a Solingen resident who was at Sunday’s counterprotest and worries about a rightward drift in society. “I’m here to stand against that.”

In the end, just 30 or so far-right youths showed up and unfurled a banner that read, “Our People First,” but their speeches were difficult to hear over the chants of the counterprotesters.

Germany has been among the European countries most welcoming to immigrants, but as the AfD has gained traction — and as some local officials say they can no longer support the large number of asylum seekers — even mainstream politicians have begun to shift their stance. Many are now focusing on failed deportations and backing tougher measures to deport migrants who have been denied asylum but find ways to remain in the country.

The attack in Solingen has intensified the deportation argument. The suspect, identified only as Issa Al H., per Germany’s privacy rules, had managed to elude deportation after he was denied asylum. The right-wing is using that to argue that the government has lost control of immigration and, in this case, allowed a dangerous man to remain in the country.

Prosecutors are treating Friday’s attack as an act of terrorism given the suspect’s possible link to ISIS.

The attack has dominated headlines for days. “Why was the alleged Solingen assassin still in Germany?” asked the mainstream Süddeusche Zeitung newspaper — the same question raised by many other news organizations. Bild, Germany’s most widely read tabloid, ran an article suggesting that some German laws made the country a “‘paradise’ for terrorists.” And Der Stern, a glossy weekly, ran a column titled: “Not everyone who addresses the problems of immigration is a Nazi.”

Chancellor Olaf Scholz, who faces voters next year and whose party and coalition have been bleeding support, visited the site of the attack on Monday morning and focused in good part on the issue of deportations.

“We will have to do everything we can to ensure that those who cannot and should not remain here in Germany are sent back,” he told reporters, pointing to changes his government had already approved that have sped up deportations.

For Solingen, a ***working-class*** city, it has been difficult being at the center of the immigration debate. For years, the city had relied on immigrants to work in manufacturing jobs and the service industry, leading to a population that includes about 20 percent of residents who are not German citizens and many more who hold dual citizenship.

The attack, and the media spotlight, also reopened old wounds. For a time, Solingen had been a byword for racist violence after a neo-Nazi arson attack against a Turkish family killed five, including three children, in 1993.

The stabbing attack occurred during a city festival, and Philipp Müller, who had organized the musical acts that were part of the festivities, said: “It’s too early for politics. We first need to mourn.”

The task of telling festivalgoers what was happening had fallen to Mr. Müller, who climbed onto the stage and told the shocked audience members that they needed to leave, but carefully, since the attacker was still on the loose. In the confusion, the assailant had managed to slip away, discarding a six-inch kitchen knife, officials said; the suspect gave himself up during an expansive manhunt a day later.

Solingen is in North Rhine-Westphalia State, and Hendrick Wüst, the state governor, also railed against what he called “attempts to instrumentalize” the attack and to make Solingen “a political stage.” “Stay away from here, leave the people alone, leave this city alone,” he said at a news conference.

For now, that seems unlikely. The attack, coming just a week before the AfD could become the strongest political force in two states in the eastern part of the country, has rattled German politics.

The details of the suspect’s relatively short stay in Germany fit neatly with the far-right’s claims that Germany has lost control over the many refugees it hosts.

The suspect came to Germany late in 2022 and was scheduled to be deported in 2023 to Bulgaria, where he first entered the European Union and, under the bloc’s rules, where he was supposed to file his asylum claim.

But when officers showed up at the refugee center where he was living, he was nowhere to be found and his deportation was quietly dropped, according to the newsmagazine Der Spiegel and later confirmed by Herbert Reul, the interior minister of North Rhine-Westphalia.

Because the six-month limit for deportation to Bulgaria had lapsed without further attempts to deport him, the suspect was ultimately given a special protected status accorded to people who cannot be returned to their home countries because of the risk of physical harm, according to Der Spiegel and Mr. Reul. He was then officially able to register to live in refugee housing in downtown Solingen, where he moved in September of 2023, [*according to the report*](https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/25/world/europe/germany-festival-attack.html).

Last year, more than 70,000 refugees were given such protected status, according to official figures. A recent court decision challenged the notion that all people coming from Syria would face undue danger if sent home.

The fallout from the attack has shaken other immigrants who fear they will be lumped together with the minority who commit crimes.

Emran Gadi, 34, shares those worries. He moved to Solingen from Serbia with his parents when he was a baby and went to watch the chancellor’s visit on Monday. He said that since the attack, he feels as if some people look at him with suspicion.

Asked what he thinks about the debate on immigration, he said: “You are asking the wrong person, because we came here as refugees ourselves and I know what it is to come as a refugee from war.”

Then he added, “But people who can’t integrate or adapt simply don’t belong.”

PHOTOS: Far-right supporters marching in Solingen, Germany, on Monday. A Syrian man is accused of stabbing three people to death last week at a festival in the city. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CHRISTOPHER NEUNDORF/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK); A memorial for the victims. About 20 percent of Solingen’s residents are not German citizens. (PHOTOGRAPH BY WOLFGANG RATTAY/REUTERS) This article appeared in print on page A7.

**Load-Date:** August 28, 2024

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